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MRS. J.W. ROOSEVELT.

NOVEMBER, 1910.

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ANTIQUITIES OF MEXICO:

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TOGETHER WITH

THE MONUMENTS OF NEW SPAIN,

By M. DUPAIX:

WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE

SCALES OF MEASUREMENT AND ACCOMPANYING DESCRIPTIONS.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED BY MANY VALUABLE

Inedited Manuscripts,

By LORD KINGSBOROUGH.

THE DRAWINGS, ON STONE, BY A. AGLIO.

IN NINE VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

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M.DCCC.XLVIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

[The following NOTES are a continuation of those inserted at the end of the Sixth Volume.]

NOTE XXXI.

PARKHURST, quoting in his Hebrew Lexicon a passage from Plato, cited by Grotius in a note subjoined to the twelfth chapter of the fourth book of his treatise 'De Veritate Religionis Christianæ,' immediately adds, "Can one help thinking that Plato *had seen*, or at least heard of, Isaiah's prophecy, chap. liii. ver. 2.? since in the second book of his Republic (Edit. Serrani, vol. ii. p. 361.) he says, that in order to exhibit the character of a man perfectly just, it is necessary that his virtue should be stripped of all external recommendations, so that by others he should be reckoned a wicked person, should be mocked,—'*μαστιγωσεται, στρεβλωσεται, δεδησεται, ἐκκαυθησεται τω ὀφθαλμω, τελευτων παντα κακα παθων, ἀνασχινδυλευθησεται,*'—scourged, tortured, bound, have both his eyes burnt out, and at last, having suffered all kinds of evils, be cut in pieces as a sacrifice, or (as some think the Greek word signifies) be hung up or crucified." Stephens in his Greek Lexicon, referring to the same passage of Plato, assigns the signification of 'crucified' to *ἀνασχινδυλευθησεται*. "Porro ejusdem originis cum *σχινδυλησις* est compositum *ἀνασχινδυλευεσθαι*, idem significans quod *ἀνασκολοπιζεσθαι*, in palum tolli, in crucem tolli, ut apud Plat. lib. 2. De Rep. *τελευτων παντα κακα ἀνασχινδυλευθησεται*. Apud Hesychium non per χ sed per κ scribitur *ἀνασχινδυλευεσθαι, ἀνασκολοπισθηναι*." But Parkhurst appears to prefer the signification of 'cutting in pieces', evidently from a regard to the meaning of the verb *ἀνασχιζω*, of which it is a derivative, which signifies 'to cut up', and when applied to animals would mean the act of *cutting them in pieces for the pot or cauldron*, or of preparing them for the spit; whence the verb *ἀνασχινδυλευεσθαι* might in the first instance have acquired the signification of 'in palum tolli,' and afterwards of 'in crucem tolli.' The authority of Stephens, who adduces that of Hesychius in corroboration of his definition, is doubtless great; but the etymological argument is on the side of Parkhurst; and there can be no reason why the verb *ἀνασχινδυλευεσθαι* should not be understood both in the sense of 'being crucified,' and of 'being cut up for the cauldron.' If, however, there are grounds for supposing that the above passage in the Republic of Plato relates to the sufferings and crucifixion of Christ (and that there are strong grounds for so thinking cannot be denied, although it is much more probable that the early Christian Fathers interpolated the works of that philosopher, as they did those of many other ancient authors, than that Plato should have perused the prophecy of Isaiah), may we not refer to the seventy-third page of the Borgian MS., which represents Quecalcoatle both crucified, and as it were cut in pieces for the cauldron, and with equal reason demand, whether any one can help thinking that the Jews of the New World applied to their Messiah not only all the prophecies contained in the Old Testament relating to Christ, but likewise many of the incidents recorded of him in the Gospels. Few, we will venture to say, can doubt, after reading the note subjoined to page 107 of the sixth volume of this work, which contains a list of the names and types under which the Mexicans adored Quecalcoatle, that this was the case. The history of the life of that mysterious personage, which will be found at page 258 of the same volume, especially if considered in connection with what is said of Totec* at page 179,—who, like John the Baptist and

* The literal signification of Totec is 'our stone'; that proper name being compounded of *to* 'our', and *tecpatl* 'a stone'; to which derivation the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis alludes when he says, at page 130 of the sixth volume, that the signification of the proper name Iztapaltotec is 'the bloody knife of Iztapali'. It might be alleged as a reason for the Jews representing Elias with the symbol of a stone knife, that their ancestors circumcised their male children with a knife of that description, and that Elias was the patron

Elias, went about *clothed in a skin* *, calling on the people to repent, and, like the latter, was dreadful in the vengeance which he took upon his enemies †, flaying them alive when he overcame them,—will serve still more to strengthen the

of that rite, whom they believed to be more zealous even than Moses for its due performance, and to be invisibly present at the circumcision of all Jewish children: hence the Rabbis direct that a vacant chair should be placed for Elias near that of the Mohel, or the circumciser. The Mexicans, it deserves to be remarked, had a similar custom of placing a vacant chair at every angle of their streets for Tezcatlipoca [1], who they imagined to be frequently present amongst their habitations. The adoption of that honorary distinction might have been borrowed from the command which God gave to the Jews to place a seat for him upon the ark, and between the cherubim in that part of the tabernacle which was called the Holy of Holies; which seat was named the Mercy Seat, and was a principal appurtenance to the tabernacle. The numerous seats which were placed for Tezcatlipoca in Mexico might have been intended to show, that the mercy of that supreme god of the Mexicans was everywhere present in his favourite city and amongst his chosen people. We must not omit, in explaining the signification of the proper name Totec, to remark further, that 'a stone', 'a tried stone', 'a foundation stone', 'a corner stone', are expressions frequently made use of by the Hebrew prophets, to which the signification of the word Totec might bear some allusion.

* St. Mark, in the sixth verse of the first chapter of his Gospel, says of John the Baptist, "And John was clothed with camel's hair, and *with a girdle of a skin about his loins;* and he did eat locusts and wild honey." It deserves to be remarked, that the Mexicans like the Jews ate locusts. Sahagun says, at page 361 of his History of New Spain, that these locusts were named by them Acachpoli.

† Elias, who is otherwise named Elijah in Scripture, called down fire from heaven upon his enemies, in the manner related at page 405 of the sixth volume of this work. He was considered by the Jews a precursor of the Messiah, and another Moses; and as the latter was esteemed a harbinger of Christ, so the former was accounted a forerunner of John the Baptist, although there are grounds for supposing that the credulous amongst the Jews might have imagined that Moses himself would become incarnate in the person of the Messiah, and that Elijah would discharge the office of Aaron. It is deserving of notice, that the Mexicans, like the Jews, manifested a predilection for two heads in their hierarchy; to which the latter, who were unacquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity, might have been further disposed, from the mention which is made in the fourteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Zechariah, of the *two* anointed ones that stood by the Lord of the whole earth, whom they might have supposed to be Moses and Aaron, the one of whom had been anointed a prophet, and the other a priest by God. Elijah is praised in terms of almost extravagant eulogy in the forty-eighth chapter of the Book of Ecclesiasticus; in the thirteenth verse of which it is said, that "after his death his body prophesied:" and he is extolled in the seventeenth and eighteenth verses of the fifth chapter of the General Epistle of St. James, for causing *by his prayers rain to be denied to the earth for three years and six months;* which passage we shall here transcribe, on account of its wonderful resemblance to what is said at page 177 of the sixth volume of this work, of the virtue and efficacy of the prayers offered up by Quecalcoatle on a similar occasion, although the period during which the Mexicans believed *that the earth had suffered drought* was not three years and six months, *but four entire years.* "Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, and he prayed earnestly that it might not rain: and it rained not *on the earth* by the space of three years and six months. And *he prayed again,* and the heaven gave rain, *and the earth brought forth her fruit.*" From what is said in the seventeenth chapter of St. Matthew, of Moses and Elias appearing to Christ at the time of his transfiguration, and from the questions put to the latter by his disciples, and his reply to them, it is evident that John the Baptist was really prefigured in the person of Elias, than whom Christ declares a greater had not been born of woman: and the general belief of the Jewish populace in Elias is further apparent from the forty-ninth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew. From all which it is evident that the Jewish belief in the coming of the future Messiah was intimately connected with their belief in the coming of Elias; or in other words, that Christ's would not be an isolated advent; which renders the coincidence the more singular, that the Mexicans should have believed both in Quecalcoatle and Totec.

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[1] This fact is stated by Sahagun in the second chapter of the third book of his History of New Spain, where some of the names and attributes of Tezcatlipoca are also enumerated. Amongst the former, Yaotzin is very deserving of notice, which is the same as Yao, with the addition of the reverential termination *tzin.* The Jews were accustomed to bestow many names upon Jehovah, as is plain from the words of Hosea in the sixteenth verse of the second chapter of his Prophecies; "And it shall be at that day, saith the Lord, that thou shalt call me *Ishi,* and shalt call me no more Baali:" which passage of Scripture is very remarkable, as it clearly shows that the Jews worshiped God under the name of Baali, and reminds us that they frequently offered human sacrifices to Baal. The meaning of the proper name Tezcatlipoca is explained at page 487 of the sixth volume; and it is there said to be compounded of *Tezca* (a metaphorical name in all probability for Mount Sinai), *tlil* 'dark', and *poca* 'smoke', and to refer to the manner in which the supreme God of the Mexicans manifested himself to their ancestors when on their pilgrimage from Aztlan. The Jews might have been led, from reminiscences of the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt, when the Lord went before them in a pillar of *cloud* by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and of the promulgation of the Mosaic code of laws [a] amidst fire and smoke from Mount Sinai, to bestow the name of Tezcatlipoca upon Jehovah. It deserves also to be remarked, that one of the attributes which David ascribes to the Deity in the Psalms, is the causing hills and mountains by his mere touch to smoke: "He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, *and*

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[a] The Mosaic code is pronounced to be *a fiery law* in the second verse of the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy; which name was given to it either from the manner of its delivery, or from its adjudging criminals in so many cases *to be burnt alive.*

conviction : since who, on reading (in the last-mentioned page) of Quecalcoatle* and Huemac being joint kings of Tula ; of the cup with which Titlacaoa or Tezcatlipoca presented Quecalcoatle to drink, accosting him at the same time with the salutation of *My Son* † ; of his unwillingness to taste it, and of his weeping bitterly after having drank its contents ; of his forsaking his temporal kingdom of Tula for the immortal kingdom of Tlapallan, being called away by the god who was the Sun ‡ ; of his departure on the day to which the sign of four earthquakes § was dedicated in

* It was foretold that the Messiah of the Jews should be a king, a priest, a prophet, and the son of God ; and it is singular that the Mexicans should have believed that Quecalcoatle united in his own person these various characters. "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," was spoken of the future Messiah by David, whom Melchizedek the king of Salem typified, to whom Abraham paid tithes, and who is said, in the eighteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, to have been both king and priest : "And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth *bread* and *wine* : and he was the priest of the most high God." Extraordinary importance has always been attached to the fact of Abraham having paid tithes to Melchizedek ; yet no commentator on Scripture has been able to explain who Melchizedek was ; of whom even St. Paul, in the second and third verses of the seventh chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks in such ambiguous terms, as to leave it doubtful whether he does not mean that he was Christ himself : since how can the description, "without father, without mother, without descent (or rather *whose generation is undeclared*, for that is the strict meaning of ἀγενεαλογητος), having neither beginning of days, nor end of life," apply to a mere mortal ? And does not the Apostle, in using the expression ἀγενεαλογητος, seem to refer to the words of Isaiah in the eighth verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies, confessedly spoken of the Messiah, "Who shall declare his generation ?" The passage in the original Greek is as follows ; 'ἀπατωρ, ἀμητωρ, ἀγενεαλογητος· μητε ἀ ρχην ἡμερων μητε ζωης τελος ἐχων· ἀφωμοιωμενος δε τῳ υἱῳ του Θεου, μενει ἱερευς εἰς το διηνεκες' : and it deserves to be noticed, that the Mexicans bestowed the appellation of the *orphan god* upon the deity whom they named Cinteotl. "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne," is a prophecy occurring in the hundred-and-thirty-second Psalm, to which St. Peter appeals in the thirtieth verse of the second chapter of the Acts, to prove that Christ was a king, who on several occasions named himself the King of the Jews : and it is generally supposed that the wise men of the East intended to recognise him in the triple character of a king, a priest, and a prophet, by presenting to him three kinds of gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, each suitable to these three offices.

† Vide the fourth chapter of the third book of Sahagun's History of New Spain ; where he mentions Quecalcoatle's extreme unwillingness to taste the cup presented to him by Titlacaoa, and his first declining it,—a fact not noticed by Torquemada.

‡ The appellation of 'the Sun' is bestowed upon God in more places than one in Scripture. Isaiah, in the twentieth verse of the sixtieth chapter of his Prophecies, uses the allegorical expression of 'thy Sun' to signify God ; and David names God 'a Sun' in the eleventh verse of the eighty-fourth Psalm : "For the Lord God is a Sun and shield ; the Lord will give grace and glory ; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly." It is scarcely necessary to observe, that ancient mythology frequently confounds allegories with facts, reducing the whole into an incongruous mass.

§ The sign of four earthquakes placed immediately under the chair of Quecalcoatle in the forty-fourth page of the Borgian MS., may either allude to the day of his departure or to his second advent and the destruction of the world, when the sun should be in the sign of four earthquakes ; which is probably what is signified by the same sign carved in the centre of the ancient piece of Mexican sculpture usually designated the Mexican Calendar, a representation of which will be found in the American Monuments of Baron de Humboldt. In the upper compartment of the above-mentioned plate are the signs of the Cane and the Rabbit, both of which were dedicated to Quecalcoatle ; but whether the latter in this place is symbolical of suffering innocence, or may not, from being placed within a pitcher of water, afford grounds for supposing that the Jews attributed to their Messiah the miracle recorded in the New Testament of water being changed into wine, it is impossible to decide. The circumstance of Christ declaring himself in the first verse of the fifteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John to be the true vine, singularly coincides with the fact that Mexi (the other name which the Mexicans gave to Quecalcoatle) should also signify the pulp of the aloe, from which they obtained wine, as stated by Torquemada in the twenty-third chapter of the third book of his Indian Monarchy ; which passage it is unnecessary to cite, as it will be found in the note subjoined to page 232 of the sixth volume of the present work ; where likewise, at page 63, will be found some further reasons, chiefly grounded on the Mexican marriage ceremonies, for supposing that the Mexicans might have been acquainted with that history ; since their retaining so many customs analogous to those which existed amongst the Jews in the age of Christ, argues their having retained analogous traditions likewise : and it is highly probable that they worshiped Quecalcoatle as the god of wine under the other appellation of *Ometochtli*, which name signifies 'two rabbits.' It has been observed at page 211 of the same volume, that the signification of the Mexican proper name Centzontotochtin—which name is compounded of *centzontli* four hundred, and *totochtin* (the plural of *tochtli*) a rabbit—affords

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they smoke," is a passage which occurs in the hundred-and-fourth Psalm ; to which the invocation in the fifth verse of the hundred-and-forty-fourth Psalm,—"Bow thy heavens, O Lord, and come down ; touch the mountains, *and they shall smoke*,"—nearly corresponds. That to give a name to God, itself significant and commemorative of some divine interposition, was not foreign to Hebrew usage, may be proved from the example of Hagar, who is said in the thirteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Genesis to have given a name to him, commemorative of the circumstance of his having seen her : "And she called the name of the Lord that spake unto her, Thou God seest me : for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me ?" But how much more important an event in Hebrew history was his manifestation of himself to the Jews on Mount Sinai, than his conversing with Hagar ! and how much greater reason would there appear for a name to have been given him from the former than from the latter circumstance !

the Mexican calendar; of his promise to return again with great power to avenge himself of his enemies, and to redeem his people; and of the belief of the Mexican kings, that the sceptre should not depart from them till Quecalcoatle came;—but must immediately recollect what is said in the New Testament of Christ frequently naming himself the king of the Jews, confessing at the same time that he was only their spiritual king, their temporal sovereign being Herod; which name, due attention being paid to the genius of the Mexican language, which excluded from its alphabet the letters *r* and *d*, is a near approximation to that of Huemac; of his prayer to his Heavenly Father to let the cup pass away from him, which is recorded by St. Matthew in the thirty-ninth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of his Gospel; "And he went a little further, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt," and which was pronounced more than once, as we learn from the forty-second and forty-fourth verses of the same chapter, "He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done." "And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words;" and which is likewise mentioned by St. Luke in the following passage of the twenty-second chapter of his Gospel, to which the painting contained in the seventy-fourth page of the Codex Borgianus may bear some allusion; "And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of Olives; and his disciples also followed him. And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation. And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed, saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless not my will, but thine be done. *And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.* And being in an agony, he prayed

also some indication that they were acquainted with the miracle of the legion of devils being driven into the herd of swine: nor is there a possibility of denying, after it has once been proved that they were acquainted with *one* miracle or prophecy recorded in Scripture, that they were acquainted with more:—on the contrary, the alternative which might have appeared improbable at first, becomes the greater probability. Quecalcoatle is represented in the same plate as receiving an offering of blood, or propitiatory sacrifice, as is more fully explained in the note subjoined to page 274 of the same volume: and repugnant as the idea may appear to Christians, many passages might be adduced from the Old Testament, which might have led the Jews to suppose that the future Messiah would require the blood of his enemies by way of expiation, and *for the fulfilment of prophecy*. One of the earliest prophecies relating to the advent of the Messiah occurs in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, where Moses introduces in his Song, God declaring in his own name that he would take vengeance on his enemies, and that the Messiah would take vengeance on them also. The passage containing this prophecy is as follows: "I will make mine *arrows* drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh; and that with the blood of the slain *and of the captives*, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy. Rejoice, O ye nations, with *his* people; for *he* will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people." This passage deserves to be compared with another quoted from the Revelations in the note subjoined to page 98 of the sixth volume, in which the remarkable words, "I saw an angel standing in the sun," occur;—a conception which has been embodied in painting in the twenty-third page of the Mexican MS. preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The latter passage in the Revelations relates to the second advent of the Messiah and to the day of judgment, to which it is probable that the representation of Quecalcoatle seated on a throne, in the sixth page of the Borgian MS., refers. It is singular that Christ's prophecy respecting his second advent, as recorded by St. Matthew in the twenty-fourth chapter of his Gospel, should abruptly terminate with the words "For wheresoever the *carcase* is, there will the *eagles* be gathered together;" since the connection between that verse and the preceding, "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be," is by no means apparent, although it may possibly allude to the punishment of the wicked, and to the prophetical language of Isaiah in the eleventh verse of the forty-sixth chapter of his Prophecies, "Calling *a ravenous bird* from the east, *the man that executeth my counsel* from a far country." That the passage referred to in the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy must be understood of the Messiah, will be evident from considering the same passage as it stands in the Greek Septuagint, which varies not a little from the original Hebrew; a circumstance that does not derogate from its authority, since the omitted sentence, προσκυνησατωσαν αὐτῳ παντες ἀγγελοι Θεου, "let all the angels of God worship him," is verbally cited by St. Paul in the sixth verse of the first chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews; and these words can only refer to the Messiah. The language of David in the hundred-and-tenth Psalm nearly resembles that employed by Moses in his Song; and it never has been doubted that the entire of the following passage relates to the coming of the future Messiah, "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek: the Lord *at thy right hand* shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath: he shall judge among the heathen, *he shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries: he shall drink of the brook in the way:* therefore shall he lift up the head." The fulfilment of the concluding prophecy, "he shall drink of the brook in the way," is nowhere recorded in the New Testament: but the Mexicans had a tradition of Quecalcoatle's coming to the fountain Cozcaapan or Coaapan, and throwing strings of beads into it; but whether he drank of it also must remain unknown. A singular representation of a male figure wounded in the head, and in the act of offering incense to a personage whose neck is adorned with the symbol of the *sun*, occurs in the fortieth page of the Borgian MS.

more earnestly; and his sweat was as it were *great drops of blood* falling down to the ground;*"—of his describing himself in his speech to four of his disciples as a traveller about to take a far journey, which is thus related by St. Mark in the thirty-fourth verse of the thirteenth chapter of his Gospel, "For the Son of Man is as a man taking a far journey;" of his drinking vinegar from a reed, as recorded in the thirty-sixth verse of the fifteenth chapter of the same Gospel; of his declaration that he was going to his Heavenly Father; of the great earthquake† which occurred at the Crucifixion, which is mentioned in the fifty-first and fifty-second verses of the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew, "And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent, and the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints which slept arose;" of his sudden disappearance from his disciples, and ascent into heaven, as related in the fifty-first verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Luke, which recalls to our recollection what is said at pages 119 and 82 of the sixth volume of the present work, of the mysterious disappearance or *death* of Quecalcoatle whilst hastening on his journey to the kingdom of Tlapallan; and of the Mexican tradition of Huitzilopuchtli being seated on the left hand of Tezcatlipoca; of his having previously foretold to them his second advent and the day of judgment, which was to be ushered in with earthquakes‡ and an eclipse, like those which occurred on the day of the Crucifixion, verifying the words of the prophet Joel, as cited in the second chapter of the Acts, "And I will show wonders in heaven above, and *signs in the earth beneath;* blood and fire and *vapour of smoke:* the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord§ come;" and of his promise that the Holy Ghost should descend upon the earth after he had left it, to which and to the account in the second chapter of the Acts of the descent of the fiery tongues upon the Apostles, the

* Such appear to be represented in the painting.

† Boturini affirms, as has already been mentioned in the note subjoined to the fifth page of the sixth volume of the present work, that the Tultecas recorded in their historical paintings the great eclipse which took place at the Crucifixion; and Balboa asserts, in his Miscellanea Antarctica, that the Peruvians had a tradition of the graves being opened about the same period. It would not, therefore, have been surprising if the Mexicans, who were descended from the Tultecas, had preserved a tradition of the earthquake that accompanied the eclipse, and which was the cause of the graves being opened, and had introduced it in their paintings. Having referred to the note at the fifth page of the above-mentioned volume, we shall take occasion to observe, in reference to a remark there made respecting the probable age of Christ at the time of his crucifixion, that that remark is justified by the answer which the Jews are recorded, in the fifty-seventh verse of the eighth chapter of St. John, to have made to him on his telling them that Abraham rejoiced to see his day; "Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" Nor need it be pointed out that the argument to which the Jews had recourse required that they should state, as nearly as they could, the *full* age of Christ. The observation in the sixth page of the volume referred to, that the primitive Christians anticipated the end of the world as an event momentarily at hand, is grounded on the words of Christ in the thirty-fourth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew; "*Verily* I say unto you, *This* generation shall not pass till *all* these things be fulfilled:" but some of the things foretold in the above-mentioned chapters were the end of the world and the day of judgment. We shall not, however, run the risk of being accused of pedantry, by recurring in this place to syllogistic forms. Job's imprecation, in the third chapter of his Book, on the *day* in which he was born, and the night in which he was conceived, and his ejaculation in the sixth verse, "As for that night, let darkness seize upon it, *let it not be joined unto the days of the year, let it not come into the number of the months,*" might have suggested to the Jews the idea of commemorating great national calamities, such as the destruction of their temple and the dispersion of their tribes, by setting apart certain days in their calendar as *bitter*, and not joining them to the days of the year, or reckoning them in the number of the months; which was precisely what the Mexicans did with the five days named by them Nemontemi, which, though included in an intercalation, were not joined to the three hundred and sixty days of their year, nor admitted into the number of their eighteen months, each of which was allotted to a particular festival. It is probable that the institution of the Nemontemi, or bitter days, amongst the Mexicans, preceded and led to the institution of the bitter year at the expiration of every cycle of fifty-two years; when if the year, as in the case of the Nemontemi, had been intercalated without being added to *the number of the years* which preceded and followed it, the Mexican and the Hebrew jubilees would have consisted of the same number of years, and we should further discover traces of a Sabbatical year.

‡ It is singular that the Mexicans should have believed that Quecalcoatle departed on the day of four earthquakes, and that the end of the world would occur on the *same sign*, as stated, by the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Nemensis, at page 111 of the sixth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico, and by the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus, at page 208. We may here observe, that the Mexican tradition that the world would be destroyed when the *sun* should be in the sign of four earthquakes, seems really to relate to the advent of Quecalcoatle, who was typified by the sun, and to the destruction of the world by fire produced by earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

§ 'The day of the Lord' and 'the year of the Lord' are Scripture phrases, significative of the day of judgment or of retribution. St. Luke employs the latter in the nineteenth verse of the fourth chapter of his Gospel; and Isaiah declares, in the second verse of the sixty-first chapter of his Prophecies, that he had been sent "to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God." Teoxihuitl, which literally signifies 'the year of God,' was a name given by the inhabitants of Tlascala and Cholula to the festival which they celebrated every four years in honour of Camaxtle or Quecalcoatle; and Torquemada, in the thirty-first chapter of the tenth book of his Indian Monarchy, describes the dreadful immolation of human victims that accompanied it.

Mexican fable noticed above at page 108 of the sixth volume,—of Quecalcoatle preparing the way for Tlaloc, and of the latter being the secretary of Providence, who wrote his laws in lightning and published them with thunder,—might bear some allusion. Having instituted a close comparison between the brief history of Christ as contained in the New Testament, and that of Quecalcoatle as recorded in the mythological traditions of the Mexicans, with the intention of showing that the Jews feigned that the principal prophecies in the Old Testament relating to the former were verified in the person of the latter, we shall proceed to point out some paintings in the Codex Borgianus, in which are shadowed in a much more clear manner than the types of the Old Testament foreshadow the Messiah, the accomplishment of the most famous prophecies relating to Christ; for by that name those to which the Evangelists themselves appeal, to prove that he was the real Messiah and the truth of the Christian religion, are justly entitled to be called. And we shall first notice the painting contained in the seventy-third page of the above-mentioned MS., which is explained at page 166 of the sixth volume of this work, declaring unreservedly what is there only hinted at,—that the subject of that painting seems plainly to allude to the celebrated prophecy in the tenth verse of the sixteenth Psalm, "For thou wilt not leave my soul *in hell*;* neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption:" which prophecy is cited in the twenty-seventh and thirty-first verses of the second chapter of the Acts, and in the thirty-fifth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the same Book. In reference to this painting, and to the acquaintance which itwould imply on the part of the Mexicans with the article of the Resurrection, we must observe, that a very curious

* The descent of Christ into hell is a tenet of Christianity; and since the article in the Apostles' Creed which recognizes it, is distinct from that which relates to his death and burial, it is evident that the words "he descended into hell" cannot mean simply that he descended into the grave, but that he went to the place of departed spirits, or as the Greeks would have expressed it, εἰς Ἅδου. It was the opinion of the ancients that the region of the dead was beneath the earth, and to that belief Euripides alludes in the passage,

Ἥκω, νεκρων κευθμωνα και σκοτου πυλας
Λιπων, ἵν' Αἰδης χωρις ᾠκισται θεων,
Πολυδωρος, Ἑκαβης παις γεγως της Κισσεως,

in the opening scene of one of his tragedies. Under the denomination of 'the regions below' they included both the Elysian fields and hell or Tartarus; which latter place was not the same as Hades, and was approached by a very different road from that which conducted to Elysium, as Virgil testifies in the sixth book of the Æneid, in the lines

"Hâc iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, et ad impia Tartara mittit,"

which he has put into the mouth of the Sibyl. It has been supposed that the ancient fable of hell being surrounded by the river Styx, which the dead were of necessity obliged to pass, originated in the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians, which partly consisted in placing the body of the deceased in a barge and rowing it across the Nile, a rite frequently represented on the leaves of the papyrus discovered upon mummies: and it may create some surprise to find that an analogous notion prevailed among the Mexicans, who, as Sahagun asserts in the first chapter of the Appendix to the third book of his History of New Spain, believed that the dead had to pass a river in order to arrive at the region of Mictlantecutli, the Mexican Pluto, and that dogs discharged the office of Charon. The name of the river was Chiconaoapan, which being compounded of *chiconaui* 'nine', *atl* 'water', and *pan* (a particle of local reference), literally signifies 'the nine streams'; a most appropriate name for the river Styx, which was fabled nine times to encompass hell, forming in this manner nine regions, each separated from the other by a different meander of the stream, and on each of which the Mexicans might have bestowed the appellation of Hell, and have thus framed to themselves the fiction of nine hells. It has already been observed, at page 219 of the sixth volume of this work, that it is a Catholic doctrine that hell is situated in the centre of the earth; and from various passages of the Old Testament, where the phrase of *going down into the pit* is used in a sense equivalent to that of dying, it might be inferred that the Jews in ancient times believed that a hollow cavity in the earth was the place of repose for the dead, where the mass of mankind went, the souls of a comparatively small number of persons, such as Moses, Joshua, Elias, and the prophets, and those perhaps of children excepted, whose services to their country, favour with God, reputed sanctity of life, and freedom from sin, might have obtained for them a place in the kingdom of heaven, which was first preached generally to the Jews by John the Baptist, as Christ declares in the twelfth and thirteenth verses of the eleventh chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew: "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John." In reference to which passage we must observe, that a commentator has remarked, that the translation "is gotten by force, and they that thrust men" would be an improved version of "suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force;" and that it is at this passage in the New Testament that the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus glances in page 227 of the sixth volume of this work.—Having offered these observations preparatory to the remark that the notions of the Mexicans about heaven, hell, purgatory, and the dead, are all strongly tinctured with Judaism, we may add that the twenty-eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel furnishes strong grounds for supposing that the Jews in the age of Saul believed in Hades, and that it was a region situated beneath the earth. The address of Samuel to Saul, in the fifteenth verse of the same chapter, might have strengthened the conviction amongst their posterity.

representation of a person ascending from a cross of the shape of the Greek letter T, occurs in the thirty-seventh page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. It is very remarkable that in the lower compartment of the former painting, the bones of the person who is there represented crucified are bare and exposed to view, which was perhaps to mark the fulfilment of the prediction contained in the seventeenth verse of the twenty-second Psalm, "I may tell all my bones*, they look and stare upon me;" which Psalm is famous in Scripture as being precisely the one appealed to by the Evangelists to prove that the events which they assert occurred at the Crucifixion took place in order that Scripture might be fulfilled. It contains however other predictions, to which the Mexican painter appears to have attached more importance than the Evangelists, since their accomplishment is no where pointed out in the New Testament. We insert here nearly the whole of that Psalm, that the extraordinary coincidence between the events there foretold, those which happened at the death of Christ, and those which are represented in the last pages of the Borgian MS. as having accompanied the crucifixion of Quecalcoatle†, may be fully apparent. The prophecies which are printed in capitals are those which are cited *verbally* in the New Testament, or there *stated* to have been accomplished; those which are in Italics are not referred to by the Evangelists, and appear to have had a literal fulfilment only in the above-mentioned paintings. On both these we shall venture presently to offer a few observations. "MY GOD, MY GOD, WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME? why art thou so far from helping me, and from the words of my roaring? O my God, I CRY in the daytime, but thou hearest not; and in

* In the Septuagint, "*they have reckoned all my bones:*" *Ἐξηριθμησαν παντα τα ὀστα μου.*

† Quecalcoatle's descent into hell[1] is represented in the seventy-third page of the Borgian MS.; and it deserves to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Guatemala[2] had also a tradition of their god Exbalanquen having descended to hell, and of his returning victorious from thence. Torquemada thus records it: "En el reino de Quauhtemallan, cuios moradores se dice, que tuvieron noticia del diluvio; antes de él, dicen algunos, que tenian, y adoraban por dios al gran Padre, y á la gran Madre, que estaban en el cielo, y lo mismo despues del diluvio; y que llamandolos cierta muger principal, encomendandose á ellos, le apareció una vision, que le dijo: *No llames asi, sino de esta manera,* que yo te aiudare, del qual nombre aora *no se acuerda;* pero que le parece, que aquel nombre era, ó significaba lo que aora nosotros decimos Dios. Despues creciendo, y multiplicandose las gentes, se publicó, *que avia nacido un dios* en la provincia, treinta leguas de la cabecera, que es Quauhtemallan, llamada Otlatla, y la provincia se nombra aora la Vera-Paz, al qual dios llamaron Exbalanquen. De este cuentan, entre otras mentiras y fabulas, que fue á hacer guerra al Infierno, y peleó con toda la gente de allá, y los venció, y prendió al Rei del Infierno, y á muchos de su exercito; el qual buelto al mundo con su victoria, y presa, le rogó el rei de aquellas tinieblas, que no le sacase de alli, porque estaba yá tres ó quatro grados de la luz; y que el vencedor Exbalanquen le dió una cóz, con mucha ira, diciendo: Buelvete, y sea para ti todo lo podrido, y desechado, y hediondo de esos infernales lugares. Bolvióse Exbalanquen, y en la Vera-Paz, de donde avia salido, *no le recibieron,* con la fiesta, y cantos, que él quisiera; *y por esto se fue á otro reino, donde le recibieron á su placer:* y este vencedor del infierno, dicen que començó el sacrificar hombres. Donde quiera que por aquellas tierras ofrecian sacrificio de cosas vivas, tenian ciertos cuchillos de piedra de navaja mui agudos; los quales dicen, que caieron del cielo; y que cada pueblo, y personas tomaron los que avian menester: á estos cuchillos llamaban *Manos de Dios,* y del idolo, á quien sacrificaban: estos cuchillos tenian en tanta reverencia, por hacer como hacian con ellos los sacrificios, que adoraban, y quando menos, los tenian en grandisima veneracion: hacianles mui ricos cabos, y remates, con figuras, segun su posibilidad, de oro, y de plata, y de esmeraldas, y otras mui ricas, y preciadas piedras: tenianlos siempre guardados, con los idolos en sus altares."—Monar-

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[1] It deserves to be remarked that the expression *infierno,* in the malediction which the Mexican *high-priest* pronounced against the king of Mexico who failed in the performance of his public duties, must be understood in the sense of Hades, or of hell, in the signification in which the latter term is used in the Apostles' Creed. The form of the malediction will be found in the sixth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; and it appears highly probable that the Mexican custom of anathematizing the king was borrowed from the Jews, whose priests and prophets, imitating the example of Samuel and Nathan, frequently rebuked their own kings, declaring to them that God had rent the kingdom from them.

[2] Original Indian traditions record that the province of Guatemala was in early ages colonized by the Jews, who assumed the name of Tultecas, and established a powerful monarchy in that district of America, which lasted until the arrival of the Spaniards, when it experienced the fate of the Mexican empire. It is a singular fact, stated by Juarros in the first chapter of the second part of his History of Guatemala, that Montezuma, when in the power of the Spaniards, dispatched an ambassador secretly to the sovereign of that state to request his assistance: and the same author asserts, that the Mexicans and Tlascatecas, who accompanied as allies the invading army which the Spaniards sent against Guatemala, claimed kindred and *identity of origin* with the people of that province, and immediately formed intermarriages with them. The province of Guatemala is supposed by some writers to have derived its name from *Jiutemal,* the second king of the Tultecas who reigned in Utlatlan, its ancient capital: and although it is extremely difficult to trace the derivation of American proper names,—still to suppose that Judah may have entered into the composition of the proper name Jiutemal, by no means implies a forced etymology.

the night season, and am not silent. But thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the praises of Israel. Our fathers trusted in thee: they trusted, and thou didst deliver them. They cried unto thee, and were delivered: they trusted in thee, and were not confounded. But I am a worm, and no man; A REPROACH OF MEN, AND DESPISED OF THE PEOPLE. ALL THEY THAT SEE ME LAUGH ME TO SCORN: THEY SHOOT OUT THE LIP, THEY SHAKE THE HEAD, SAYING, HE TRUSTED ON THE LORD THAT HE WOULD DELIVER HIM: LET HIM DELIVER HIM, SEEING HE DELIGHTED IN HIM. But thou art he that took me out of the womb: thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother's belly. Be not far from me; for trouble is near; for there is none to help. Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round. They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion. I AM POURED OUT LIKE WATER, and *all my bones are out of joint: my heart is like wax; it is melted in the midst of my bowels.* My strength is dried up like a potsherd; and *my tongue cleaveth to my jaws;* and thou hast brought me into the dust of death. *For dogs have compassed me:* the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: THEY PIERCED MY HANDS AND MY FEET. *I may tell all my bones:* they look and stare upon me. THEY PART MY GARMENTS AMONG THEM, AND CAST LOTS UPON MY VESTURE. But be not thou far from me, O Lord: O my strength, haste thee to help me. Deliver my soul from the sword; *my darling from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion's mouth*: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns." The exclamation of David, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" with which this Psalm begins, and the expression, "I cry," in the passage immediately following,—which words, as well as those that immediately precede them, correspond so exactly with the phrase φωνησας φωνη μεγαλη, used by Saint Luke in the forty-sixth verse of the twenty-third chapter of his Gospel, have always been considered prophetically to foreshadow the exclamation and "cry" which Christ uttered on the cross, as recorded in the forty-sixth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and by Saint Mark in the thirty-fourth verse of the fifteenth chapter of his Gospel. The celebrity of the fact of Christ having cried with a loud voice and uttered an exclamation on the cross, is plain from *three* of the Evangelists having recorded it; and it is equally evident that the passage in the twenty-second Psalm, in which David foretold it, contains a famous prophecy of one event connected with the Crucifixion; which makes it the more singular that the phonetic symbol placed before the mouth of the figure represented in the attitude of a person being crucified, in page 75 of the Borgian MS., should render it probable that the Mexicans were acquainted with that prophecy. The passage "But I am a worm, and no man," in the sixth verse of the same Psalm, is particularly deserving of attention, as it suggests the idea that the Jews might have been acquainted with the cochineal, and that the mysterious Tyrian purple was obtained from the blood of that insect*. The words which immediately follow in the same context, "a reproach of men and despised of the

quia Indiana, lib. vi. cap. 26. After reading with attention the above curious passage, we cannot refrain from pointing out the possibility of the Mexicans having had some acquaintance with the legendary fable of Christ's descending into hell and compelling the devil to acknowledge him to be the Son of God. This legend is preserved in one of those histories of the life of Christ to which the title of 'spurious Gospels' is commonly given, but of the origin of which so little is known; nor is a pretended prophecy wanting to impose upon the credulity of the superstitious and the ignorant, since the words of David in the twenty-fourth Psalm,—"Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord *mighty in battle*,"—are alleged to have been sung on that occasion, as if David had foreseen the Messiah's victory over death and hell.

* The Hebrew word תולעת, which is supposed in the sixth verse of the twenty-second Psalm to mean 'a worm', signifies in *every other* passage in Scripture in which it occurs, *purple* or *scarlet;* and is usually joined with the word שני, signifying 'double dyed', or the insect from which the dye is made. The most literal interpretation therefore of the Psalmist's words would, according to the opinion of a learned commentator, in a note subjoined to page 622 of the first volume of the English Universal History, be, 'But as for me, I am *a scarlet insect*, and not a man;' which expressions would seem figuratively to allude to the body of Christ becoming, through his bearing the sins of the people, of the colour of sin, which was red or scarlet (as was likewise the colour of the skin of the heifer that was commanded in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers *to be burnt without* the camp of Israel, that its ashes mixed with water might become a purification for sin; and to which Saint Paul expressly refers in the thirteenth verse of the ninth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews as a type of Christ; and again in the eleventh and twelfth verses of the thirteenth chapter of the same Epistle), and to his body being bruised, and his blood shed like that of the scarlet worm, from which by such a process the purple dye must formerly, as at present, have been obtained by the Jews, supposing the worm alluded to was indeed the Cochineal, and that this insect became known to the Jews through the Tyrians in the days of David, with whom they were then united in the closest ties of amity, as they were in the ensuing reign of his son Solomon, frequently embarking in the same mercantile enterprises, and perhaps trading with the subjects of Hiram to

people," are acknowledged to be prophetically spoken of the Messiah. Isaiah employs nearly the same language in the third verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies, having just before foretold that the future Messiah should

some of the West Indian islands, or to a portion of the continent of America, as has already been supposed at page 182 of the sixth volume of this work. It cannot be deemed surprising that the Jews should have imagined to themselves some fanciful connection between sin and scarlet, sin being so frequently compared in the Old Testament to scarlet; as in the eighteenth verse of the first chapter of Isaiah, where God is supposed to apostrophize the Jews in the words "though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as *white* as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool," and Moses having been commanded to use scarlet in sacrifices for sin, and to burn scarlet cedar-wood, and hyssop along with the heifer whose ashes were to purify the people from uncleanness contracted by sin; and whose skin was to be red, as *a type* that like the scapegoat it bore the sins of the people; which mystical transfer of sin from the body of the actual sinner to that of an animal or of some innocent person, was a doctrine that wholly engrossed the minds of the Jews, that was continually inculcated in their daily sacrifices of atonement, that is declared by Saint Paul to have been exemplified in Christ, who uses the following strong language in the thirteenth verse of the third chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being *made a curse* for us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that *hangeth* on a tree;" citing in confirmation of what might there appear to be a startling truth, the declaration of Moses in the twenty-third verse of the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy, "He that is *hanged* is accursed of God." And that appears to have suggested to the Mexicans and the Peruvians the idea that the sins of a father might be transferred to the person of his son, and that the former would be forgiven by the latter dying to appease the anger of the deity,—an opinion which Acosta says, at page 300 of the sixth volume of this work, was very prevalent in Peru, and led to the sacrifices of children by their parents; and which appears to have been shared by the ancient Jews, if we may judge by the proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," which is declared in the eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel to have been common in the days of that prophet in the land of Israel, and which is explained in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses of the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah to allude to children dying for the sins of their fathers,—a belief which might have been adopted by the Jews from understanding in a wrong sense the denunciation contained in the second commandment against the children of idolaters, and which possibly led to the vicarial human sacrifices which for so many ages *after the Christian æra* polluted the soil of the New World. It is needless to remark, that the ancient Hebrew sacrifices of atonement were typical of the Messiah, whose future advent, and the happiness and blessings which the Deity was about to confer through him upon mankind, it would scarcely have been reasonable to suppose would have been foreshadowed by the deaths of a countless number of involuntary victims, whose blood bedewed the land of Palestine for nearly two thousand years before the Christian æra. On the contrary, it would have appeared far more probable, that a mysterious joy diffusing itself through all animate creation should have been the visible sign of the salvation predestined to mankind from on high. Such at least it may be presumed would have been the opinion of Pythagoras, who, if a Hebrew rabbi had attempted to convert and to lessen his abhorrence for living sacrifices, by referring to the Bible to prove that beasts were created merely to perish, were without souls, and therefore that the Deity would view with pleasure their blood flowing upon his altars,—would have found in these very arguments an additional reason for protesting against them; nor would he have been able to comprehend why the scheme of man's salvation should necessarily have involved in it the destruction of many millions of irrational animals. And here we must observe, that the language of Dr. Parkhurst, at page 63 of his Hebrew Lexicon, where treating of the origin of sacrifices and their relation to the future Redeemer, he says, "What in nature could be so proper a standing type of Him in this respect, as the firstling of an animal, *agonizing* and dying under the knife of the priest, and then consumed by fire?" is calculated to create surprise; especially if considered in connection with the observations contained in the concluding paragraph of the same article, which are as follow: "It may be further remarked, that a perversion of the true tradition concerning the redemption of man by the sufferings and death of the great first-born, was *no doubt* one source of the idolaters' sacrificing their own children, particularly their first-born. See 2 Kings, chap. iii. ver. 27; chap. xvi. ver. 3; chap. xxi. ver. 6; chap. xxiii. ver. 10; Jeremiah, chap. vii. ver. 31; chap. xix. ver. 5; Ezekiel, chap. xxiii. ver. 37; Micah, chap. vi. ver. 7. And in countries and ages far distant from those mentioned in Scripture, we find that the Peruvians of quality and those too of mean sort would sacrifice their first-born to redeem their own life, when the priest pronounced that they were mortally sick; and that the inhabitants of Florida sacrificed their first-born, if a male, to the Sun." Having already accounted on Scriptural grounds for the mysterious association, in the opinion of the Jews, of sin with the colour of scarlet, we shall here insert a passage from the English Universal History, and another from a treatise entitled, A View of the Jewish Religion, elsewhere quoted, illustrative not only of that point, but of the gross practical absurdities into which the doctrine of the atonement was perverted in the middle ages amongst them. The author of the Universal History, after describing at page 619 of that work the ceremonies with which the Jews were accustomed to celebrate the festival of Chipur, or the atonement, adds: "One thing, however, is worth observing, that on the eve of this solemnity the Jews of old used to take a white cock if it was to be had, if not of any other colour but *red*, and after a prayer they struck their heads with that of the cock three times, saying, *Bear* thou my sins; suffer thou the death I here deserved; die thou for me,—and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a blessed life with all the people of Israel. After which they killed the cock, confessing that they deserved the death they inflicted on him, and threw his entrails on he top of the house, in hopes that the crows would bear them and *their sins into the wilderness*. It is true this ceremony is looked upon by the Dutch Jews as sinful; and that Leo de Modena, who owns that it was practised heretofore in the Levant and Italy, adds that it was afterwards left off, because it was found to be a mere piece of superstition for which no tolerable reason could be assigned." But he seems to have forgot that they gave one, which however ridiculed by our learned Goodwin is not without *a singular meaning*. It is this; the word גבר (geber) in the Scripture signifying 'a man', and in the Talmud and Chaldee, 'a cock',—the Divine Justice required that as geber in the first sense had sinned, geber in the other sense should *bear* his sin. Now what other foundation can this custom have than the

be without beauty or comeliness, and should have a marred visage*, and that he should grow up as *a tender plant* before the Lord. To which latter prophecy, and the prediction contained in the twelfth verse of the sixth chapter of

prophecies, that the Messiah as geber in his human nature should expiate for the sins of man; unto whom therefore they substituted this typical geber or cock, till the antitypical one should accomplish that expiation by his death. And might not the Christians urging this against them be the motive of their abolishing it?" The author of the View of the Jewish Religion makes the following mention, at page 355 of his treatise, of the Jewish feast of atonement: "From the beginning of the year to the tenth day in which they celebrate the feast of atonement, they call the ten days of repentance, in which they fast and pray much with great affectation of pietie, in so much that although God hath writ any of them in the book of Death, and destined him an unhappie year, they think he will now look upon his repentance, and good works, revoke his sentence, and restore him to the book of Life. Every day in the morning they do thrice make their confession, neither doe they excommunicate, go to law with, or require an oath from any one, &c. The ninth day they rise early, go to the school, sing much and pray. So soone as they return home, all the males, as well boys, as men, take in their hands a cock, the women a henne, and those of them which are great with child both a cock and henne. Then each master of a family standing with his cock in his hands, says out of the Psalmes, Fools because of their transgression and because of their iniquities are afflicted. Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat: and they draw near unto the gates of death. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble: he saveth them out of their distresses. He sent his word and healed them: and delivered them from their destructions. O that men would praise the Lord for his goodnesse: and for his wonderfull works to the children of men: And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoycing. And also out of Job, If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand, to shew unto man his uprightnesse, then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransome (viz. the cock). After this he goes about his work of atonement, striking the cock thrice against his head, and saying at each stroke, Let this cock be in change for me, let him be in my place, let him be an expiation for me, let death be unto this cock, but unto me and all Israel life and prosperity. Amen. This he does thrice; for himself, his sonnes, and the strangers that are with him, as the high Priest made atonement, Levit. 16, 17. Then he kills the cock, and binding hard the skin of the neck, his meditation is, that he hath deserved to be so strangled: cutting the throat presently with his knife, he considers that he hath deserved to perish by the sword, then flinging him against the ground, shews by that, that he is worthy to be stoned. Lastly, roasting it; by that he designs his acknowledgement that he hath deserved to be destroyed by fire. These four kinds of death doth the cock undergoe for the Jews. The entrails they commonly fling to the top of their houses, out of charitie to the birds that they may participate something of their offering. But others say this is done by them, upon another account, namely, they think that their sinnes being internall, not externall, do therefore stick in the entrails of the cock, and the crows flying away with them, carry their sinnes too into the wildernesse, *like the scape goat*. They endeavour what they can that the cock they prepare for this offering may be white; a red one they never use, looking upon it as already full of sinne, and therefore not able to receive theirs, because sinne is said to be red, Isa. 1, 18. Though your sinnes be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow, though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool: now the white one they think is infected with no sinne, and so fittest to bear those of the Jews."

From the curious description in the first chapter of the Appendix to the third book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, of the funeral rites of the ancient Mexicans, it appears that they sacrificed on such occasions a dog with a red skin, burning it to ashes with the corpse of the deceased; which superstitious custom arguing their belief that red was the colour of sin, probably originated in a confused tradition of the sacrifice of the red heifer enjoined in the nineteenth chapter of Numbers, and of its *ashes* purifying the Jews from their sins. The reason for supposing that the colour of the dogs burnt at the Mexican funerals referred to sin, is grounded on the assumption that, like the Jews and the Peruvians, they believed in the possibility of transferring sin from the guilty person to the body of an innocent victim, and of thus averting the indignation of the Deity from themselves to the hapless object of his *vicarial wrath*. This doctrine it must be confessed was both odious and unjust, and it is illustrated in the parting advice which the Mexican priest gave to the penitent who had just confessed and received absolution for his sins, recommending him to reconcile himself to God by purchasing a slave, and making him an offering, perhaps a burnt sacrifice for sin. The entire of the speech of the Mexican priest to the penitent, which is very curious and completely Jewish both in tone and sentiment, will be found in the seventh chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain. Mention having been made of the sacrifice of the red heifer, and of its ashes mixed with water being used by the Jews as a purification from the defilement of sin, we may here observe that the rabbis declare, that the blood of the red heifer *polluting* the priest who was commanded to sprinkle it seven times before the tabernacle of the congregation, and the water of separation (the name which was given to its ashes mixed with water) *purifying the unclean* and yet *polluting the clean*, involves the greatest mystery of any contained in the Bible, which even "Solomon, who was master of all other mysteries and knowledge, and could account for every precept in the law, even those which forbad the eating of swine's flesh, or *wearing of mixtures of linen and wool*, yet *owned himself* ignorant of;" the solution of which mystery seems entirely to depend upon the right comprehension of the Jewish doctrine of the ideal transfer of sin or uncleanness from the body of the sinner to some other body, such as that of the red heifer, which in the beginning was presumed *to bear* the sins or *the uncleanness* of the people, and to be sacrificed for them; the touch therefore of so unclean a body made the clean, unclean; but its ashes being of a *mixed* nature, and their original uncleanness having been purified either wholly or in part by the combined action of fire and of water, they became fit recipients of the future uncleanness of the people; whilst the use for which they were destined, or perhaps a residue of uncleanness still attaching to them, rendered their touch sufficient to pollute the clean. It may not be very complimentary to the judgment of Solomon, to say, that it appears much more difficult to understand why the Jews were prohibited to sow their fields with mingled seed, and to wear

* In the Septuagint, ἀλλα το εἰδος αὐτου ἀτιμον, και ἐκλειπον παρα τους υἱους των ἀνθρωπων, which considerably varies from the Hebrew reading of the passage.

Zechariah, "that his *name* should be *the branch*," which is cited in the note subjoined to page 107 of the sixth volume of this work, and also at page 167, the Mexicans might have alluded in naming Quecalcoatle, Ceacatl, the signification of which proper name is the cane, to which the numeral *ce*, meaning 'one', is prefixed; and although the cane is not a plant the root of which grows out of dry ground*, still it should be remembered that "a tree planted by the side of deep waters" is a Scriptural metaphor,—that the Messiah is designated allegorically *calamus* and 'cinnamon' in the same passage in the fourth chapter of the Song of Solomon as that in which he is termed "a well of living waters,"—and that the American cane is no less distinguished for the sweetness of its juice, than for those qualities which the poets of the East have commended in odes descriptive of its extreme verdure, its graceful height, cool shade, and the music of the breeze sighing through its branches. To have named therefore the Messiah 'the Cane', instead of 'the Branch', would only have been substituting a specific for a generic appellation, although it remains still to be proved that Christ when he did appear was ever named 'the Branch' and 'Emmanuel' in the current dialect of any particular country, as Quecalcoatle was named Topiltzin and Ceacatl in that of Mexico; and the founder of the united monarchy of the Medes and Persians, Cyrus, in the language of Persia, whose coming, and the favour which he showed to the Jews,—restoring them to their country, rebuilding Jerusalem, and laying the foundations of the temple,—would not have fulfilled the words of ancient prophecy, if he had only in a solitary instance been named Cyrus, and then *for the purpose* of accomplishing the prediction of Isaiah in the third verse of the forty-fifth chapter of his Prophecies. It has been observed, at page 167 of the sixth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico, that the Jews might have understood in an exaggerated sense the words of Isaiah descriptive of the personal appearance of the Messiah, "his visage was so marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men;" in corroboration of which opinion we shall here remark that the Talmud declares that the Messiah is a leper seated amongst the sick at the gates of Rome, awaiting the determined period of his advent; which ridiculous belief seems to be founded on what is said in the Old Testament of the sufferings of Job, and is an exaggerated inference drawn from the often-cited text of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, "He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." This curious Jewish fable will serve also to remind those who meditate on the mysterious mythology of the Mexicans, that the Mexican god Tonatiuh was, before his voluntary sacrifice, designated Nanahuatzin, i.e. 'the man afflicted with sores'; and it is not unworthy of observation that the leprosy was accounted a *morbus sacer* amongst the Mexicans, as it was among the Jews; to which vulgar prejudice the names teococoliztli and teococolizpalaniliztli, words signifying in the Mexican language 'the leprosy', allude. The Mexican fable of Nanahuatzin being changed into the Sun will be found at page 372 of the sixth volume of this work; and it deserves to be compared with Sahagun's account of the same transmutation in the second chapter of the seventh book of his History of New Spain, which contains an extraordinary history of the gods who were assembled on the plains of Teotiuacan all dying shortly after the Sun's new appearance in heaven, who must have nearly resembled those gods mentioned in the following passage of the eighty-second Psalm, which is cited by Christ in the thirty-fifth verse of the tenth chapter of Saint John: "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." The seventh and eighth verses of the twenty-second Psalm, "All they that see me laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying, He trusted on the Lord that he would deliver him; let him deliver him, seeing he delighted

a vest of linen and of woolen mixed; or why, being commanded in the nineteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus not to let their cattle breed with those of a different kind, mules were held in such high estimation amongst them, that Solomon was led about the city of Jerusalem on the mule of David, to receive the salutations of the people as king; and that the Hebrew and Syriac names for a mule are *reces* and *achastheranim*, both of which, according to Nieremberg, in his treatise, De miraculosis Naturis Terræ Promissæ, signify, a highly valued animal.—Before terminating this digression we may observe, in reference to the supposition at the commencement of the note, that the famous Tyrian purple might have been the production of the cochineal, and procured by the Phœnicians from the West Indian Islands or the adjoining coast of Nicaragua,—that Melcartus the Tyrian Hercules, who it may with probability be supposed was a great voyager, was the reputed inventor of it, by accidentally remarking a dog's tooth stained with it. It is not unworthy of remark, that the same mystery which attached in early ages to the invention of the Tyrian dye, seems in later times to have spread the veil of oblivion over the history of the load-stone, the nature of which was in the beginning much misrepresented by those who were interested in the secret of its wonderful properties not being too generally divulged. With respect to the proper name Melcartus, Bochart supposes that the Tyrian Hercules was so called, because he was מלכ קרתא (Melec-cartha), *i. e.* 'the king of the city'; but Sir Isaac Newton imagines he received that appellation from being the founder or prince of Carteia, a city in Spain.

* The expression in the Septuagint is ῥιζα ἐν γῃ διψωσῃ, "a root in a *thirsty* soil," which epithet would be not unsuitable to a soil producing reeds, and subject to frequent irrigations.

in him," contain a famous prophecy of the contumelious treatment which Christ when crucified was to experience from the Jews; the concluding portion of which is cited almost to the letter in the following passage of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew: "And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross. Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God. The thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth." And its fulfilment is recorded also by Saint Mark in the fifteenth chapter of his Gospel: "And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself, and come down from the cross. Likewise also the chief priests, mocking, said among themselves with the scribes, He saved others; himself he cannot save. Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe. And they that were crucified with him reviled him." And by Saint Luke in the twenty-third chapter of his Gospel: "And the people stood beholding: and the rulers also with them derided him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God. And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar, and saying, If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself. And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. And *one* of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering, rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." The fulfilment of the above-mentioned prophecy seems intended to be alluded to in the fourth page of the Codex Borgianus, by the painting of two persons on the right and the left hand of another in the attitude of a person crucified, whom they seem to be in the act of reviling: their position and number would favour the supposition that they were the two thieves mentioned in the New Testament; but, since they are not represented themselves as crucified, they perhaps only signify a mixed multitude of scoffers and mockers. We cannot refrain from here remarking, in reference to an observation at page 84 of the sixth volume of the present work, that legendary tales began probably at a very early period to be mixed up with the Evangelical accounts of the Crucifixion; that there occur three remarkable discrepancies in the several accounts given by the Evangelists of three events connected with the Crucifixion, themselves important and allied to ancient prophecies, and which therefore require some elucidation. The first discrepancy relates to the two thieves:—Saint Matthew and Saint Mark declare that they *both* reviled Christ, while Saint Luke says that one of them railed on him, and that the *other* rebuked him for so doing. The crucifixion of the thieves along with the Messiah, and Joseph of Arimathæa, the rich man, begging the body of the latter and burying it in his own sepulchre, was foretold by Isaiah in the ninth verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies: "And he made his grave *with the wicked*, and *with the rich* in his death, because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth." The second discrepancy relates to the death of Judas Iscariot: and the third to the purchase of the potter's field with the thirty pieces of silver, the sum for which Christ was betrayed by Judas to the Jews. According to Saint Matthew, Judas Iscariot *hanged himself*, and it was the chief priests who purchased the potter's field, as is very unequivocally declared in the following passage of the twenty-seventh chapter of his Gospel: "Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and *hanged himself*. And the *chief priests took the silver pieces*, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And *they* took counsel, and *bought* with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And *they* took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and *gave them* for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." In the first chapter of the Acts it says, on the contrary, that Judas Iscariot purchased the field, and that *he fell headlong* and burst asunder *in the midst:* "And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of

the disciples, and said, (the number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty,) Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. Now *this man* purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and *falling headlong*, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto *all* the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood. For it is written in the Book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishoprick let another take." The prophecy of Jeremiah to which Saint Matthew refers is not to be found in the Old Testament; and hence it appears possible that by a slight inadvertence that Evangelist might have written Jeremy instead of Zechariah, since in the eleventh chapter of the latter prophet such a prophecy does seem to occur, if indeed the term prophetical allegory would not better characterize the following passage in which it is contained: "And I took my staff, even Beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people. And it was broken in that day: and so the poor of the flock that waited upon me knew that it was the word of the Lord. And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my price: and if not, forbear. So *they* weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord." The language of David in the ninth and tenth verses of the twenty-second Psalm, "But thou art he that took me out of the womb: thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I was cast upon thee from the womb: thou art my God from my mother's belly," nearly resembles that employed by God in his address to Jeremiah in the fifth verse of the first chapter of his Prophecies, "*Before* I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee *; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." And it is scarcely necessary to observe that the words of David refer to the future Messiah, who was to be consecrated from the womb, and to be a *Nazarite* unto God; an event which was foreshadowed at a very early period of Jewish history by the type of the angel appearing to the wife of Manoah, and announcing to her that she should bear a son who should begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines: "For, lo, thou shalt conceive and bear a son, and no razor shall come on his head; for the child shall be a Nazarite unto God from the womb, and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines." To this passage in the thirteenth chapter of Judges is sometimes referred the passage in the Gospel of Saint Matthew: "And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene." The city of Nazareth might possibly have received that appellation from its being a common place of resort for Nazarites; and on this supposition, Christ's going thither and being called a Nazarene might have been the fulfilment or perfect manifestation of that which ages before was typified of him by Samson. A very remarkable prophecy respecting the colour of the Nazarites, whose visages were to become blacker than a coal, occurs in the fourth chapter of the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire: *their visage is blacker than a coal;* they are not known in the streets; their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick." We cannot refrain from connecting this prophecy with the sable hue of the faces of some of the figures in the Mexican paintings, and especially with the black and deformed visage of Quecalcoatle in the seventy-second page of the Borgian MS. The passage in the Psalms, "They gaped upon me with their mouths as a ravening and a roaring lion," may perhaps be alluded to by the heads of ferocious animals in the seventy-first page of the same Mexican paintings. The sentence which immediately follows, "I am poured out like water, and all my bones are out

* The Mexicans believed that children were created by Tezcatlipoca before the foundation of the world, but that they were without form and material existence until after he had fashioned them in their mother's womb. The idea which they likewise entertained, that a hollow cavity in the centre of the earth was the general receptacle for the dead, seems to have been derived from a Hebrew source; and the language of David in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of the hundred-and-thirty-ninth Psalm, "My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, *and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth;* thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all *my members* were written, which in continuance were fashioned, *when as yet there was none of them;*" might have furnished the rabbis with a pretext for maintaining this absurd doctrine; since, it being declared elsewhere in Scripture, that *man goeth whither he came*, it is evident, if these words are to be understood literally, that if children were formed by God in the lowest parts of the earth, the dead would have to return thither; a notion which in the opinion of a Jew would acquire a further degree of probability from the concluding portion of the thirty-second chapter of the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which seems on the first perusal so strongly to favour it.

of joint," contains a prophecy evidently referring to the water that flowed from the side of Christ after he had been pierced with the spear: and it seems also to predict that the Messiah would be put to the torture; a fact not recorded by the Evangelists, although unequivocally foretold in the following passage of the second chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, a book which it is proper to observe is of apocryphal authority: "He professeth to have the knowledge of God: and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold: for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true: and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. *Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture*, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death: for by his own saying he shall be respected." This passage we have the more readily inserted, because Quecalcoatle is frequently represented in the Mexican paintings suffering various kinds of torture. In the seventy-fifth page of the Borgian MS. the joints of his wrists, knees, and ancles seem to be severed, and from each wound the ministers of torture appear to be extracting a heart: the instruments which they employ are knives of flint, and the heart may be symbolical of life-blood flowing from mortal wounds. The coincidence is singular, that the next sentence to "all my bones are out of joint" should be "my heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels," since a large heart occupies the centre of the same painting, which appears to be melting away in a stream of blood. That a heart is signified by the oval ball in the hands of the smaller figures, will be evident from comparing that painting with others representing human sacrifices, one of which will be found at the seventy-third page of the Borgian MS., where a similar symbol is represented in the hand of the priest who officiated and tore out the heart of the victim through the aperture previously made in his breast. In the twenty-ninth page of the Borgian MS. a figure occurs which it is to be presumed, from the sign of the earthquake and the cross that accompany it, is intended to represent Quecalcoatle, both the hands and feet of which appear to be dislocated; and in the sixty-eighth page of the same MS. there is a similar figure *lying as it were among the pots*. It is highly deserving of observation, that "all my bones are severed" would well express the meaning of the Hebrew passage which in the Septuagint is translated διεσκορπισθη παντα τα ὀστα μου, "are *scattered*." But here occurs a great difficulty, the full force of which must be felt in the Greek passage, and would also be felt in the Hebrew but for the alteration of the word "severed" into "*dislocating*" or "putting out of joint" by the English translators of the Bible; since how would this prophecy accord with that cited by Saint John in the nineteenth chapter of his Gospel, "But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs*: but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced

* The Jews resembled the Mexicans in mixing mock humanity with revolting cruelty in the execution of their penal laws: and it would be extremely difficult to say whether the custom of burning victims alive, and at the same time of throwing powder of Yauhtli into their faces to diminish their sufferings, as related of the Mexicans by Sahagun; or that of crucifying them, and of afterwards breaking their legs to hasten their death, on the eve of the Sabbath, was most shocking. Here, however, as elsewhere, the palm must be conceded to the Jews; since it is impossible that they could have derived their custom from the Mexicans, whilst it is extremely probable that the latter people borrowed their notion of *burnt sacrifices* from the Hebrews, whose ancient leader Jephtha offered up the first human burnt sacrifice to the Deity recorded in history, as is unequivocally declared in the thirty-ninth verse of the eleventh chapter of Judges. We shall here insert the passage of the Gospel of Saint John, in which mention is made of the Hebrew custom of breaking the legs of crucified persons to hasten their death, on the eve of the Sabbath; since from that passage it appears plain that this barbarity was not a wanton act resorted to on one particular occasion, but an established usage amongst the Jews, who applied in the first instance to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, for leave to carry it into execution. "The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath-day, (for that Sabbath-day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs[1] of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him: but when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs." The text of Scripture to which Saint John refers, to prove in this instance the accomplishment of prophecy, are the words of David in the thirty-fourth Psalm, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous; but the Lord delivereth him out of them all. He keepeth all his bones; *not one of them is broken*. Evil shall slay the wicked; and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate:" which, like many other passages of Scripture, it required inspiration

[1] The Mexicans were accustomed to break the legs of a crucified person on one of their most solemn festivals, and to leave him to die upon the cross. This curious fact is stated by Motolinia in the tenth chapter of the first part of his inedited treatise concerning the idolatry of the Indians of New Spain.

his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe; for these things were done, that Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken. And again another Scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced*." It would rather agree with the words of Jeremiah, in the third chapter of his Lamentations, "My flesh and my skin hath he made old, *he hath broken my bones*," which the Jews understood to have been prophetically spoken of the Messiah, as has been already observed in the note subjoined to page 109 of the sixth volume of this work, and which implied no denial on their part of David's prophecy in the sixteenth Psalm, "For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." It would appear, on the contrary, from the painting of the descent of Quecalcoatle into hell, as represented in the seventy-third page of the Borgian MS., that they applied the fulfilment of the latter prophecy to him. It is extremely singular that several Mexican paintings should represent Quecalcoatle with his side pierced with a spear, and water flowing from the wound; and it will appear still more so, if considered in connection with the superstitious belief of the people of Cholula, that water would flow from *the side* of the temple of Quecalcoatle, and destroy their enemies, if need required; and with the curious ceremony of the priest Quetzalcohuatl throwing a spear *at the side* of the god Huitzilopochtli, in order to kill him, to eat his body,—an account of which will be found at page 415 of the sixth volume of the present work; and finally, with what Baron de Humboldt says of an animal resembling the paschal lamb, which, according to the tradition of the Mexicans, was the symbol of suffering innocence, which animal they painted *with its side pierced with a spear*, in the manner represented in the seventeenth page of the Borgian MS. The paintings which represent Quecalcoatle pierced with a spear, and water† issuing from the wound, occur at the sixty-first page of the Borgian MS., and

to know was prophetical of the Messiah; since the obvious sense of the entire context is simply, that God protects the good from harm, and punishes the wicked. It should also be observed, that the paschal lamb (the flesh of which was eaten for ages, *as a type*, by that very people who have ever *rejected the sacrament of the communion*,) foreshadowed the Messiah; and Moses ordained, in the forty-sixth verse of the twelfth chapter of Exodus, that none of its bones should be broken, and repeated the prohibition in the twelfth verse of the ninth chapter of Numbers. Some writers have gone so far as to imagine that the bone, which by a miracle was preserved unbroken in the hands of Samson until he had slain a thousand of his enemies the Philistines, and from the side of which water afterwards miraculously flowed forth, was mysteriously typical of the war which the Messiah would wage with Antichrist, and of the victory which he was to achieve upon the Cross. Having already remarked, in the note subjoined to page 84 of the sixth volume of this work, that the primitive Christians would in all probability have considered Samson a type of the Messiah, we may add to the reasons which are there enumerated, that the words of Isaiah, in the twelfth verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies, "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the *spoil* with the strong," which prospectively relate to the Messiah, may retrospectively allude to the account, contained in the fourteenth chapter of Judges, of Samson slaying a lion, and afterwards discovering honey in its carcase, which he ate,—an event which, if it had not been connected with some hidden mystery, would scarcely have been recorded of Samson in the Bible.

* Saint John here alludes to the passage, "and they shall look upon me whom they pierced," in the tenth verse of the twelfth chapter of Zechariah: but if Zechariah intended to predict in that particular passage, (as commentators on the prophecies do not scruple to maintain,) the future conversion of the Jews to Christianity, and the remorse which they would feel on account of their ancestors having put to death the Messiah,—how does this accord with what is there said, of their giving expression to their grief by mourning, according to the prescriptions of the Mosaic law, the rites of which Christ came into the world to abolish?—for to the enactments of the Hebrew ritual must be referred the custom of men's separating themselves from their wives on solemn religious occasions, and at periods of public mourning, a custom enjoined in the fifteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Exodus, referred to in the fourth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the First Book of Samuel, and exemplified in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the Prophecies of Zechariah, "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; and they shall look *upon me* whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn *for him*, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born. In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon. And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart; all the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart." The interpreter of the Vatican Codex asserts, at page 210 of the sixth volume of this work, that "the Mexicans, on every sign dedicated to fasting, separated themselves from their wives:" and Acosta declares, at page 303 of the same volume, that the Peruvians observed a like superstitious usage on the solemn festival of Ytu. Other authors of less celebrity declare that the same custom prevailed amongst the ruder Indian tribes of the Oronoco.

† Water was a Hebrew type of the Messiah, and the phrase "living waters" occurs in the eighth verse of the fourteenth chapter of Zechariah, in which it is declared that on the day of the Lord the feet of the Lord should stand upon the Mount of Olives, which should

at the ninth page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Library of the Institute at Bologna. In the former of these paintings it is his *leg*, and not his side, that is pierced, and *blood as well as water* flows from the wound; in both be *cleft* in the midst. To this prophecy, however little regarded by Christians, the Jews, who always understand the text of Scripture in a literal sense, would in all ages have attached the greatest importance, understanding it to refer to their own restoration, and to God's taking vengeance upon their enemies; and hence perhaps the reason why cleft mountains, as well as cleft houses, are so frequently represented in the Mexican paintings. The frequent occurrence of the latter symbol in the Mexican painting preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, has already been noticed at page 96 of the sixth volume of this work. The phrase "living water" occurs in the New Testament in the fourth and seventh chapters of the Gospel of St. John, in the former of which Christ discourses with the Samaritan woman about the living water; and in the thirty-eighth verse of the latter chapter he declares, "He that believeth in me, as the Scripture hath said, *out of his belly*[1] shall flow rivers of living water." It is extremely singular that the Mexicans should have had their living water, and living bread, the latter of which they named Toyoliatlaquatl[2]; and mention is made of the former in the thirty-seventh chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, where the midwife thus addresses the infant which she was about to baptize:—"Despues de esto, echabale el agua sobre la cabeza, diciendo: O nieto mio, O hijo mio, recibe y toma el agua del Señor del mundo *que és nuestra vida*, y és paraque nuestro cuerpo crezca y reverdezca, es para lavar y limpiar; ruego que entre en tu cuerpo y *alli viva* esta agua celestial azul y azul clara; ruego que ella destruya y aparte todo lo malo y contrario que te fue dadó antes del principio del mundo, porque todos nosotros los hombres somos dejados en su mano, porque es nuestra madre Chalchiuitlycue." "After this, she sprinkled the water upon its head, saying: O my child and grandson, receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life, that causes our bodies to grow, and to arrive at maturity, and which is for cleansing and for purification; I pray that this heavenly and blue water, this transparent blue water, may enter into your body and *live there*; I pray that it may destroy and remove whatever of evil or misfortune was assigned to you *before the beginning of the world*, for we mortals are all committed to its hand, for it is our mother Chalchiuitlycue[3]." The belief of the Mexicans[4], both in the doctrine of original sin and predestination is here plainly declared; but the expression "before the beginning of the world" must be understood to mean, before the birth and conception of the infant; since it was the sin of Cioacoatl, which was committed after the commencement of the world, that brought sin into it and entailed it upon her posterity. Whether the doctrine of original sin was perverted by the ancient Jews to the purposes of fraud and judicial astrology, it would be difficult to say; since the policy of the early Christian Fathers consigned to oblivion every fragment of profane Hebrew history. We only know that the Jews in the age of Christ were great astrologers, and possessed books for divination, many of which were brought to the Apostles and destroyed. There are however strong grounds for believing that such was actually the case amongst the Mexicans[5]; since Sahagun informs us, in the thirty-sixth chapter of the sixth book of his History of New Spain, that Mexican parents immediately after the birth of their children sent for the tonalpouhqui, or diviner, to learn the good and *evil* qualities which the child had brought with it *into the world;* which, after taking the horoscope of the infant, and inspecting the calendar, in order to know the nature of the sign which presided at its birth, he presently informed them. It being once conceded that the Mexicans were acquainted with the doctrine of original sin, upon which foundation Christianity and Judaism may be said to be based, little surprise will be felt at learning, from the following passage of the inedited work of an esteemed Spanish writer, that they were acquainted with many other facts recorded in the third chapter of the Book of Genesis. "They also believe that this supreme being created a man and a woman in a delightful garden, and that from this single pair all mankind are descended; and they represent them in their paintings almost in the manner in which we depict them: But the sin which they committed, and which caused their expulsion from that pleasant habitation, I find no mention of in any of the writings which I possess explanatory of these historical paintings; but still I cannot persuade myself that the ancient Tultecas were ignorant of it: on the contrary, I have positive grounds for believing that they preserved the knowledge of it, and that it was one of those traditions which they were

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[1] The Mexicans sometimes painted a river of water flowing from the bellies of their mythological personages; an example of which occurs in the twentieth and fiftieth pages of the Borgian MS.: in the former of which the cross, in the shape of the Greek letter T, deserves to be noticed; the skulls in that painting signify that the place is Zonpantli, a word which exactly corresponds in signification with the Hebrew term Golgotha.

[2] The Mexicans named the bread which they ate at their communion Toyoliatlaquatl, which word is compounded of *to*, signifying in the Mexican language 'our'; *yolotl* 'a heart,' metaphorically meaning also 'life'; *atl* 'water'; and *tlaqualli*, defined by Molina, in his Mexican Dictionary, to be 'comida ó vianda,' solid food. It may be presumed, from the painting in the fourth page of the Codex Borgianus, (the subject of which appears to be the crucifixion of Quecalcoatle, and the institution of the rite of teoqualo amongst his disciples,) that it was customary for the Mexican priests, if not for the laity, to drink blood as well as to eat bread at their communion. But if surprise should be felt at the part of the body of Quecalcoatle from which blood seems to flow, that surprise will be somewhat abated by the consideration that circumcision was a sacrament in the Jewish church to which no manner of exception has ever been taken, and that *par est ratio* may be pleaded by the apologists of the ancient Mexicans.

[3] Water was dedicated to the Mexican goddess Chalchiuitlycue, and was esteemed by the Mexicans essential to regeneration.

[4] The people of Yucatan believed likewise in regeneration by means of baptism, as has already been remarked at page 414 of the sixth volume of the present work.

[5] Vide the note subjoined to page 6 of the sixth volume of this work.

he appears to be crowned with thorns; whilst the symbols of the smoking mirror and the cross denote that it is Quecalcoatle against whom Death is directing his spear. It has been already observed that the teotecpatl, or divine stone, was revered as a religious symbol by the Mexicans*, and placed by them upon their altars; and we

most anxious to transmit, by means of the art of painting, to their posterity; since, amongst the paintings which I have inspected, there is one, having the appearance of great antiquity, which is drawn upon very coarse paper of the aloe, and represents a garden with a single tree, round the root of which is entwined a serpent, whose head appearing above the foliage displays the features and countenance of a woman; and a similar representation is found in other paintings. Those who explain its signification say that it is one of the goddesses, whom they afterwards worshiped in idolatrous ages, to whom they gave the name of Cihuacohuatl, which signifies 'the woman-serpent'[1]. Torquemada admits the existence of this tradition amongst them, and agrees with the Indian historians, who affirm that this was the first woman in the world who had children, and from whom all mankind are descended; they accordingly give her the name of Oxomozco, which others write Otzomozco, and interpret 'the gluttonous pregnant woman', compounding it of the word *otztli*, which signifies 'a pregnant woman', and of *moxipthuani*, which means 'a longing for food'. They bestowed upon her likewise the epithets of Titiel, which signifies 'our mother', or 'the womb from which we are born,' and of Teoxaomuiqui, which signifies 'the goddess who gathers to herself the souls of the dead': they dedicated to her one of the months of the year, in which they celebrated a festival in commemoration of their deceased kindred, and erected famous temples to her, as we shall presently see. I am induced, from all these circumstances, to believe that the ancient Tultecas were very well acquainted with the sin of the first man, committed at the suggestion of the woman, herself deceived by-the serpent, who tempted her with the fruit of the forbidden tree, who was the origin of all our calamities, and by whom death came into the world; and that this was what they intended to represent in their symbolical paintings, hoping by their means to hand down the history to their posterity, which ignorance afterwards disfigured and mixed up with fables, obscuring the truth and corrupting real religion. Possibly the confusion and horror with which they were in the beginning accustomed to contemplate these symbolical figures,—which perpetually reminded them of the sin of the first man, the prime cause of the greatest calamities that could have befallen the human race, the root of all evil, and the origin of death,—furnished ignorance with a plea, when the just horror for that sin had degenerated into idolatry, for inventing the story of this goddess, who gathered to herself the souls of the dead. I likewise find another analogy in the name which they have from ancient times to the present day given to the serpent, which is Cohuatlahueliloc, which signifies 'the serpent-devil', that being the epithet they most commonly apply to the serpent in the Mexican language."—The above passage is taken from the first chapter of the first book of the History of the Origin of the Indians who peopled New Spain, by Don Mariano Fernandez de Echevarria y Veitia, a Spanish author of the last century.

* Selden observes in the third chapter of the Preface to his treatise De Diis Syris, that the phrase ὁ θεος 'Αβρααμ, ὁ θεος 'Ισαακ, ὁ θεος 'Ιακωβ, which so frequently occurs in the Old Testament, led the ancient Jewish cabalists, availing themselves of the equivocation caused by the omission of the Greek article του before these proper names, to maintain that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were gods. "Id quod toties occurrit, ὁ θεος 'Αβρααμ, ὁ θεος 'Ισαακ, ὁ θεος 'Ιακωβ, jamdiu est cum in carmina transmigravit *magica*; atque ita est sumptum, ut nec Abraham, nec Isaac, nec Jacob, alius quam *deus* ob amphiboliam censeretur: de quâ re, si placet, consulendus Origines adversus Celsum, lib. iv. et ejusmodi alia habet lib. i. et v. uti etiam Trallianus medicus, lib. xi." It is not surprising that the Jews should have been inclined in all ages to pay superstitious reverence to their deceased patriarchs, or even to invoke their tutelary aid in seasons of calamity; since other nations, whose darkest idolatry[2] fell infinitely short of the Hebrew profanation of whatever

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[1] Amongst the specimens of Mexican sculpture copied from the valuable collection of M. Latour Allard, and inserted in the fourth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico, will be found a serpent with a human face, occupying a place in the same plate with the bust of Chantico, or the sacred wolf; which animal, whether from any fanciful association of it with the rising sun, or from its delighting in carnage, and on that account being a fit type of Huitzilopochtli, was held in the highest honour by the Mexicans.

[2] The idolatry of the Mexicans was no less compatible with a belief in the unity of the Deity than the idolatry of the ancient Jews; and indeed, when we consider that the latter acknowledged a multitude of angels, archangels, principalities, thrones, dominions, and powers, as the subordinate personages of their hierarchy, it is difficult to recognise any great difference between their Unitarian creed and the polytheism of the ancients; nor would it be surprising if the line of distinction should become still more faint, due allowance being made for the latitude of signification which the Greeks assigned to the term θεος, and the Romans to *Deus*, epithets which equally belonged to him whom the Greeks styled ἀριστος, μεγιστος, and the Romans declared to have no equal, "cui nullum simile aut secundum," and to the lesser gods of Olympus. Having shown that the religion of the Mexicans resembled that of the Jews, both in their acknowledging the unity of the Deity in the person of Tezcatlipoca, and in their worshiping at the same time a multitude of idols, the beings of their own imagination, we shall proceed to point out another striking analogy between the religions of the two people. They both believed in a plurality of devils subordinate to one head, or prince, whom the Mexicans named Mictlantecutli or Zontemoque, and the Jews, Satan. And from the following passage of Selden, whose authority on a question of this kind is generally allowed to possess great weight, it will appear highly probable that the deprecatory worship which the Mexicans paid to Mictlantecutli originated in the offerings which the Jews were accustomed to make to the Devil on the day of Chipur, or the Atonement, and which are mentioned in the sixth chapter of the second part of the above-mentioned author's treatise De Diis Syris: "Volunt autem Samaelem proprium esse Diaboli nomen, qui primos parentes fefellit, eumque *colubro cameli speciem ferente* vectum. Rambam Ægyptius More Neboch. ii. c. xxxi. Coluber fuit equitatus, et ejus quantitas sicut cameli, et equitatus ejus fuit sicut ille qui decepit Evam, et ipsa fuit Zamael, (de Samaele

may further remark, that figures of hills or mountains frequently occur in their mythological paintings; and that they had a superstitious custom, described in the seventy-second page of Sahagun's History of New Spain, of making dough images of mountains. This observation is here introduced in reference to the painting of a mountain in the tenth page of the MS. of Bologna, *the heart* of which, emblematical perhaps of Votan, is represented pierced with a

was sacred in religion, have observed the same custom. Our principal reason, however, for here recurring to the ancient superstitious usages of the Jews, is to show the probability that when they first colonized America, they exalted to the rank of tutelary divinities Adam, Eve, and a long list of patriarchs and prophets, *giving them a place in their calendar,* with a view to obtain their propitious influence over the destinies of their descendants. Nor on such a supposition would it have been at all surprising if the teotecpatl or divine stone which the Mexicans placed upon their altars was intended as a symbol of the Rock of Israel. Some persons may even imagine that the tradition of the flint that the goddess Citlalicue bore to the god Citlalatonac, which was cast from heaven, and falling on the earth gave birth to sixteen hundred gods, was founded on that of the stone which the builders refused becoming *the head stone* of the corner, and upon the saying in Scripture, that it would be easy for God from the very stones to raise up seed unto Abraham,—which is perhaps alluded to in the seventh page of the Codex Borgianus, where flints appear to be giving birth to a family of *circumcised* children. Torquemada records, in the following passage of the forty-first chapter of the sixth book of his Indian Monarchy, the Mexican tradition of the fall of the flint from heaven. The entire of his account is too long to transcribe:—" Cuenta el venerable, y mui religioso Padre Fr. Andrés de Olmos, que lo que coligió de las pinturas, y relaciones, que le dieron los caciques de Mexico, Tetzcuco, Tlaxcalla, Huexotzinco, Cholulla, Tepeaca, Tlalmanalco, y las demás cabeceras, á cerca de los dioses que tenian, es, que diversas provincias, y pueblos, servian, y adoraban á diversos dioses, y diferentemente relataban diversos desatinos, fabulas, y ficciones, las quales ellos tenian por cosas ciertas; porque sino las tuvieran por tales, no las pusieran por obra, con tanta diligencia, y eficacia, como se dice tratando de sus fiestas. Pero yá que en diversas maneras cada provincia daba su relacion, por la maior parte venian á concluír, que en el cielo avia un dios llamado Citlalatonac, y una diosa llamada Citlalicue; y que *la diosa parió un navajon, ó pedernal,* que en su lengua llaman *Tecpatl;* de lo qual admirados, y espantados los otros sus hijos, *acordaron de hechar de el cielo al dicho navajon, y assi lo pusieron por obra,* y que caió en cierta parte de la tierra, donde decian Chicomoztoc, que quiere decir siéte cuevas. Dicen salieron de él mil y seiscientos dioses y diosas." The continuation of the story is a mere allegory; and the fable of the voluntary death of the sixteen hundred gods on the first appearance of the Sun in the heavens, might

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intelligo). Hoc autem nomen dicunt præcise de Diabolo. Veteri commemoratione sanctorum Ecclesiæ Orientalis legitur: Accusationis Samaelis ne recorderis, memento autem defensionum Michaelis. De Asmodæo videre licet historiam Tobit. Diverbium est et Ebræis: '*Date munus ipsi Samael in die Expiationum*': ita Elias. Nominatur *astrologis* Judæorum, *angelus ille* quem diei Martis præesse nugantur, Samael. Notissimum Satanæ nomen est et velut Diabolo seu cacodæmonum principi proprium. Et ut Διαβολος calumniator, Satan adversarius sive inimicus, hoc est שטן, interpretatur. Utroque instrumento obvium est. Et in Enochi Apocryphis vetustissimis, si fides autori Testamenti Patriarcharum, occurrit. *Princeps vester est Satanas:* de quo nomine, vide si placet, quæ Justinus Martyr dialogo ad Tryphonem Judæum. De Luciferi nomine consulendus Eusebius in Demonstrat. Evangelic. lib. iv. cap. ix." The rabbinical tradition noticed by Selden is extremely curious, and the story of the serpent which resembled a camel reminds us that the representations of serpents of very extraordinary form, combining the head of a quadruped with the tail and body of a reptile, not unfrequently occur in the Mexican paintings preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The fact in itself, that the Jews in past ages should have been accustomed to offer gifts to Satan on the festival of the Atonement, being curious, and one which, if substantiated, must be fertile in inferences, and would tend to explain the mixed worship of the Mexicans, who adored Tezcatlipoca, and presented at the same time deprecatory offerings to Mictlantecutli,—we shall quote a passage from the twenty-first chapter of the treatise entitled " A View of the Jewish Religion," elsewhere referred to, in which mention is made of that mysterious rite: " In brief, this day of atonement they are so holy and zealous, that the Devil himself would be forced to commend their piety. Hence you may read in R. Eliezer this dialogue: In the day that God gave the law, the unclean spirit Samael spoke thus unto him: O Lord of the whole world, thou hast given me power over all the nations of the earth, but over Israel thou hast given me no power. God answered, In the day of atonement, if thou find sin in them, I will then give thee power over them; if not, I will not give thee power. Therefore, they give gifts to Satan on that day, *that he may not interrupt their offering.* But when Samael had on this day found the people of Israel without sin, he said unto God, Thou hast a people on earth like unto the angels in heaven; for as they stand upright, neither eating nor drinking, and are at amity one with another, such also is this people of Israel in that day. When God hears this from the evil spirit, he presently pardons their sins, and hears their prayers. In another place it is said that they give a gift to the Devil, because they would blind his eyes that he may not accuse them,—Exod. xxiii. 8: A gift blindeth *the wise.*" Whether Christ, in using the phrase " your father the Devil," to the Pharisees, could have alluded to any undue homage which the Jews in his age paid to Satan, it would be difficult to determine: but the ninth verse of the fourth chapter of Saint Matthew informs us that the Devil entertained the hope that he could induce, by a promise of temporal power and dominion, the second person of the Trinity to fall down and worship him; from which it might be inferred, that having received adoration from the chosen people of God, he was so presumptuous as to hope to obtain it from God himself. The temptation of Christ by the Devil is the subject of the fourth chapter of Saint Matthew, and of the fourth chapter of Saint Luke; but the order in which the temptations follow each other in those two chapters is not the same, the cause of which, at this distance of time, it would be vain to try to account for.

spear, while separate streams of blood and of *water* appear to proceed from its base: in the lower compartment of the same page is a mysterious image of the Sun transfixed by a spear,—symbolical it is to be supposed of Quecalcoatle, have originated in the tradition of the religion of Quecalcoatle, who was typified by the Sun, having triumphed over all the other religions [1] of the country, and of many persons of adverse sects having been sacrificed on the occasion. Nor will this supposition appear so inadmissible, when it is recollected that the Mexicans applied the epithet of Teulis or 'gods' to their own priests, and also to the Spaniards, exhibiting by so doing a strange conformity with the manners of the ancient Jews, who styled the princes of their several tribes gods, as appears from the language of David in the first verse of the eighty-second Psalm, which is translated in the Septuagint, Ὁ Θεος ἐστη ἐν συναγωγῃ Θεων, ἐν μεσῳ δε Θεους διακρινει. "God stood in the assembly of the gods; he arbitrates in the midst between the gods." The seventh verse of the same Psalm, "I have said, *Ye are gods*; and all of you are children of the Most High. But *ye shall die like men*, and fall like one of the princes,"—is appealed to by Christ in the thirty-fifth verse of the tenth chapter of Saint John, with the intention, as it would appear, of lessening the irritation which the Jews felt at his styling himself *the Son* of God, by reminding them that the appellation even of "gods" had been given in Scripture to righteous persons predestined to die. The following passages in Scripture, in which God and the Messiah are metaphorically designated "stones", occur in Deuteronomy, the Psalms, the Books of Isaiah and Daniel, and the New Testament: they are here cited, not with the intention of multiplying Scriptural quotations, but in the full belief that a perversion of the meaning of these particular passages, and the substitution of typical acts for typical expressions, led to the senseless superstition among the Jews of later ages, which, in contradistinction to idolatry strictly so named, or the worship of carved images, may be called rock or flint [2] worship. "He is the Rock, his work is perfect: for all his ways are judgment: a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he."—"Of the Rock that *begat thee* thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee."—"How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their Rock had sold them, and the Lord *had shut them up*?"—"For their rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themselves being judges."—"I will say unto God my Rock, Why hast thou forgotten me? why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?"—"To show that the Lord is upright: he is my Rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him."—"O come, let us sing unto the Lord: let us make a joyful noise to the Rock of our salvation."—"The Stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner."—"Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste."—"Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the Rock whence ye are hewn, and to *the hole of the pit whence ye are digged*."—"Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces."—"Jesus saith unto them, Did ye never read in the Scriptures, The Stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner; this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?"—"And have ye not read this Scripture; The Stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner?"—"And he beheld them, and said, What is this then that is written, The Stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner?"—"This is the Stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner." We may here remark that Cephas and Boanerges were names given by Christ to two of his disciples, the former signifying a 'stone,' and the latter 'the son of the thunderbolt'. These names were undoubtedly symbolical, and Saint Peter appears to allude to them in the fifth verse of the second chapter of his First General Epistle, "Ye also, *as lively stones*, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." When it is recollected that Christ named two of his disciples 'thunderbolts,' the coincidence will appear not a little singular,—that the Peruvians, according to Calancha, should have styled their priests *sons of thunder*, that the Mahometans should have applied the epithet of Ceyuf Ala, or 'Knives of God', to Abubequer, Othman, Omar, and Ali, the four compilers of the Koran; that the word *tequepatl* should signify in the Mexican language both a stone-knife and a thunderbolt, and that the Indians of Guatemala should have called the knives which they employed in sacrifice, 'the hands of God', as stated by Torquemada in the twenty-sixth chapter of the sixth book of his Indian Monarchy. Most authors agree that the ancient Egyptians and the Hebrews employed stone knives for religious purposes, from whom the Arabs might have borrowed the honorary appellation which they bestowed upon the four immediate successors of Mahomet. It may be proper to add, that Balboa is the author upon whose authority we have stated that Ceyuf Ala was a title of the principal founders of the Mahometan faith, who thus expresses himself in the eighth chapter of his Miscellanea Antarctica:—"Los quatro dañados apostatas pusieron por obra lo que se les havia encargado, y asi se partio cada uno á la

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[1] A legendary story records, that on the first arrival of Mango Capac and his companions in Peru, the king of Cusco happened to be engaged in the celebration of a religious festival in the gardens of his palace, when the sun suddenly shone forth with such intense brightness that the king was compelled, desisting from the completion of the rites, to seek shelter in the shade. This simple incident was construed by some who were present into an omen that he would be forced to flee from his kingdom, through the heat of the new religion which Mango Capac had come to preach to the Peruvians. The event, as it would appear, soon afterwards verified the prediction, the king being obliged to quit Peru, and retreat to the snowy mountains of Chile. Christianity, blended with Judaism and the worship of the Sun, was, according to the account of an anonymous writer, the religion of the Ingas, the annals of whose long pontificate, time has covered with an impenetrable veil of mystery.

[2] From the representation of flints with mouths carved upon them, in the seventh page of the Codex Borgianus, there is reason to suppose that the Mexicans might have offered, like the Jews, meat- and drink-offerings to stones; which species of idolatry is reprobated by Isaiah in the following passage of the fifty-seventh chapter of his Prophecies: "Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even *to them* hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering."

who, like the Hebrew Messiah, was typified by the Sun *. Many passages of Scripture might have induced the Jews, after gross superstition had completely taken possession of their minds, to place stones and the images of hills and

parte y region que le cupo en suerte: á Abubequer, que fue subcesor de el falso Mahoma, le cupo en suerte la Suria, y otras provincias obtenidas por el pueblo Romano; á Odman, le cupo el Egipto, y Africa; á Omar, la Persia; y á Ali, la parte de la India oriental: estos quatro (á quien los Arabes llamaron Ceyuf Ala, que quiere decir, *cuchillo de Dios*) escrivieron cada uno por su parte en libros los preceptos y leyes de Mahoma, poniendo y componiendo á su alvedrio, lo que mas les parecia convenir para conseguir sus dañados intentos: á la recopilacion que Abubequer hizo, llamaron Melquia, á la de Odman, llamaron Buanefia, á la de Omar, Asafia, á la de Ali, Hamelia: esta ultima (que quiere decir pontifical) dañó y corrompió la Persia y la Arabia, y de ella procedio la abusion endemoniada de los Morabitos, y esta misma corrompio, y iva corrompiendo la gran India Oriental, quando nuestros Christianos entraron en ella, como se dira en su lugar."

* The Mexicans appear to have blended together the worship of Quecalcoatle and of the Sun; and the remark of Tertullian, that there were some who were inclined to assimilate the religion of the primitive Christians *to that of the Sun*, is deserving of notice; since the symbolical name of 'the Sun,' which was given to the Messiah in the Old Testament, might have led those who entertained that opinion into the above-mentioned error. The ancient Persians—with whose religion the Jews, from the local vicinity of their state, as well as from other causes, must have been well acquainted—adored the Sun under the name of Mithra, and they acknowledged a good and an evil principle, which they typified by the appropriate emblems of light and darkness. The same Christian Father, describing the worship of Mithra, in his treatise De Præscriptione, cap. 40, thus expresses himself, "The priest of Mithra promises absolution from sin on confession and baptism; and if I rightly remember, Mithra marks his soldiers in the forehead with the chrism, (the Egyptian Kouphi): he celebrates the sacrifice of bread, which is the resurrection, and presents the crown to his followers, menacing them at the same time with the sword." Origen, treating of the ceremonies of the cave of Mithra, declares that the priests celebrated mysteries which consisted in imitating the motion of the stars, the planets, and the heavens, when the initiated *took the names* of constellations, and *assumed the figure of animals:* one was a lion, another a raven, and a third a ram; whence Volney is inclined to think that the custom of wearing masks in theatrical representations first originated. It may reasonably be inferred that the Jews were no less addicted to religious processions than the votaries of Mithra; but whether they ever wore masks, or disguised themselves in the skins of animals [1], such as those of a lion, a lamb, and a serpent—which animals in the Old Testament were typical of the Messiah—it is impossible to say. That the Mexicans were accustomed to wear such masks on some of their religious festivals, is evident from the representation of a procession in the thirty-second page of the Mexican painting preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Volney, in the very curious chapter of his Meditations upon the Revolutions of Empires, which he entitles "Christianisme, ou Culte allégorique *du Soleil*, sous ses noms cabalistiques de Chrisen ou Christ, et d'Yésus ou Jésus," imagines that Christianity imbibed many superstitious notions from astronomy. And it is a fact which does not admit of doubt, that the early astronomers, by their division of the stars into certain constellations exhibiting ideal animal forms, to which they gave the names of various animals, favoured the growth of superstition [2] and of judicial astrology,

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[1] History records that the Roman emperors sometimes sentenced the Jews to be put to death clothed in the skins of wild beasts, which mode of punishment might possibly have alluded to the practice of rites forbidden to them by the Roman laws. In the reign of Trajan the Jews revenged themselves on the Romans by massacreing great numbers of them, whose skins they wore in triumph, if the testimony of respectable historians is to be credited. This act of ferocity must be ascribed wholly to religious fanaticism, since the history of the Jews, revolting as is the religious picture which it presents, obliges us to confess that courage and humanity were virtues to which their nation was no stranger. Of the Jewish commonalty taken in the mass, it may with truth be said, that they were a most ignorant people, always under the guidance of a most flagitious set of priests.

[2] The following passage of Selden's treatise De Diis Syris, where, treating of the Hebrew Teraphim, he supposes, with Rabbi Kimchi, that they might have been a perversion of the legitimate mode of consulting the Deity by Urim and Thummim, will serve to illustrate the truth of this observation:—"Quisquis autem δηλους, ἀποφθεγγομενους, φατισμους, sive מחוי ea censet jure appellanda, et prædicendi sive futura monstrandi in iis fatetur simul facultatem; id est, δολους esse της ἀληθειας, quo nomine vocantur etiam Urim et Thummim, quorum sanctitatem Teraphim simulabant, apud Siracidem capite xlv. comm. 12. Hujus generis fuere statuæ illæ, queis arcendi mala, ac oracula reddendi vis inerat, et de quibus frequens apud scriptores traditio: aureas faciebant vetustissimi Orientalium Zabii, sive Chaldæi, ex quorum libris plurima retulit R. Moses Egyptius, et argenteas effigies: has lunæ, illas soli dicabant; et ædificaverunt palatia, ut scribit ille in More Nebochim, lib. iii. cap. xxx., et posuerunt in eis imagines, et dixerunt quod splendor potentiorum stellarum diffundebatur super illas imagines, et loquebantur cum hominibus, et annunciabant eis utilia: quod optime cum eis quadrat, qui secundum præcepta astrologica, τα Teraphim fieri solita, et ad certos siderum positus, volunt, (quemadmodum ea, quæ στοιχεια Græcis dicuntur) et secundum figuras in cœlo creditas, uti velut ἀλεξητηριοι seu Averrunci Dii essent, formata. Nec sane quantum ad astrologicam rationem spectat, στοιχεια a Teraphim differunt, nisi quod hæc futuris prædicendis, illa arcendis malis fuerint destinata: qui vero στοιχεια formabant, στοιχειωματικοι dicebantur. Eos ita meminit autor Carpi, quod vulgus astrologorum Ptolemæi Centiloquium nominat. Τα, inquit, ἐν τῃ γενεσει και φθορᾳ εἰδη πασχει ὑπο των οὐρανιων εἰδων. δια τουτο χρωνται τουτοις οἱ στοιχειωματικοι, τας ἐπεμβασεις των ἀστερων σκοπουντες ἐπ' αὐτα; habetur themate ix. et in eo codice qui cum commentariis Haly Aben Rodoan, sive is sit Abugepher qui ea scripsit, olim prodiit, ita latine redditur. Vultus hujus seculi sunt subjecti vultibus cœlestibus, et ideo sapientes, qui imagines faciebant stellarum, introitus in cœlestes vultus inspiciebant, et tunc operabantur quod debebant. Mentem textus Græci, fere

mountains in their temples, and to consider them as religious symbols, and even to deify the Teotecpatl. The 'Rock of Israel,' 'the corner-stone,' or simply 'the stone,' 'the hill made without hands,' are all names bestowed in the Old

although that division was only intended to enable them the better to recollect the number and relative positions of the stars. That the Mexicans were acquainted with some of the signs of the zodiac, and had formed to themselves various imaginary constellations, may be inferred from the words of Sahagun, in the fourth chapter of the seventh book of his History of New Spain, who there speaks of the constellation called Citlalzunecuilli, and of the sign to which they gave the name of the *Scorpion*. Calancha likewise asserts, in the eleventh chapter of the second book of his Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustin in Peru, that the Peruvians named one of the stars Urcuquillay, or the Ram, and believed that it protected sheep or lambs; agreeing so far with the ancient Chaldean astrologers, (whose notions are explained by Maimonides in his Treatise entitled More Nevochim,) in supposing that every species of animal had its likeness in the heavens, and was under the protection of some ruling constellation called by the same name: "Otros Indios que vivian en las montañas, adoravan otra estrella, que ellos llaman Chuquichinchay, que dicen es un tigre, *á cuyo cargo están los tigres, osos i leones.* Tambien adoravan otra estrella, que llaman ellos Anchochinchay, que dicen conserva otros animales; i otra que llaman Machacuay, *á cuyo cargo están las serpientes i culebras, paraque no les hagan mal; i generalmente todos los animales i aves que ay en la tierra, creyeron que uviese un su semejante en el cielo, á cuyo cargo estava su procreacion i aumento;* i asi tenian cuenta con diversas estrellas que llamavan Chacana i Topatorca, Mamana, Mirco, Miquiquiray, i otras asi; i de cada una destas cuentan su fabula, como usaron los gentiles de Europa i Grecia."—La Coronica de S. Augustin en el Peru, lib. 2. cap. xi. It is worthy of remark that the Jews have from the earliest ages been addicted to the study of judicial astrology[1] and the art of interpreting dreams; and the Tultecas are said to have been the first who introduced the use of paintings amongst the Indians for these express purposes. It hence becomes extremely interesting to inquire into

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verba vides. Vultus autem illi cœlestes non modo xlviii. constellationes globis depictas, verum innumeras et portentosas etiam illas figuras denotant, quæ, Persæ, Indi atque Ægyptii cum unoquoque signi decano, seu quolibet decani gradu ascendere tradebant: quarum in numero est illa, quam in primo Virginis decano sphæræ Persicæ collocant. Virgo nempe pulchra, capillitio prolixo, duas spicas manu gestans, residens in siliquastro, educans puerulum, lactans et cibans eum. Pro exemplo hanc magis attuli, quod non solum Aboasar, quem falso, ut docet J. Picus, Albumasarem vocant, decanum illum, uti cœleste unici Salvatoris Jesu nativitatis symbolum notaverit Mahumedanus; verum etiam insignis ille mathematicus, et vir, ultra sane quam seculum suum tulerit, doctus, Rogerus Baconus Oxoniensis et Minorita Alboasaris sententiam fuerit amplexus. Opere enim tertio, quod ad Clementem quartum dedit, Alboasaris verba ab Hermanno Dalmata latine ex Arabico facta citat, subjungitque: Intentio est quod Beata Virgo habet figuram et imaginem infra decem primos gradus Virginis, et quod nata fuit quando Sol est in Virgine, et ita habetur signatum in calendario, et quod nutriet filium suum Christum Jesum in terra Hebræorum: et ad hanc rem ille liber cui titulus, Ovidius de Vetula ad Virginem Mariam,

O Virgo felix, O Virgo significata
Per stellas, ubi spica nitet . . . . .

De quo libro, et hac re, vide, si placet, Robertum Holkot in Sapientiam Lect. xxi. De decanis vero eorumque figuris Alboasar seu Albumasar ille satis in Introductorii parte sexta. Eadem etiam, ex Aben Ezræ initio Sapientiæ, transcripsit latine cum Ægyptiorum monomœriis, id est, figuris singulorum graduum uniuscujusque decani, ad sphæram barbaricam Manilii nobilissimus Scaliger. Atqui, ad locum illum Carpi, Arabs Haly, In hoc, inquit, capitulo vult Ptolemæus multa imaginum secreta patefacere, et vultus, quos in hoc seculo esse dixit, sunt species animalium et species planetarum; et ideo dicit quod omnibus istis speciebus dominatur sibi vultus consimiles in cœlo manentes. Verbi gratia: Scorpio cœlestis terrenis scorpionibus dominatur: et cœlestis serpens terrenis serpentibus; et sapientes imaginum inspiciebant quando planeta de sub radiis solis egrediebatur et ingrediebatur hos vultus, eumque in ascendente ponebant; et vultum quem impetrabat sculpebant in lapide, et miscebant cum eo alia ad hæc necessaria, faciebantque cum eo ex aptatione vel destructione quod volebant, et vis illa in lapide multis temporibus durabat. Ita redditur ille Arabs: Scorpio ad hunc modum fictus scorpiones abigendi morsusque eorum curandi vim habuisse credebatur. Historiam de re simplici citat Josephus Scaliger in epistola Gallice conscripta ad Vazetum, ex geographo Arabe. Et crocodili imaginem plumbeam, ad crocodilos repellendos conflatam, igne solvisse Achmed Ben-Tolon Ægyptius Calipha dicitur, ut ex Arabum monimentis scribit Julius Scaliger Exercitat. cxxxvi. tmem. 6."

[1] The ancient astrological notions of the Jews are noticed at considerable length by Selden in his disquisition concerning Gad, or Good Fortune; and a doubt may arise in the minds of some,—on reading in the subjoined passage of the twelve signs of the zodiac, and an order of angels designated by the same name of Mazaloth,—whether the Tonalametl or Mexican calendar might not have been invented by the Jews, who,—in assigning twelve houses to twelve of its signs, and placing the latter under the influence of *nine* superior powers or spirits, causing the thirteenth or ruling sign, which was the first in order of the signs, and perhaps the symbol of the Sun, to enter each house successively—would seem to have borrowed some of their notions from the Egyptians, with whose astrological doctrines they were likely to have been better acquainted than with those of the Greeks. The Egyptians, it deserves also to be remarked, are believed to have been the inventors of the nine astrological decans,—if indeed the merit of that invention be not due to the Jews, who, arrogating to themselves the knowledge of things heavenly, refer to the fourteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to prove that astrology was a science of divine institution, and declare Seth to have been the first famous astrologer.—"Ebræorum aliqui Fortunam Bonam hic intelligunt, Leamque loquutam, quasi partui bene esset ominata; unde vulgata editio, quæ D. Hieronymi dicta, *Feliciter* pro *Bagad* habet. Nam Ebræi resolvunt בגד *Bagad* in בא גד *Ba Gad*, id est, *Venit Gad*, quod interpretantur per בא מזל טוב *Ba Mazal tob*, id est, *venit Fortuna Bona*, sive sidus bonum, bonus dæmon. Et Masorethis, est hæc una ex quindecim dictionibus quæ scribuntur ut una, et leguntur ut

Testament upon the Messiah, to which Christ himself refers in his speech to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the

the n ature of the Tonalamatl, or ritual calendar of the Mexicans, which, as Sahagun observes [1], was, properly speaking, an art of divination, and not a calendar, since its object was not to compute time, or to determine seasons, but to predict good or bad fortune to children, according to the sign in which they happened to be born. That the Tonalamatl was, in point of time, a later invention than the Mexican calendar, properly so named, cannot be doubted; since it would be unreasonable to suppose that the Mexicans had invented an art for divining the good or bad fortune of the days of the year, before they had determined the precise number of days of which the year should consist, and distributed them into lesser corresponding periods of time. The improbability, therefore, of the Mexican calendar having borrowed its numbers or its signs from the Tonalamatl, is evident; although it is not equally apparent that the twenty signs of the days of the year employed in the latter were not taken from the former, notwithstanding Sahagun is of a different opinion; especially as it is generally admitted that the eighteen months of the Mexican year were distinguished by their proper symbols, which would have been an anomaly if the twenty days comprised within each of these months had no hieroglyphical characters allotted to them. A reason might be assigned for the scanty information imparted to us by Sahagun on this point, since it would have been impossible for him to have treated fully of the Mexican calendar without at the same time noticing the subject of Mexican chronology, which, founded upon the system of the Tultecas, and computing time after the Hebrew fashion by jubilees, began with the creation of the world in the year Ce Tecpatl, or One Flint, and with the history of the formation of Adam and Eve; proceeding to record the Deluge, the preservation of *eight* persons in the ark, the building of the Tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of tribes, assuming even as an epoch the sun's having stood still in the age of Joshua, which event they believed to have occurred in the year named Seven Rabbits, or 2555 after the creation [2]; and that the sun then remained motionless during the space of one entire day,—which singularly agrees with the account contained in the thirteenth verse of the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua.—We shall here insert some passages from the second chapter of the inedited History of the Origin of the Nations who peopled New Spain, a work composed by the learned Don Mariano Fernandez de Echevarria y Veitia, which will clearly prove how well acquainted the ancient Tultecas were with the most important events recorded in the Hebrew chronology; who, it should be observed, are declared in the chapter immediately preceding, to have adored one supreme and only God, whom they named the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and upon whom they bestowed the epithets of Tloque Nahuaque, and Ypalnemchualoni; the meaning of which latter word is, 'Him by whom we live and exist,' who was the same as Viracocha and Pachacamac, the supreme deity of the Peruvians. The following is the title of the chapter quoted, and the extracts follow each other in the order in which they there occur:—"De la Noticia que alcanzaron del Diluvio, y de la Torre de Babel, y Confusion de Lenguas, y de las siete familias del idioma Nahuatl, que vinieron á poblar estas Regiones." "The belief, then, having been established that the world had been created by Tloquenahuaque, they began to compute time from the year of the Creation; they marked that year with the hieroglyphic of One Flint in their chronological system (the nature of which I shall explain presently), and from it they commenced their reckoning of time and the computation of their years; and they affirm that at the completion of thirty-three of their ages (each of which consisted of fifty-two years)

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duæ. Volunt autem plerique *Mazal tob*, Jovis stellam (quam כוכב צדק *Coceb Thedek* nuncupant, id est, *Stellam Justiciæ*) denotare; quod uti notat Munsterus, *liberorum generationi*, secundum astrologorum dogma, *radiis suis conducat*. Unde etiam puellæ desponsatæ traditur annulus in quo scriptum est *Mazal tob*. Nam *Mazal* est sidus seu stella, *unde dicunt Rabbini, non esse aliquam herbam in terra, quæ non habeat proprium* מזל Mazal *seu stellam influentem et dirigentum in cœlo:* quod ait ille Mazal vero numero secundo, nempe Mazaloth (quod et, immutato nonnunquam ל in ר, Mazaroth exaratur) nunc Planetas, nunc XII. signa significat. In 2. Reg. cap. xxiii. adolebant incensum Baal, Soli, Lunæ, Planetis (ubi *Ebraica veritas*: למזלות Lamazoloth, LXX. autem τοις Μαζουρωθ habent) et universæ militiæ cœli, ubi Procopius Gazæus, Μαζουρωθ, inquit, ἀστερος ὀνομα, ὡς εἰκος του Ἑωσφορου ac si *unicum aliquod* sidus denotaret: sed Suidas; Μαζουρωθ, τα συστηματα των ἀστερων ἁ ἐν συνηθειᾳ ζωδια καλουνται. De Mazaroth et Mezarim videsis Job. cap. xxxvii. comm. 9. et cap. xxxviii. comm. 32. Sed astronomi Judæi zodiacum אופן חמזולות *Ophan Hamazaloth*, id est, circulum Mazaloth, seu signorum, et ipsa signa יב מזלות id est, duodecim Mazaloth vocant. *Cabalistis autem ordo quidam angelorum Mazaloth apellatur*: adi, si placet, Dogmata Cabalistica ii. vii. et xlvii. et, in ea Archangeli Commentarios. Sed vero, maxima apud Ebræos ratio, qua מזל טוב seu Sidus beneficum sive Jupiter aut Fortuna, quæ astrologis a siderum positura pendet, heic intelligitur, ex lingua petitur Arabica, in qua, aiunt, sidus illud beneficum גד appellatur. Ita Rabbi Moses sacerdos apud Cimchium in Isaiæ caput lxv. et in radicibus. Idem memorat etiam Aben-Ezra ad dictum Geneseos locum. Certe جاد *Gad* Arabibus *bonus* seu *beneficus* est, adeoque Jovis stellam denotat, ex hoc Mosis loco aut hac apud Ebræos notione, forsan primò sumtum. Ut Ebræi autem, ita Chaldæi locum illum Geneseos, de verbis Leæ, interpretantur. Onkelos enim habet אתא גד *Atha Gad*, id est, *venit Fortuna*, seu *Gad*.

[1] Vide the Appendix to the fourth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain.

[2] It hence appears that the Mexicans as well as the Jews were accustomed to date leading historical events from the creation of the world. When serious attention is bestowed upon this analogy in the manners of two nations so widely removed from each other, and yet in many respects so similar, surely it would be ascribing too much to accidental causes to suppose that chance might have led the former to adopt the same mode of chronological computation as the latter;—to limit the age of the world to nearly the same number of years; to reckon time by jubilees; and to interweave with their own mythology a train of events, if not the same, yet exactly resembling those recorded in the Pentateuch. Had Æneas believed the wars of Troy, which he beheld painted in the hall of Dido, to be the accidental creation of the imagination of the artist, that supposition would not have been more unreasonable.

keys* of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," which famous passage of the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of

after the creation of the world, which comprise a period of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six years, in another year, which was likewise marked with the same hieroglyphic of One Flint, the human race suffered a horrible calamity from excessive rains, accompanied with thunder and lightning, which deluged the whole earth [1], the highest mountains being covered with water *caxtolmalictli*, which signifies *fifteen cubits* [2], and that only eight persons escaped from this general calamity in a *tlaptlipetlacalli*, which signifies a house resembling *a closed ark*, which they represent in their paintings as a little bark with an awning above, over which are eight heads, which are placed there to denote that from these eight persons the world became re-peopled." "Resuming, then, the thread of our history, I say that the human race having multiplied considerably, mankind, according to their tradition, fearing lest another deluge should occur, and wishing to render their name famous [3], resolved to build a very high tower, to which they gave the name of Zacualli, and that at the expiration of four centuries (which are eight ages of those comprising a period of fifty-two years) after the Deluge, in a year which they likewise mark with the sign of One Flint, when they were most intent on building the tower, their languages were suddenly confounded in such a manner that they could not understand each other; on which the building ceased, and they all separated, scattering themselves over the whole surface of the earth. This history, so punctually recorded by the Tultecas, from whose historical paintings the historians of the monarchies of Mexico and Tezcuco derived their knowledge of it, was in like manner preserved amongst the Indians of Chiapa, as Don Francisco Muñoz de la Vega, the bishop of that diocese, certifies in the Prologue to his Diocesan Constitutions; declaring that an ancient manuscript of the primitive Indians of that province, who had learned the art of writing, was in his record office, who retained the constant tradition that the father and founder of their nation was named Tepo-

* Hence, keys became in early ages a religious symbol and a mark of episcopal rank,—a fact which occurred to the recollection of Calancha when explaining, at page 328 of his Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru, a curious inscription discovered upon a rock in Calango, a place situated at the distance of fifteen leagues from Lima, an engraving of which is inserted in his work. This inscription consisted of a row of letters, either alphabetically or numerically employed, and horizontally carved in the rock; and beneath the lines a foot is sculptured, and what appears to be an anchor; as also two symbols resembling very old-fashioned keys. Two other stones containing inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek letters, are stated by Calancha, on the authority of Brother Raymond Urtado, to have existed in the neighbourhood, who further adds, "They tell me that in the year 1625, the Licentiate Duarte Fernandez, the visitor of the archbishop, ordered these letters to be defaced; I cannot credit so vile a thing:—'El año de mil i seycientos i veynte i cinco, me dicen que el Licenciado Duarte Fernandez, visitador de Arçobispo, mandó picar las letras; no puedo creer cosa tan mala.'" There is nothing improbable in the latter portion of the statement, since Nunez de la Vega, the Bishop of Chiapa, committed a no less wanton act in destroying the history of Votan, in the manner related at page 407 of the sixth volume of this work.

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[1] The Peruvians were acquainted with the Deluge, and believed that the rainbow was the sign that the earth would not again be destroyed by water. This is plain from the speech which Mango Capac, the reputed founder of the Peruvian empire, addressed to his companions on beholding the rainbow rising from a hill; which is thus recorded by Balboa in the ninth chapter of the third part of his Miscellanea Antarctica: "Legaron á vista de un cerro llamado oy Guanacauri y un dia al amanecer vieron el yris ó arco de el cielo que levantava el un pie de encima de el mismo cerro, y Mango Capac dixo á los demas *Buena señal es aquesta que ya no se acabara el mundo por agua;* seguidme, y subamos en este cerro y de alli veremos el lugar donde havemos de poblar y permanecer: y *echadas sus suertes*, y hechas las ceremonias y supersticiones á su modo, caminaron hazia el cerro." "They travelled on, until a mountain, at present named Guanacauri, presented itself to their view, when, on a certain morning, they beheld the rainbow rising above the mountain, with one extremity resting upon it, when Mango Capac exclaimed to his companions, This is a propitious sign that the world will not be again destroyed by water; follow me, let us climb to the summit of this mountain, that we may thence have a view of the place which is destined for our future habitation. Having cast lots and performed various superstitious ceremonies after their manner, they directed their course towards the mountain." It is scarcely necessary to observe, that to draw omens or to determine chances by throwing lots, was an ancient Hebrew custom, resorted to on the most solemn, as well as the most trivial occasions. Proof having been afforded in the passage quoted from the History of Balboa, that the Peruvians were acquainted with the history of the rainbow, as given in the ninth chapter of Genesis, it may be interesting to add, that according to the account of an anonymous writer, they believed that the rainbow was not only a passive sign that the earth would not be destroyed by a second deluge, but an active instrument to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe: the latter curious notion proceeded upon the assumption that as the water of the sea (which, like the Jews, they believed to encircle the whole earth) would have a tendency to rise after excessive falls of rain, so the pressure of the extremities of the rainbow upon its surface would prevent its exceeding its proper level.

[2] This nice agreement with the Mosaic account of the height which the waters of the Deluge attained above the summits of the highest mountains is certainly extraordinary; since we read in the twentieth verse of the seventh chapter of Genesis, "*Fifteen cubits upward* did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered."

[3] "Let us make us a name" was the exhortation which the builders of the Tower of Babel are said, in the fourth verse of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, to have used to each other when planning their city and tower.

St. Matthew was that which caused the Church of Rome to lay claim to spiritual supremacy, and the Popes to style themselves the Vicars of Christ. In the eleventh page of the MS. of Bologna, a tiger is represented pierced with a spear; and

nahuaste, which signifies 'the lord of the hollow piece of wood',[1] and that he was present at the building of the Great Wall, for so they named the Tower of Babel, and beheld with his own eyes the confusion of languages; after which event God the Creator commanded him to come to these extensive regions, and to divide them amongst mankind." "They represent the confusion of languages in their paintings by the symbol of a round hill, the fore-ground of which is occupied by a medallion with a face resembling that of an old man with a long beard engraven upon it, and round the medallion on the outside are many tongues, which encircle and form a border to it[2].

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[1] The Teponahuaste, or Teponahuatl, was a hollow wooden drum, in frequent use among the ancient Mexicans, the shape of which M. Dupaix compares to that of a canoe. Since a bark or canoe might have been the phonetic symbol employed by the Tultecas to signify the proper name Noah, a reason for the epithet Teponahuaste might be found in that circumstance, as well as in the Mosaic account of Noah having invented the art of making wine; which beverage was seldom drunk to excess by the Indians, except at their religious dances, which were always accompanied with the music of the Teponahuatl or drum.

[2] There can be little doubt that Echevarria is here mistaken, and that Mount Sinai was really signified by the symbol of the round hill in the above-mentioned paintings. The Mexicans represented a teocalli and a mountain by such different symbols, that it is very unlikely they would have substituted the one for the other, even had they known that what are supposed to be the ruins of the Tower of Babel is now a shapeless mound of earth on the banks of the Euphrates; whilst there is great probability that the medallion in the front of the mountain was the symbol of the proper name Tezcatepec, which signifies 'the mountain of the mirror,' the Mexican mirrors being formed out of a round piece of semitransparent stone, named Ytzli; that the head of the old man with the long beard, within the medallion, was Tezcatlipoca; and that the supposed tongues round the medallion on the outside, represented the fire and smoke which proceeded from Mount Tezca when that deity manifested himself to the Mexicans on their pilgrimage from Aztlan. It has already been observed, at page 248 of the sixth volume of the present work, that in Mexican paintings, tongues or languages are represented by the same symbol as smoke; and we may here remark, in reference to the previous supposition, that the history of the migration of the Aztecas from Aztlan commenced, like that of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel from Egypt, with the account of their God speaking to their leader out of a burning bush; that the two proper names, Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli, are analogous compounds, —*pochtli* 'smoke,' or *popoca* (by syncope *poca*) 'to smoke,' forming the concluding portion of each: whence it may be inferred that the concealed deity who is supposed by Torquemada, at page 237 of the sixth volume of this work, to have spoken to the Mexicans out of a tree, in the form of a bird, inviting them to proceed on their pilgrimage,—to which circumstance both the proper name *Huitzilo*pochtli, and the bird's head in the first page of the original Mexican painting, which once formed a portion of the historical museum of Boturini, would seem to allude,—was he that appeared to the Mexicans in the smoking mountain of the mirror; and it is highly probable that the head of the bird in that painting, is symbolical of the presence of Huitzilopochtli within the burning bush, which may be fancifully represented by the three boughs horizontally and vertically placed over each other, from which smoke appears to issue. It deserves to be remarked, that the head of a bird, with a bill resembling that of the Huitzilan, occurs as a sacred symbol at page 91 of the lesser Vatican Codex; and since Sahagun, in the first chapter of the first book of his History of New Spain, affirms that the device of Huitzilopochtli was the head of a formidable dragon, and such a device is painted on the heads of two of the figures with serpents in their hands, in the ninety-second and ninety-third pages of the same MS., it may with probability be presumed that if those two figures represent Huitzilopochtli, so also does that which immediately precedes them. The shape of the bill of the Huitzilan will immediately be perceived by referring to the symbol of the tributary city of Huitzilopucho, in the twentieth plate of the Collection of Mendoza, which city Clavigero supposes received its appellation from the name of the tutelary god of the Mexicans, as it appears likewise to have done its phonetic character. Those who have considered with attention the history of the migration of the Mexicans from Aztlan, will admit that a human head placed within the bill of a bird was a no less appropriate symbol of the deity who spoke to the leader of the Mexicans through the song of the bird *in the bush*, than the smoking mirror was of the god who appeared to them on mount Tezca, and that there was as much reason to confer on him a name commemorative of the former as of the latter circumstance. But if it be inquired why the Huitzilan, rather than a bird of another species, became the symbol of Huitzilopochtli, a more probable reason cannot be assigned, than that the plumage of that bird was extremely beautiful; that its green feathers, named Quetzalli, were supposed to resemble in colour the plumage of the serpent, which of old was the type of Quetzalcoatle; and that from its being accustomed to remain in a torpid state during the winter and to awaken in the spring, the Mexicans might have deemed it a fit type of the resurrection and the immortality of the soul. It has already been imagined, in the note subjoined to page 82 of the sixth volume of the present work, that the head-dress of one of the figures standing at the side of the cross in the temple of Palenque, might bear some mysterious allusion; and the following passage, taken from a valuable MS. preserved in the library of the Escurial, in which mention is made of the Huytzitzitl forming a portion of the head-dress of Quecalcoatle, and being suspended to a bone inserted in his mitre, renders this supposition extremely probable:—"Esta figura és de un demonio llamado Quetzalcouail, que quiere decir, Culebra hecha de pluma: este tenian los Indios por dios del ayre, y pintanle los Indios la media cara de la nariz abajo de palo, *con una trompa por do soplaba el aire;* y encima de la cabeza le ponian una coroza como mitra *de cuero del tigre,* y de ella salia por penacho un hueso, del qual colgaba mucha pluma de patos de la tierra, que ellos llaman Xumictl, y en fin dél está atado un paxarito que se llama Huytzitzitl." "This figure represents a devil named Quetzalcouail, which signifies 'The serpent made of feathers,' whom the Indians

the place which the tiger occupies in that painting, induces us to suppose that it is intended to represent the lion of the tribe of Judah, which the Jews of the New World metamorphosed into the tiger. It is scarcely necessary to observe,

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This manner of painting the confusion of tongues under the similitude of a hill, accords well with the accounts which we receive from ancient and modern travellers, who testify that they have seen the remains which still exist of it; and on their authority Father Augustine Calmet affirms, in his Dissertation upon the Tower of Babel, at the beginning of his Commentary upon Genesis, and in his Dictionary of the Bible, when defining the word Babel, that this tower was a solid mass of masonry within, and more resembled a mountain than a building. There remains at the present time an irrefragable monument both of the lasting and perfect recollection which these nations, as being the descendants of those who resolved to carry into execution so presumptuous a design, retained of the building of that famous tower, and of the plan of its construction. This is the famous tower of Choloyan [1], constructed by the Ulmecas, one of the nations that first peopled the country of Anahuac, and with the same proud intention of rendering their name famous: and there remains in our days a considerable portion of its ruins in the said city of Choloyan, at about the distance of a league from Puebla de los Angeles, resembling in shape a hill of masonry, with an ascent on the outside. They affirm, then, that at the time of the confusion of tongues, there were seven families who spoke the same language, which was the Nahuatl, that which is still spoken by the Mexicans; and since they understood each other, they united, and forming a single company, proceeded on their journey through divers lands and countries, as chance directed them, and without any particular destination, in search of a convenient habitation; and having travelled during a century, (which amongst them was a period of time amounting to one hundred and four years,) passing in the interval mountains, rivers, and arms of the sea, which they note down in their paintings, they arrived at the place where they made their first settlement, in the northern part of this kingdom, which they named Tlapalan, which signifies 'the red country,' on account of the soil being of that colour; and even still, in all modern maps, they give the name of the Red Sea to the gulf which is situated between the eastern shores of California and the western coast of the provinces of New Mexico and Sonora; and the river which flows into the northern part of the gulf is named the Red River. They called that state in after-times Huehuetlapalan, which signifies Old Tlapalan, in order to distinguish it from the other, which was founded many years afterwards, bearing the same name, as we shall observe in the proper place." The following extract, which is taken from the third chapter of the history of the same author, contains the Mexican tradition of the sun having stood still, (which has already been referred to at page 374 of the sixth volume of the present work,) as affording presumptive evidence of either Jews or Christians having in early ages colonized that continent. "The city of Huetlapalan having been peopled, and the number of its inhabitants having greatly increased, being straitened for room they began, as I have already said, to extend

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believe to be the god of the air, and whom they paint with the lower half of the face, from the nose downwards, of wood, with a trunk, through which he blows the air; and they place upon his head a crown *resembling a mitre,* made of the skin of a tiger, out of which protruded a bone by way of a plume, to which they hang many feathers of the ducks of that country, which they name Xumictl, and they tie at the end of it a bird named the huytzitzitl." This passage is extremely curious, since it explains the reason why the Mexicans were accustomed to paint the face of Quecalcoatle with a trunk, viz. to denote that he was the god of the air, reminding us that M. de Humboldt has noticed this striking *deformity of feature* in some of the personages of the Mexican mythology; who expresses at the same time his surprise how, being unacquainted with the elephant, they should have formed to themselves the idea of a trunk, or proboscis, such as is peculiar to that animal and cannot be said to belong to the tapir. Had Vishnou, the Chrisen of the Hindoos,—who is sometimes represented in Eastern paintings as a man with the head and trunk of an elephant, in allusion to his having become incarnate in the body of that animal,—ever made his appearance in America, or had the Jews who penetrated to the New World blended any of the fables of Oriental mythology with the history of Quecalcoatle, a reason might be assigned for the visage of the latter being disfigured with the addition of a trunk; which, it deserves to be noticed, is the organ through which the elephant breathes, and is the only portion of its body which, when swimming, it keeps above water, and was therefore a very proper symbol, whether accidentally or designedly made choice of by the Mexicans, to signify the act of blowing air. There is not, however, the slightest ground for supposing that the Mexicans or Peruvians were acquainted with any portion of the Hindoo mythology: but since their knowledge of even one species of animal peculiar to the Old Continent, and not found in America, would, if distinctly proved, furnish a convincing argument of a communication having taken place in former ages between the people of the two hemispheres, we cannot but think that the likeness to the head of a rhinoceros, in the thirty-sixth page of the Mexican painting preserved in the collection of Sir Thomas Bodley; the figure of a trunk resembling that of an elephant, in other Mexican paintings; and the fact, recorded by Simon, that what resembled the rib of a camel (la costilla de un camello) was kept for many ages as a relic, and held in great reverence, in one of the provinces of Bogota,—are deserving of attention.

[1] The great antiquity of the temple of Chollula may be inferred from the Indians sometimes confounding it with the Tower of Babel, and sometimes with the Temple of Jerusalem. The tradition of Tonacatecutli having destroyed it by lightning, in order to punish the presumption of those who purposed to build it so high as to reach heaven, assimilates it to the Tower of Babel, which Josephus says in the first volume of his Jewish Antiquities, was declared by the Sibyl to have been destroyed by a tempest, who recorded that event in the verse ἀνεμοι μεγαν ὑψοθι πυργον ῥιψαν, ("Winds overthrew the great tower"). The famous prediction of Quecalcoatle, that the destruction of the temple of Chollula would happen soon after his departure to the kingdom of Tlapallan, appears to identify itself with Christ's prophecy concerning the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

that the lion and the lamb were both names given to the Messiah by the prophets; and it may easily be supposed under what discordant images the Mexicans would have represented him, when once they began to embody in paintings the

their habitations on all sides around it, dividing themselves into towns and hamlets, from which period the great Chichimecan empire began to date its existence; whence, in later ages, so many powerful monarchies proceeded. The houses in which they dwelt, in the city as well as in the villages, were then, and for many ages afterwards, even when they had kings and an established form of government, nothing more than caves, which they found ready formed by nature, in imitation of which they made others; and these were their only habitations. Their food consisted of fruits, herbs, and animals which they killed in the chase; their dress was formed out of the skins of the same animals, fashioned somewhat in the manner of close drawers, which they named maxtles, and wore fastened round their loins. At the expiration of three centuries after the foundation of their capital city of Huehuetlapalan, they record an extraordinary occurrence, of which they retain so perfect a recollection as to constitute it an epoch in their chronological computation of succeeding events. They affirm, then, that in the year which was marked with the hieroglyphic of Seven Rabbits, the sun stood still for the space of one entire day, which caused an intense and unprecedented degree of heat, from whence sprung such swarms of mosquitos that they suffered no one to enjoy repose or tranquillity. They founded a fable afterwards upon that event, affirming that a mosquito, on perceiving that the sun had stood still, presented itself before him, and said, 'Lord of the world, how happens it that you are motionless and cast down, and do not perform the duties of your office?—can it be your intention to destroy the world with fire, and to reduce it to ashes, turning a deaf ear to the prayers of mortals? Go on, resume your wonted activity, and discharge the proper duties of your station.' But when the sun appeared indifferent to his reasoning, the mosquito approached him, and stinging one of his legs compelled him to move and to continue his accustomed course. A century amongst them consisted of one hundred and four years; the three centuries accordingly, which they say had intervened between the foundation of their city and this event, comprise three hundred and twelve years, which, if reckoned from the year two thousand two hundred and thirty-seven of the world (which was the era of the foundation of the said city), would terminate in the year two thousand five hundred and forty-nine, which was marked with the hieroglyphic of One Flint, as will be seen by referring to the tables: but since they expressly declare that the sign of the year in which this phænomenon occurred, was that of Seven Rabbits, it appears more correct to refer it to the year two thousand five hundred and fifty-five of the world, that being the first year after the three centuries which is marked with this hieroglyphic. This event, the recollection of which the Indians preserved in their history, is very similar to that which the Scripture records in the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua, both as regards the alleged epoch of its occurrence and the length of the time during which the sun stood still, since it agrees with what is said in the thirteenth verse of the same chapter, 'The sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day;' and as regards the epoch, most authors fix it, with little difference, at the same period as the Indians. On this subject consult the learned dissertation of Father Calmet, at the beginning of his Commentary upon the Book of Joshua, where he maintains that the sun stood still in the year two thousand five hundred and fifty-three of the world; so that there is only a difference of two years in the computation of the Indians. Two thousand seven hundred and sixteen years after the Deluge, and eight centuries after the sun had stood still, in a year which they mark with the same hieroglyphic of One Flint, they record another terrible calamity, produced by furious hurricanes, which, tearing up the trees in the mountains by the roots, and overthrowing rocks, caused a dreadful destruction of human life, many thousand persons perishing, and only those who sought refuge in caves escaping, who, on coming forth when the tempest had ceased, found, as they affirm, the earth full of apes, with which species of animal they were until then wholly unacquainted: and since the latter event occurred at a moment when their own numbers were greatly diminished by the quantity of persons who had perished in the hurricane, they invented another fable,—that the men had been changed into apes; which, in later ages, ignorance understood in such a literal acceptation, that even at the present day there are not wanting persons amongst the silly vulgar who affirm it to have been a fact, and add, that they were dissolute and good-for-nothing persons who were changed into apes, as a punishment for their sloth. They believe that they know how to speak; and that the reason of their not doing so is, that they may not be forced to work. It appears, from a comparison of the tables with their calculations, that this event ought to be referred to the year three thousand four hundred and thirty-three of the world. They affirm that the greater portion of the giants who inhabited the country of Anahuac perished in that calamity, and that only some few of those who had proceeded further into the interior, and lived near the banks of the river Atoyac, between the city of Tlaxcalla and Puebla de los Angeles, escaped. Some of our Spanish writers, who have treated of the affairs of the Indies, and have become acquainted with the tradition of giants having existed in these regions, take considerable pains to prove, by arguments and authorities sacred as well as profane, their real existence, as well in the New World as in the old continent. But I, adhering to my proposed plan, and not indulging in vague speculations, simply relate that which I find in the histories of the Indians. All unanimously agree that giants existed and dwelt in various parts of this continent; but whether their origin is the same as that of the other nations who peopled it,—that is to say, whether they are descended from those seven families who united at the dispersion of Babel,—or whether it is different, it would be difficult to determine. Some of the native historians assign the same origin to them, and declare that in the long journey of the seven families from the plain of Senaar, a few companies got before the rest, who, from being of larger stature and more robust, were enabled to travel with greater speed, and to arrive first in these regions; and that the others followed in their track, who, marking the signs of the road which they had taken, accomplished the journey many years later, and found them established in these parts. Boturini, however, appears to have assigned a different origin to them; for he says that they were of the posterity of Cham the son of Noah, who at the confusion of tongues scattered themselves over many countries, whence some of them journeyed until they arrived at America. Be that as it may, it is certain that when the great bulk of the people who were descended from those seven families arrived in these parts, after their long journey through Asia, they found the giants already established in them, who in many places

types and the symbols of the Old Testament. The interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis affirms that the Mexicans bestowed the appellation of Tepeolotlec on the tiger and on the earth, and that they had a tradition that the Deluge ceased at the reverberation of the echo which proceeded from the heart of the mountains. Since the notion of the

opposed their progress, and resisted their attempt to occupy the land[1]. Since, however, it is my intention to return to this subject when I treat of their total extirpation, it is sufficient for me at present to observe that the calamity and destruction which befell the giants from the hurricanes was highly pleasing to the other inhabitants of this territory; for being, as they represent them, a proud, cruel, and brutal race, who only lived by rapine, inflicting upon them at the same time many other wrongs, they kept them continually occupied in devising means of self-defence, and security from their aggressions for the future; and to this cause they ascribe the origin and commencement of

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[1] Yxtlilxochitl gives the name of Philistines to these giants in several passages of his Historical Relations; and it is a singular coincidence, that the history of the Jews and the Mexicans should agree in recording a fact so improbable, and yet so well attested, as that the respective territories of each people were originally inhabited by giants, with whom their ancestors at first waged sanguinary wars, and at last succeeded in completely extirpating. The Mexicans gave the giants, with whom they were acquainted by tradition, the twofold appellation of Zocuillixeque and Quinametin; and the Jews bestowed the triple epithet of Emim, Anakim, and Zamzummim upon the giants of the holy land, of whom mention is made in the second verse of the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy, "Hear, O Israel; thou art to pass over Jordan this day, to go in to possess nations *greater* and mightier than thyself, cities great, and fenced up to heaven; a people *great and tall*, the children of the Anakims, whom thou knowest, and of whom thou hast heard say, *Who can stand before the children of Anak?*" The vast stature of the Anakims, as compared with that of the Jews, may be inferred from the evil report which the spies who had been sent to explore the land of Canaan are said, in the following passage of the thirteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers, to have brought back to the children of Israel: "And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had searched unto the children of Israel, saying, The land, through which we have gone to search it, is a land that *eateth up* the inhabitants thereof; and all the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature. And there *we saw* the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." Some commentators upon Scripture, who do not appear to recollect what is said of the Anakims in other parts of the Pentateuch, and only take into consideration that ten of the twelve spies are declared in the succeeding chapter of Numbers to have died by a plague inflicted upon them by God, on account of the evil report which they brought up of the land flowing with milk and honey,—assume, that because their report was evil, it must necessarily have been false; and treat as a mere fiction the story of the Jews having conquered the holy land from a nation of giants, its original possessors: they contend, with a show of probability, that if the spies could have attempted to throw discredit upon their own previous testimony in favour of the fertility of the land of Canaan, by afterwards declaring that it was a land which ate up its inhabitants; they might have invented the history of the giants the sons of Anak. It is important, however, to observe, that the particular passage in the thirteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers, to which they refer as involving a self-contradiction upon the part of the spies, and which is thus translated in the Septuagint, *Την γην ἡν παρηλθομεν αὐτην κατασκεψασθαι, γη κατεσθιουσα τους κατοικουντας ἐπ' αὐτης ἐστι*, may with great probability be supposed to allude to the frequency of earthquakes in the land of Canaan; the whole soil of Palestine, according to the testimony of the most respectable modern travellers, even still exhibiting symptoms of once having been the theatre of frightful volcanic eruptions, which, if the geographical fact of the proximity of the deserts of Arabia to the ancient territory of the Jews be taken into account, might lead one to suppose that Popocatepec would be a no less appropriate epithet for Mount Sinai than that of Tezcatepec.—The following passages, in which further mention is made of the giant brood which God cut off from the holy land, are taken from the second chapter of Deuteronomy, in which Moses rehearses to the Jews the manifold acts of kindness which the Deity had vouchsafed to them, and their own base ingratitude: "And when we passed by from our brethren the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath, and from Eziongeber, we turned and passed by the way of the wilderness of Moab. And the Lord said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of their land for a possession; because *I have given* Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession. The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; which also were accounted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims."—"So it came to pass, when all the men of war were consumed and dead from among the people, that the Lord spake unto me, saying, Thou art to pass over through Ar, the coast of Moab, this day: and when thou comest nigh over against the children of Ammon, distress them not, nor meddle with them: for I will not give thee of the land of the children of Ammon any possession; because I have given it unto the children of Lot for a possession. That also was accounted a land of giants: giants dwelt therein in old time; and the Ammonites call them Zamzummims; a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; *but the Lord destroyed them before them;* and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead." From the above passages we are warranted in drawing two conclusions: first, that the Emims and Zamzummims (whether the same or a different people who merely inhabited bordering cities is immaterial,) were a race of giants distinct from the Anakims; and secondly, that their destruction preceded the arrival of the children of Israel in the land of Canaan possibly by some centuries. It is, however, very deserving of remark, that the Lord is said to have destroyed them, and to have given their land for a possession to Moab and Ben-ammi the sons of Lot, whose country was situated on the shores of the Asphaltic Lake, and whose mothers were the daughters of that patriarch, as is very unequivocally declared in the thirty-sixth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis.—The above-mentioned circumstances, and *some others*, induce us to think that the Mexican and Peruvian tradition of giants destroyed by fire from heaven was a fable of Jewish origin.

Deluge ceasing *at the voice of thunder** occurs in the seventh verse of the hundred-and-fourth Psalm; and the Mexicans appear, in bestowing the appellation of Creator upon Quecalcoatle, to have had some regard to the tradition that the world and man had been created by the word of their supreme deity Tonacatecutli †,—it cannot be unreasonable to suppose

warfare amongst them, and the necessity of their first becoming soldiers and military leaders [1]." The continuation of the history of the giants will be found in the twelfth chapter of Echevarria's History; and the account of their final destruction by fire from heaven, was, it is to be presumed, a fable of Jewish invention, which the vulgar in after ages religiously believed, for the reasons assigned by the same author in the concluding paragraph of his third chapter, whose words are as follow: "Tanto estas como las demas fabulas las adoptó despues la ignorancia *en su material sentido* con una ciega credulidad, á que contribuyó mucho la supersticiosa persuasion de sus hipocritas sacerdotes."

* Tlaloc was believed by the Mexicans to be the god of thunder and lightning.

† The literal signification of the proper name Tonacatecutli is 'the god of flesh', a title to which God expressly lays claim in his declaration to Jeremiah, in the twenty-seventh verse of the thirty-second chapter of his Book of Prophecies, "Behold, I am the Lord, *the God of all flesh:* is there anything too hard for me?" Its etymology has been explained at page 517 of the sixth volume of this work, and it is enumerated in the list of divine names contained in the note subjoined to page 128 of that volume. Quecalcoatle is said to have been begotten by the *breath* of Tonacatecutli, who created the first pair by his *word,* at a period long antecedent to the age of the Virgin of Tula. Quecalcoatle was nevertheless believed by the Mexicans to have had a prior existence to the creation of the world, and to the first pair, although born at so much later an era; and they styled him Creator, in allusion to their belief that he had a share in the creation of the world, as St. John in the first chapter of his Gospel, and St. Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, expressly affirm of Christ. They also named him the Morning Star, maintaining that *the light* of that luminary had an existence *prior* to that of the sun; and while they asserted that there was only one supreme God, whom they named Tezcatlipoca, they admitted that there were others, his co-equals in power and majesty. How, it may reasonably be demanded, are such conflicting notions to be reconciled with each other? And may we not be permitted to suppose, with the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, that the Manicheans had in early ages carried over their doctrines to America, and instructed the Mexicans in the peculiar tenets of their sect, which—founded upon their own heretical exposition of the first chapter of St. John, and upon the words which Christ is made to utter in the sixteenth verse of the last chapter of the Revelations, "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and the bright and morning star,*"—went so far as to maintain that Christ was changed into the morning star; a doctrine which drew down upon the authors of it a bitter persecution, and attached such odium to the name of Manichean, that their opponents, who were the more powerful party, found it easy to persuade the laity to believe that they worshiped the Devil under the name of Lucifer, because Scripture names him likewise the morning star; whilst their more prudent adversaries, who were no less anxious that the Manichean heresy should not be referred to Scripture, contented themselves with deriving it from the ancient fire-worship of the Persians, affirming, that Manes brought it from Persia, and that he was the first who tainted Christianity with Zoroaster's notions of a twofold principle. We shall here insert the entire passage of the Gospel of St. John above alluded to, observing at the same time, in reference to a note subjoined to page 411 of the sixth volume of this work, that the word, and the spirit, or the breath of God (πνευμα Θεου), were distinct from his intelligence, and that Macrobius errs in confounding νους with λογος, and, in making airy vibrations, mind. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made [2]. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light [*See infra,* Note (a) page 36.], that all men through him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light. That was the true Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not."

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[1] It is unnecessary to observe that the children of Israel first assumed a decidedly military character when they entered the land of Canaan, their previous habits having been those of shepherds.

[2] The Mexicans had a tradition that Tonacatecutli divided by his breath the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and since mention is made of the breath, the spirit, the word, and the inspirations of Tezcatlipoca, in the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, it is possible that the breath of Tonacatecutli was the same as the spirit of Tezcatlipoca; and if the latter deity was worshiped under the name of Pachacamac, or the Creator, by the Peruvians, and their god Viracocha was the same as the Mexican Tlaloc, we should perceive the reason why some learned Spaniards, and amongst others Simon, in his inedited Noticias Historiales, were inclined to think that the Devil had assumed the name of Viracocha, which signifies '*the foam of the sea,*' in order to usurp to himself the honour of having made the division of the waters. The meaning here assigned to that proper name is that which was generally given to it by the Spaniards who first arrived in Peru, as Balboa admits in the fourteenth chapter of the third part of his Miscellanea Antarctica, where, treating of the excellence and antiquity of the proper name Viracocha, he says that the Spaniards were in error in attributing to it that signification, for that *cocha* signified properly 'a lake', and was a name given in later ages by the Peruvians to the sea, when they became acquainted with its existence, and *vira* was 'lard or fat' (*manteca*), and not 'foam', for which the name in the Peruvian language was *puczu;* and that the entire word Viracocha was a name of great excellence (nombre de

that they might have also believed that Quecalcoatle was the voice at the sound of which the Deluge ceased, and that the proper name Tepeolotlec, which signifies 'the heart of the mountain', being compounded of *tepetl* 'a mountain', grandisima excelencia), which was given by the Peruvians to the Spaniards, not on account of their believing that they were the offspring of the sea, but as a mark of their dignity, and because they resembled, in the features of their countenances and their beards, certain strangers, who, many ages before, had arrived in Peru, whom they also named Viracochas. It is evident that Balboa was not acquainted with the very curious reason assigned by the licentiate Polo de Ondegardo for the Spaniards receiving that appellation, some account of which will be found in the note subjoined to page 520 of the sixth volume of the present work. Nor even on the supposition that the true meaning of Viracocha was 'the fat of the sea', and that such a metaphor could never have been employed by the Peruvians to signify its foam, will the change of signification in the sense attributed to that proper name in the least affect the argument which assimilates the Peruvian deity Viracocha to the Mexican god Tlaloc, nor the probability of the supposition that the Peruvians might have had a tradition of the spirit of their God moving upon the face of the waters, and thence have named him Viracocha, since it is a property of all unctuous substances to float upon the surface of water. The interpreter of the Vatican Codex declares that the Mexicans painted Tlaloc seated on the water, and he is so represented in the fifty-seventh page of the same MS. If the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, or acquainted with the books of the Old Testament,—and it is the second proposition by which that interpreter attempts to prove the first,—there would have been nothing surprising in their borrowing images from passages in the Psalms and other books of the Bible descriptive of the Deity or of his attributes, or in their applying the language of Scripture to Tezcatlipoca and their other principal divinities; and hence David's apostrophe to Jehovah, in the tenth verse of the twenty-ninth Psalm, "The Lord sitteth *upon the flood;* yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever,"—which, it may be supposed, alluded to the creation, and to the spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters, as described in the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, "And the earth was without form, and void; and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters,"—might have induced the Mexicans to represent Tlaloc sitting upon the waters, and have further suggested to them the idea of embodying in painting the Mosaic account of the spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters, which it has been already supposed is the subject of the third page of the Borgian Codex. It deserves to be remarked, that in the sixth and seventh verses of the last chapter of the Book of Daniel,—with which book it has been supposed, at page 364 of the sixth volume of this work, for the reasons there alleged, that the Mexicans might have had some acquaintance,—that prophet records his vision of a man clothed in linen, *seated upon the waters* of the river, whom some commentators maintain was the Messiah, and whose appearance is described in the following passage of the tenth chapter of the Book of Daniel: "Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, *whose loins were girded* with fine gold of Uphaz: his body[a] also was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude." The famous historian Esdras—who has been accused of too great a partiality for following, if not adopting as his own, in the apocryphal books which go under his name, the visions of earlier prophets—likewise makes mention, in the thirteenth chapter of his Second Book, of the Messiah, under the similitude of the man who came up *from the midst of the sea,* who dealt destruction upon countless multitudes, "the peaceable multitude" excepted, whom he called unto himself, who were those of the seed of Abraham, Jews by birth, or at least proselytes to Judaism. It may be interesting to quote, in conclusion to this note, the passage from Balboa's inedited MS. in which that author discusses the true signification of the proper name Viracocha:—"Ya dexamos dicho como Yaguarguaca Ynga uvo en su muger Mamachiguia á Viracocha[b] Ynga, eredero universal de su señorio y mando; y antes que sus bodas, vida y hechos tratemos, me parece convendrá tratar de su nombre, pues es el mismo que á nosotros los Españoles, nos tienen puesto en este Peru los de esta nacion; y verdaderamente á algunos parecerá novedad lo que aqui se dira, segun tiene el vulgo recibida esta significacion de nombre muy en contrario de lo que ellos—es asi: que los primeros que de nuestro Piru y

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[a] Hence it would appear that his costume—which probably differed only in the superiority of its quality from the apparel of the Jews in that age—was of the same description as that worn by the Mexicans; consisting of a mantle, and a *maxtle* or girdle tied round the loins; since, except on this supposition, the body and limbs of the man seated upon the waters would not have been visible, and therefore could not have been described by the prophet Daniel.

[b] Some Spanish writers express great surprise that the Peruvians should have named one of their Ingas after their supreme deity, Viracocha; and the Peruvians themselves, when the embalmed body of Viracocha Inga was ignominiously burned by the Spaniards, who plundered his tomb, were inclined to attribute it to a divine judgment, on account of his presumption in taking the name of Viracocha: it deserves however to be remarked that it was a Hebrew custom, as we learn from the fifteenth chapter of Jeremiah, in the passage cited at page 371 of the sixth volume of the present work, for the Jewish prophets to assume the honorary appellation of Jehovah, who, in so doing, appear to have imitated the usages of Chaldea, *the land of their nativity,* as may be inferred from the speech of Nebuchadnezzar in the eighth verse of the fourth chapter of the Book of Daniel, "But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, *according to the name of my God,* and in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and before him I told the dream, saying...." The phrase in the Latin Vulgate is "cui nomen Balthasar *secundum nomen Dei mei;*" and in the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, *ού το ὀνομα Βαλτασαρ κατα το ὀνομα του Θεου μου.* It would hence appear, that the plan of the temple of Belus, which was represented in miniature in the brazen altar mentioned in Leviticus, and imitated on a larger scale in the great altar which the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built on this side of the river Jordan, as related in the twenty-second chapter of the Book of Joshua, and which had so nearly caused bloody dissensions between the Jews on their first entrance into the land of Canaan, was not the only vestige of Chaldean antiquity of which they long retained the recollection.

and *yolotl* 'a heart', might have been given by the Jews to their Messiah, in allusion to the ancient Hebrew type of the *stone which was carved without hands*, that became a mountain, which, from its connection with another Hebrew

de sus cosas escrivieron historias, sembraron por el mundo en sus escritos que este nombre Viracocha queria decir y significava *espuma de la mar*, y que por haver venido nosotros en navios y navegando por el mar, tuvieron por cierto los Yndios que eramos engendrados y nacidos en sus ondas y de sus espumas, haciendo á los Yndios harto mas insensatos de lo que ellos son; pues hablando sujeto á las protestaciones tanto de me repetidas [a], digo que es engaño introducido y recibido de el vulgo, decir que por lo arriba dicho nos llaman los Yndios Piruleros en su lengua general Viracocha, porque este vocablo *vira* quiere decir *manteca*, y el mar no la tiene; y si me responden que en la lengua general de los Yngas espuma es lo mismo que manteca, digo que asi mismo reciben engaño, porque la espuma llaman los Yngas *puczu*, de donde consta claro el error: mas deben saber (y es asi verdad muy averiguada y cierta) que este nombre Viracocha entre los antiguos Yndios fue y ha sido nombre de grandisima excelencia, en tanto grado que quando se cayo en la cuenta de que havia en el cielo un universal y todopoderoso movedor y causa de las demas causas, (como se dira adelante,) por excelencia y grandeza, y por no hallar nombre que significase mas magestad, le llamaron Ticci Viracocha, y segun esto, mas onor nos atribuyeron en este nombre del que hasta aqui sea entendido: y para mayor muestra de el error en este particular recibido, bien debe aver colegido el lector curioso, que de este nombre Viracocha se ha usado desde muchos centenares de años antes que los Yndios Piruleros supiesen que havia mar en el mundo, ni tuviesen noticia de que Dios tal cosa huviese criado, porque ellos á qualquier laguna, por pequeña que fuese, llamaron *cocha*, y este nombre mismo dieron al mar quando lo alcanzaron á ver la vez primera, lo qual fue en vida de Topa Ynga Yupangui (como diremos á su tiempo). En la vida de Lluqui [b] Yupangui, tercero en la succesion de los Señores Yngas, bien se debe acordar el lector haver echo particular memoria de un varon estimado entre los grandes de aquellas edades, llamado Pachachulla Viracocha [c], que quiere decir Viracocha unico en el mundo, de donde se debe entender quan antiguo y venerable sea este nombre, y que á

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[a] It was customary for Spanish writers of that age, and especially for those who, like Balboa, wrote histories of the Indians, to protest that they submitted everything which they said to the correction of the Catholic and Apostolic Mother Church. This protest is on some occasions introduced where it is impossible to perceive that the subject has any connection with religion; but Balboa, in treating of the signification of the proper name *Viracocha*, might have judged it expedient to refer to those protests which he had already made use of in other parts of his work.

[b] The celebrated Garcia was much surprised at discovering that several of the Ingas had the appellations of Paul and Titus prefixed to their surnames; which fact induces us to point out in this place the resemblance of Lluqui, (the name which was borne by the third of the Ingas,) to the apostolic name Luke. The passage in which Garcia notices this singular conformity between the above-mentioned Christian and Peruvian proper names is the following, which is taken from the seventh chapter of the sixth book of his extremely rare treatise, entitled Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo viviendo los Apostoles:—" No es de menor admiracion, que se hallasse entre los Incas reyes del Piru el nombre de Paulo, que fue del Apostol, y el de Tito que fue su dicipulo. De la historia consta, que tuvo Huayna Capac Inca, un hijo que se llamó Paulo, cuyo hijo que quando se baptizó se llamo Don Carlos, favorecio siempre la parte de los Españoles contra Manco Capac su hermano. A este Don Carlos dize el Padre Acosta que conocio, el qual escrive que Huascar Inca, hijo legitimo y sucessor de Huayna Capac, se llamó primero Tito Cussi Hualpa: un tio del qual hermano de su padre Huayna Capac, se llamó Tito Inca Rimachi: tambien huvo otro Inca que se llamó Tito Yupangui, de quien yo hago mencion en mi Monarquia de los Incas.

[c] The question whether Viracocha was a man, or a god, or both, and whether he was the same deity as Pachacamac, seems never to have been determined by the Spaniards, if we may judge from the following passage of the sixth book of Garcia's treatise entitled Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo viviendo los Apostoles; in which that learned author first declares Garcilasso de la Vega's sentiments respecting the ancient religion of the Peruvians, and next proceeds to deliver his own:—" Demas de adorar al Sol por Dios visible, á quien ofrecieron sacrificios y hizieron grandes fiestas (como en otro lugar diremos) los reyes Incas y sus Amautas, que eran los filosofos, *rastrearon con lumbre natural al verdadero sumo Dios, y Señor nuestro, que crio el cielo y la tierra* como adelante veremos en los argumentos y sentencias que algunos dellos dixeron de la divina magestad, *al qual llamaron Pacha Camac.* Es nombre compuesto de *pacha*, que es mundo universo, y de *camac*, participio de presente del verbo *cama*, que es animar, el qual verbo se deduze del nombre *cama*, que es anima; Pacha Camac, quiere dezir, el que da anima al mundo universo: y en toda su propia y entera significacion, quiere dezir, el que haze con el universo, lo que el anima con el cuerpo: tenian este nombre en tan grande veneracion *que no le osavan tomar en la boca* ([a]), y quando les era forçoso tomarlo, era haziendo afectos y muestras de mucho acatamiento, *encogiendo los ombros, inclinando la cabeça y todo el cuerpo, alçando los ojos al cielo, y baxandolos al suelo, levantando las manos abiertas en derecho de los ombros*, dando besos al ayre, que entre los Incas y sus vassallos eran ostentaciones de suma adoracion y reverencia ([b]), con las quales

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([a]) It is very deserving of notice, that these acts, collectively and individually, were all external signs of devotion amongst the Jews, as many passages might be adduced out of the Old Testament to prove.

([b]) It would hence appear that the proper name Pacha Camac resembled, in being ineffable, the Hebrew term יהוה, the true pronunciation of which Walton observes, at page 49 of the Prolegomena to his Polyglott Bible, is supposed to have been lost, from an absurd apprehension on the part of the Jews, that if their enemies became acquainted with it, they might invoke the aid of Jehovah

type, that of the lion of the tribe of Judah, might have also come to signify the tiger to which the Mexicans gave the appellation of Tlatocaocelutl, or The man tiger*, and represented as a man clothed in a tiger-skin; and it

* This proper name is compounded of *tlatocayo*, defined by Molina to be 'rey coronado' and *oçelutl* 'a tiger.'

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nosotros no se nos puso por lo que algunos dicen en sus historias, sino por grandeza, dignidad y excelencia, como tambien se lo pusieron á este Ynga de cuya vida trataremos. A ciertos hombres venerables que aparecieron en estos reynos (de que dejamos echa mencion en el capitulo seis de esta tercera parte) tambien llamaron Viracocha, por no hallar nombre qui signifique mayor dignidad; y seria possible porque nosotros tenemos los rostros y barbas, como se dice que ellos las tenian, llamarnos como á ellos los llamavan."—Miscellanea Antarctica, tercera parte, cap. 14. Domingo de Santo Thomas, in his Dictionary of the Peruvian language, printed at Valladolid in the year 1560, assigns no other meaning to the word Viracocha than that of "a Christian," adding, that it was "an expression applied to Christ,"—"Christiano, dicho de Christo;" which latter phrase appears to imply that the early Spanish missionaries gave the name of Viracocha to Christ. It is rather singular that the Peruvians, who Acosta declares were acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity, although he attributes their knowledge of that article of the Christian faith to Satan, should have named their supreme deity by the *three* names of Ticci, Viracocha, and Pachacamac, the last of which signifies the Creator of the Universe, being compounded of *pacha* 'the universe,' and *camac*, the participle of the verb *cama*, signifying 'to animate'; which proper name is thus defined by Calancha, "Es nombre compuesto de *pacha*, que es mundo universo, i de *camac* participio de presente del verbo *cama*, que es animar, el qual verbo se deduce del nombre *cama*. Pachacamac quiere decir, el que dá anima al mundo universo, i en toda su propria i entera significacion quiere decir, el que aze con el universo lo que el anima con el cuerpo." The author of the Peruvian Dictionary seems intentionally to have omitted all mention of the proper name Pachacamac [a], not noticing its component parts either in or out of composition; but Calancha, whose definition has been just cited, had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the Peruvian language, and he agrees with Balboa in explaining *vira* to be 'fat,' and *cocha* 'the sea,' or 'a pool of standing water.' Having made mention of the Manicheans in the beginning of the note, whose exterior marks of devotion might perhaps have resembled those of the Mexicans,—we shall conclude by observing that Joshua is said, in the tenth verse of the seventh chapter of his book, to have *fallen down upon his face* before the ark, in the very manner in which the interpreter declares, at page 172 of the sixth volume of this work, that the Mexicans adored Tezcatlipoca. The passage alluded to is the following, which may be compared with the preceding sixth verse, in which Joshua is said to have fallen upon his face and remained in that position until the evening: "And the Lord said unto Joshua, *Get thee up*; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face?" In the preceding verse it says, "And Joshua *rent his clothes*, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord, until the eventide, he *and the elders of Israel*, and put *dust* upon their heads." It hence appears that the custom of falling down upon the face, and putting dust on the head, was in general use amongst the Jews in the age of Joshua; but to eat earth, both amongst the Jews and the Mexicans, was a mark of still deeper humiliation. Garcia particularly notices, that the Peruvians were accustomed to rend their garments as a sign of grief; and he instances the example of the Inga Guaynacapac, who rent his clothes on hearing that his son Atahualpa had sustained a defeat from the enemy, and been forced to seek safety in flight: "Aquesto mismo hacian los Indios, como se verá en la Monarquia de los Ingas del Peru, que muchas vices he *prometido* sacar á luz, en la qual se dice, que como supiese Guaynacapac, que su hijo Atahualpa venia retirandose i huiendo del campo contrario, *rompió su vestidura* rasgandola por delante."—Origen de los Indios, lib. iii. cap. 3. sec. 3.

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demonstraciones nombravan al Pacha Camac, y adoravan al Sol, y reverenciavan al Rey y no mas: pero esto tambien era por sus grados mas y menos; á los de la sangre real acatavan con parte destas ceremonias, y á los otros superiores, como eran los caciques, con otras muy diferentes, é inferiores. Tuvieron al Pacha Camac en mayor veneracion interior que al Sol, que (como he dicho) no osavan tomar su nombre en la boca, y al Sol le nombravan á cada passo. Preguntado quien era el Pacha Camac? Dezian que era el que dava vida

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against his chosen people: "Videntur posteriores Judæi similes fuisse Romanis, de quibus Plinius (Hist. lib. 28. c. 2.) dicit, quod *nomen Dei*, sub cujus tutela erant, *studiose occultarunt*, ne nomine cognito *hostes ipsum evocarent*." Basnage informs us, in his History of the Jews, that in later ages they employed *a hieroglyphic* instead of alphabetical characters to signify Jehovah, which fact is scarcely less deserving of attention than another mentioned by the same author, namely, that a Samaritan medal was preserved in the cabinet of Christina queen of Sweden, which represented on one side Mount Gerizim, with a temple on its summit, to which there was an ascent by a staircase of three hundred steps;—the whole description nearly corresponding with the draft of a Mexican temple, and reminding us, that if the temple on Gerizim was modelled, as there can be little doubt, after the plan of the temple of Jerusalem, and the Mexican teocallis after that of Gerizim, the latter temples must likewise have been constructed after the plan of the temple of Jerusalem. The appellation of *the mountain of the house* is sometimes given to the Hebrew temple in the Old Testament; and it deserves to be remarked, that art had fashioned Mount Moriah, upon which it was founded, exactly in the shape of a truncated pyramid.

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[a] The following is a prayer which the Peruvians were accustomed to address to Pachacamac. It is taken from the ninteenth chapter of the second book of Calancha's Chronicle of the religious order of Saint Augustine in Peru, and is here inserted not only because its

deserves to be remarked, that a slip of tiger-skin was fastened by the Mexicans to the mitre of Quecalcoatle, which no doubt had some secret signification. The Jews have in all ages been inclined to attach a mystical

al universo, y le sustentava: pero que no le conocian, porque no le avian visto, y que por esso no le hazian templos, ni le ofrecian sacrificios: mas que lo adoravan en su coraçon (esto es mentalmente) y le tenian por dios no conocido. Augustin de Zarate libro segundo capitulo quinto, escriviendo lo que el Padre fray Vicente de Valverde dixo al Rey Atahualpa, que Christo nuestro Señor avia criado el mundo, dize que respondió el Inca: que el no sabia nada de aquello, ni que nadie criasse nada sino el Sol, á quien ellos tenian por dios, y á la tierra por madre, y á sus Guacas, y que Pacha Camac lo avia criado todo lo que alli avia, &c. De donde consta claro que aquellos Indios le tenian por hazedor de todas la cosas. Esta verdad que voy diziendo que los Indios rastrearon con este nombre, y se lo dieron al verdadero Dios nuestro, la testificò el demonio mal que le pesó, aunque en su fauor como padre de mentiras, diziendo verdad disfreçada con mentira, ó mentira disfreçada con verdad. Que luego que vio predicar nuestro Santo Evangelio, y vio que se bautizauan los Indios, dixo a algunos familiares suyos en el valle que oy llaman Pacha Camac (por el famoso templo que alli edificaron a este Dios no conocido) que el Dios que los Españoles predicavan y el, era todo uno, como lo escrive Pedro de Cieça de Leon, en la demarcacion del Peru, capitulo setenta y dos. Y el reverendo padre fray Geronimo Roman en la Republica de las Indias Occidentales, libro primero, capitulo quinto dize lo mismo, hablando ambos deste mismo Pacha Camac, aunque por no saber la propia significacion del vocablo se lo atribuyeron al demonio. El qual en dezir que el Dios de los Christianos, y el Pacha Camac era todo uno, dixo verdad. Porque la intencion de aquellos Indios, fue dar este nombre al sumo Dios que da vida y ser al universo: como lo significa el mismo nombre. Y en dezir que el era el Pacha Camac mintio, porque la intencion de los Indios, nunca fue dar este nombre al demonio, que no le llamaron sino Zupay, que quiere dezir diablo, y para nombrarlo *escupian primero*, en señal de abominacion, y al Pacha Camac nombravan con la adoracion, y demonstraciones que hemos dicho. Empero como este enemigo tenia tanto poder entre aquellos infieles haziase Dios, entrandose en todo aquello que los Indios veneravan y acatavan por cosa sagrada. Hablava en sus oraculos y templos, y en los rincones de sus casas, y en otras partes, *diziendoles que era el Pacha Camac*, y que era todas las demas cosas a que los Indios atribuyan deidad, y por este engaño adoravan aquellas cosas en que el demonio les hablava, pensando que era la deidad que ellos imaginavan, que si entendieran que era el demonio las quemaran entonces como aora lo hazen, por la misericordia del señor que quiso comunicarseles. Los Indios no saben de suyo, *o no osan dar la relacion destas cosas con la propia significacion, y declaracion de los vocablos*, viendo que los Christianos Españoles las abominan todas por cosas del demonio, *y los Españoles tampoco advierten en pedir la noticia dellas con llaneza;* antes las confirman por cosas diabolicas, como las imaginan. Y tambien lo causa el no saber de fundamento la lengua general de los Incas, para ver y entender la deduction y composicion, y propia significacion de las semejantes dictiones. Y por esto en sus historias dan otro nombre a dios, que es Ticci Viracocha, que yo no se que signifique, ni ellos tampoco. Este es el nombre Pacha Camac, que los Historiadores Españoles *tanto abominan*, por no entender la significacion del vocablo, y por otra parte tienen razon: porque el demonio hablava en aquel riquissimo templo, haziendose dios debaxo deste nombre, tomandolo para si. Pero si a mi que soy Indio Christiano Catolico por la infinita misericordia, me preguntassen aora como se llama Dios en tu lengua? Diria, Pacha Camac: porque en aquel general lenguage del Peru, no ay otro nombre para nombrar a Dios sino este. Y todos los demas que los historiadores dizen, son generalmente impropios: porque, ó no son del general lenguage, ó son corruptos, con el lenguage de algunas provincias particulares, ó nuevamente compuestos por los Españoles. Y aunque algunos de los nuevamente compuestos, pueden passar conforme a la significacion Española,

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style is exceedingly Scriptural, but likewise because it shows what elevated notions the Peruvians entertained of the Deity: " O acedor, que estás desde los cimientos i principio del mundo asta en los fines del, poderoso, rico y misericordioso, que diste ser i valor á los ombres, *i con decir, sea este ombre, i esta sea muger*, iziste, formaste *i pintaste* á los ombres i á las mugeres; á todos estos que iziste i diste ser, guardalos, i vivan sanos i salvos, sin peligro i en paz. Adonde estás? por ventura en lo alto del cielo ó bajo? ó en las nubes i nublados, ó en los abismos? Oyeme i respondeme, i concedeme lo que pido. Danos perpetua vida para siempre, ten nos de tu mano, i esta ofrenda recibela á do quiera que estuvieres, O acedor."—" O maker, who dost exist from the foundation and beginning of the world until its end, powerful, rich and merciful, who givest being and life to man, and by saying, let this man be, and let that woman be, hast made, formed, and painted men and women; preserve all those whom thou hast made and created, and let them live in health and safety, free from danger and in peace. Where art thou? in the height of heaven peradventure, or beneath? or in the clouds and dense mist, or in the depths? Hear me, and answer me, and grant my request. Give us eternal life, uphold us with thine hand, and accept this offering wheresoever thou art, O maker." The adjuration with which this prayer concludes, would almost argue an acquaintance, on the part of the Peruvians, with the language of Isaiah, in the eleventh verse of the seventh chapter of his Prophecies, " Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in *the depth*, or in the *heighth above*." Which passage in Scripture is the more remarkable, from its connection with the verse which immediately follows: " Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign, Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," which is explained to be prophetical of the birth of the Messiah. Since the above prayer of the Peruvians to Pachacamac affords evidence of their belief in the immortality of the soul, and of their acquaintance with the Mosaic account of man having been created by *the word* of God, it may be proper to adduce Calancha's testimony in favour of its genuine character and authenticity, who prefixes to it the following brief notice: " El Obispo Fray Luis Geronimo Ore, en su Simbolo Catolico Indiano capitulo nueve, folio quarenta, pone la oracion que el Inga i los Indios decian al Pachacamac, i como él la traduce en nuestro Castellano es esta."—" The Bishop Brother Luis Geronimo Ore, inserts in the fortieth page of the ninth chapter of his Catholic Indian Creed, the prayer which the Inga and the Indians addressed to Pachacamac, which, according to his translation of it into Spanish is as follows." Such testimony as this, it need scarcely be observed, does not require further corroboration.

meaning to passages in Scripture in which mention is made of the voice of God; and the eighth verse of the third chapter of Genesis, in which it is said that Adam and Eve, after they had sinned, " heard the voice of

como el Pacha Yachachec, que quieren que diga hazedor del cielo, significando enseñador del mundo, que para dezir hazedor, avia de dezir, Pacha Rurac: Porque *rura*, quiere dezir hazer: aquel general lenguage los admite mal: porque no son suyos naturales, sino advenedizos. Y tambien porque en realidad de verdad, en parte baxan a Dios de la alteza y magestad, donde le sube, y encumbra este nombre Pacha Camac, que es el suyo propio. Y paraque se entienda lo que vamos diziendo, es de saber, que el verbo *yacha*, significa aprender, y añadiendole esta syllaba *chi*, significa enseñar, y el verbo *rura*, significa hazer, y con la *chi*, quiere dezir, hazer que hagan, ó mandar que hagan, y lo mismo es de todos los demas verbos que quieren imaginar. Y assi como aquellos Indios no tuvieron atencion a cosas especulativas, sino a cosas materiales: assi estos sus verbos, no significan enseñar cosas espirituales, ni hazer obras grandes y divinas, como hazer el mundo, &c. sino que significan hazer y enseñar artes, y oficios baxos y mecanicos, obras que pertenecen a los hombres, y no a la divinidad. De toda la qual materialidad está muy agena la significacion del nombre Pacha Camac, que (como se ha dicho) quiere dezir, el que haze conel mundo universo, lo que el alma con el cuerpo, que es darle vida, ser, aumento, y sustento, &c. Por loqual consta claro la impropriedad de los nombres compuestos nuevamente, para darselos a Dios (si han de hablar en la propia significacion de aquel lenguage) por la baxeza de sus significaciones. Hasta aqui Garcilaso.

" Del discurso deste capitulo de Garcilaso, se coligen dos cosas. La primera, que conocieron los Indios del Piru, que avia un Dios Criador del cielo y de la tierra, a quien llamaron Pacha Camac, que es lo que insinuamos arriba. La segunda, que el nombre Conticci, ó Ticci Viracocha Pacha Yachachec que davan al mismo Dios, fue inventado, y nueuamente compuesto: pero no le concederemos al sobredicho autor, que lo inventassen, y compusiessen nuestros Españoles, como el alli va probando, si bien concede que ó no es del general lenguage, ó es corrupto con el de algunas provincias. Y en otra parte haze cargo desto tambien a los Indios, diziendo que esso lo hizieron por adular a los Españoles, por dezir que les dieron el nombre del Dios mas alto y mas estimado que tuvieron. La invencion deste nombre y su composicion no la hizieron realmente los Españoles. Porque si bien quando entraron en aquel reyno ignoravan aquel lenguage, despues huvo muchos que lo entendieron muy bien para informarse de los Indios de muchas cosas, y entre ellas, que nombre davan al sumo Dios Señor Nuestro. Y assi no hallo razon paraque ellos la hiziessen: y para los Incas, y sus vassallos, si, qual es la que arriba dimos. Conviene á saber: que el nombre de Viracocha, lo introduxo el rey que huvo deste nombre, diziendo, que el dios Viracocha le avia hablado. Y esto tambien lo escrive Garcilasso, el qual, hasta llegar a tratar deste Inca, no escrive palabra de aquel nombre. Y que Pacha Cutec hijo del Inca Viracocha, dio a conocer los demas que añadian al de Viracocha que davan a Dios, conviene a saber el de Ticci, y Pacha Yachachec, consta claramente de lo que escrivio acerca desto el Padre Iosef de Acosta, tratando de la victoria que tuvo este rey, con el favor del dios Viracocha Pacha Yachachec, que es lo mismo que yo tengo escrito en mi Monarquia de los Incas, sacado de lo que averiguó Iuan de Betanços. Finalmente digo, que supuesto que aquellos Indios tenian nombre para dar a Dios, que es el de Pacha Camac, y muy antiguo, pues es compuesto de la lengua Quichua, que despues tomaron los Incas, por caer el Cuzco (que fue su Corte) en la provincia donde es materna, argumento que fue la composicion deste nombre antes de su monarquia: el de Ticci Viracocha Pacha Yachachec, no fue sino el que dieron a aquel hombre blanco y barbado que alli aparecio, tenido (comose dixo arriba) por Dios Criador del mundo, con industria y traça del demonio. Y parece que miradas atentamente aquellas vozes, particularmente la de Ticci, y la de Pacha Yachachec, quadran á un apostol, ó dicipulo. La de Ticci, porque significa fundamento, nombre que da San Pablo a los apostoles. La de Pacha Yachachec, que (como lo prueva muy bien Garcilaso) es lo mismo que enseñador, maestro, ó doctor del mundo: porque este titulo les dio Christo nuestro Señor quando los graduó, diziendo que eran sal de la tierra, y luz del mundo, y en otra parte mas claramente, docete omnes gentes. Que es: Yo os hago dotores de todas las gentes. Demas pues de la tradicion que ay (segun se ha dicho arriba) de aver entrado por el Piru, aquel hombre blanco y barbado, que presumimos era apostol, ó dicipulo, me contó un religioso de la orden de nuestro Padre San Augustin, que estuvo mucho tiempo en el Piru, y dotrinó los Indios en el distrito del Cuzco, como está en medio de un rio, (que ni el me dixo el nombre, ni yo se lo pregunté) una palma muy alta, la qual dizen los Indios que se hizo de un baculo que llevava un hombre blanco, y barbado como Español (que ellos llaman Viracocha) el qual passando aquel rio lo dexá alli hincado. En la provincia de Calua diez leguas de la ciudad de Loxa, està cerca del pueblo llamado Conzanama, una piedra grande, donde ay una huella y pisada de hombre, que segun parece no es hecha acaso de la naturaleza, ni de industria con arte humana, sino milagrosamente (como se ha dicho de otras) que alli quedó estampada de aquel hombre blanco y barbado, que presumimos era apostol ó dicipulo. Desde que en la creacion del mundo mandó Dios a la tierra que produxesse arboles que diessen fruto segun su especie, crió en este reyno del Piru uno que lleva una fruta aquien los Españoles llaman granadilla, por la semejança que tiene en los granos, a la nuestra quando comiença a madurar, cuya flor es mysteriosissima; porque en si contiene la cruz y las demas insignias de la passion de Christo nuestro Señor. Es de la manera de una açumena como una campana, blanca por defuera, y pintas leonadas por de dentro, de color de rosa, contiene dentro de si (como avemos dicho) todas las insignias de la passion, en esta forma. En el circulo baxo salen unos ramales de color de sangre que parecen açotes, en medio del centro inferior se levanta una coluna verde, y al pie della tres hojas que hazen hechura de tres clavos, y la misma campana de la flor es a modo de corona de espinas, dentro de si las venas estan dispuestas de tal manera, que vienen a hazer a la vista, lança, caña con esponja, escalera y cruz. Quando año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y siete entramos veynte y quatro religiosos con nuestro Provincial por el districto de Quito, para cuya provincia aviamos salido de España, nos mostraron esta flor, la qual nos causó grande admiracion y pasmo, y no nos hartavamos de mirarla y contemplarla, alabando al que la crio con las insignias de su passion. La tierra original donde se da esta fruta es (segun me informaron) en la que llaman de los Quixos, jurisdicion de Quito. Despues venido yo a España, y escriviendo este Tratado, he reparado mas en el mysterio, que en esta flor está encerrado. Y assi juzgo con mi rudo y corto entendimiento, que con sabiduria y providencia soberana estampó Dios en ella tantos siglos antes los instrumentos de la

the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day," has given rise to much idle reasoning amongst the Rabbis, who, with their usual inquisitiveness on all unexplained points of Scripture, would fain know to whom God

passion que, hecho hombre, avia de padecer por salvar al genero humano: y que fue criada alli en aquel reyno, paraque sirviesse a sus moradores de pronostico, symbolo, y geroglifico de lo que despues aquel apostol, ó dicipulo (que vamos probando ser el hombre blanco que aparecio en el Piru) avia de predicarles.

Note (a) referred to at page 30.—The Mexicans named Quecalcoatl 'Light,' and believed that light was created before the sun. Pedro Simon, in the second chapter of the fourth book of his inedited Historical Notices treating of the religious opinions of the Indians of the kingdom of New Granada, expresses himself in the following terms: "Proceeding then to treat of the belief which our Indians of the kingdom (of New Granada) entertain of their beginning and origin, I have found that, preserving their ancient traditions from generation to generation, they are acquainted with the creation of the world, which they explain by saying, that when it was night, which means, according to their interpretation, before this world had any existence, light was contained in a great house—to signify which, they employ the term Chiminigagua,—from whence it afterwards went forth, and that that thing, or Chiminigagua, which contained this light (which they assert is the same as that which we name God), began to beam forth, and to reveal the light which it contained within it; and that that first light beginning the work of creation, the first things which it created were some large black birds, which it commanded at the instant of their existence to proceed through the world scattering breath or air from their bills, which air was quite light and brilliant; who, having done what *they* commanded them (lo que les *mandaron*) the whole world became illuminated with light[a]." Simon next proceeds to observe, that this Indian tradition of the origin of light was devoid of foundation, the sun being the true source of light. It hence appears that the tradition in the Pentateuch, that light was created before the sun, was known in various parts of the New World very remote from each other. And when we read in the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, of the chaotic state of nature before the creation, and of water and darkness covering the surface of the earth, and compare that description with the mythological delineation in the third page of the Codex Borgianus, which seems to represent a chaotic mass of matter covered with darkness and water,—recollecting at the same time the tradition of the Indians of New Granada, that light was diffused throughout the universe *by birds*,—we can scarcely refrain from believing that the subject of the third page of the Borgian MS. is the creation of the world by Tezcatlipoca, or Hometeuli, who, as the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus informs us, at page 158 of the sixth volume of the present work, was believed by the Mexicans to have created the first pair by *their* word; and in fact we seem to recognize, in the painting of the Borgian Codex above referred to, the figures of Tezcatlipoca and of two other deities, which reminds us of the tradition of the Indians of the island of Cuba, that the world had been created by *three* persons; of which a more particular account will be found at page 393 of the sixth volume of this work.

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[a] This passage is so extremely curious that we shall here insert it in the original Spanish, accompanying it with an extract from the first book of the third volume of the Saggio di Storia Americana by the Abbé Gilii, from which it will appear, that if the Indians of New Granada were ignorant of the Mosaic account of the creation of the first pair, and believed that they *came out of a lake*, their ruder brethren of the Oronoco,—who inhabited an adjoining province, and some of whom spoke the same language, that is to say the Muizca or Mozca, were well acquainted with it:—"Viniendo pues ya á tratar de lo que sienten nuestros Yndios del Reyno de sus principios y origen, hemos hallado que conservando sus memorias de gente en gente tienen noticia de la creacion del mundo, y la declaran diciendo, que quando era de noche, esto es segun ellos interpretan, antes que huviera nada de este mundo, estaba la luz metida alla en una casa grande, que para significarla, le llamaban Chiminigagua, de donde despues salio; y que aquella cosa, ó Chiminigagua, en que estaba metida esta luz (que esto quieren decir, que es lo mismo que nosotros llamamos Dios) comenzo á amanecer y mostrar la luz que en si tenia; y *dando luego principio á criar cosas aquella primera luz*, las primeras que crio, *fueron unas aves negras grandes*, á las quales mandó al punto que tuviesen ser, fuesen por todo el mundo echando aliento ó ayre por los picos, el qual ayre todo era lucido y resplandeciente, con que haviendo hecho lo que les mandaron, quedó todo el mundo claro é illuminado como está ahora: Sin advertir como no tienen fundamento en lo que dicen, que es el Sol él que dá esta luz. A este dios reconocen por omnipotente, Señor universal de todas las cosas, y siempre bueno, y que crio tambien todo lo demas que hay en este mundo, con que quedó tan lleno y hermoso. Pero como entre las demas criaturas veian la mas hermosa al Sol, decian que á el se debia adorar, y á la luna como á su muger y compañera; de donde les vino, que aun en los idolos que adoran, jamas es uno solo, sino macho y hembra; y no se persuaden á que entre las demas cosas crió Dios hombres y mugeres, sino que estando el mundo lleno de las demas, *faltaban* estas dos; y asi se remedió esta falta de esta manera. En el distrito de la ciudad de Tunja, á quatro leguas á la parte del Norte-Este, y una de un pueblo de Yndios que llaman Yguague, se hace una coronacion de empiñadas sierras, tierra muy fria, y tan cubierta de paramos y ordinarias nieblinas, que casi en todo el año no se descubren sus cumbres, sino es á mediodia por el mes de Enero. Entre estas sierras y cumbres se hace una mui honda laguna; de donde dicen los Yndios, que á poco de como amanecio, ó apareció la luz, y criadas las demas cosas, salio una muger, que llaman Bachue, y por otro nombre acomodado á las buenas obras que les hizo, Turachogue, que quiere decir muger buena, porque *tura* llaman á la muger, y *chogue* es cosa buena: Sacó consigo de la mano un niño de entre las mismas aguas de edad hasta tres años; y bajando ambos juntos de las sierras á lo llano, donde ahora está el pueblo de Yguagué, hicieron una casa donde vinieron, hasta que el muchacho tuvo edad para casarse con ella, porque luego que la tuvo se casó. Y el casamiento fue tan importante, y la muger tan prolifica y fecunda, que de cada parto paria quatro, ó seis hijos; con

could on that occasion have been speaking; and whether, on the assumption that he spoke in Hebrew, the permanency of that dialect might not be ascribed to this cause,—since they maintain that the only language in the world which has not been changed and corrupted by time is Hebrew. The voice from the burning bush, as likewise the voice which the Jews pretend that they received when the spirit of prophecy ceased with the destruction of the first temple, might also have laid the foundation of many fanciful theories among them. It would not therefore be surprising if the Mexicans, who had imbibed so many other Hebrew superstitions, should have borrowed from the Jews their notion of the deluge having ceased at the sound of the voice proceeding from the heart of the mountain; and we shall only further remark, in reference to that curious opinion, that the signification of the proper name Votan is 'a heart,' and that *tescaulutli*, the other name which the Mexicans gave to the echo of the mountain, might lead one to infer that the voice proceeded from Tezcatepec, or the Mountain of the Mirror, which was the Mount Sinai of the New World. The passage in the Psalms which might have led the Jews to suppose that the immediate cause of the cessation of the waters of the deluge was a reverberating sound, proceeding from the heart or centre of the mountains, is the following:—" Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord my God, thou art very great; thou art clothed with honour and majesty. Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment: who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain: *who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters*:* who maketh the clouds his chariot: who walketh upon the wings of the wind: who maketh his angels spirits; *his ministers a flaming fire†:* who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever. *Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment:*

* This passage, which assigns a mansion or palace to the Deity in the waters, reminds us of another analogous to it in the eighteenth Psalm, in which the term *pavilion* is substituted for *chambers*, in the sentence " his pavilion round about him were dark waters." The Mexicans believed that Xiuhtecutli, the god of years, resided in the waters, as has already been observed at page 364 of the sixth volume of this work; and it would be interesting to know whether they believed that the hair of Xiuhtecutli was white with age; and whether, finding it difficult to reconcile that belief with the idea of Tezcatlipoca being Telpuchtli, or the god whose years fade not, they worshiped him and Tezcatlipoca as distinct deities, who were originally one and the same.

† Xiuhtecutli was the Mexican god of fire; and the Mexicans might, on that account, have metaphorically designated the noble persons, whom they believed to be ever ministering in his presence, a *flaming fire*. (Vide page 364 of the sixth volume of this work.)

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que se vino á llenar toda la tierra de gente; porque andaban ambos por muchas partes, dejando hijos en todas; hasta que despues de muchos años, estando la tierra llena de hombres y mugeres, y los dos ya mui viejos, se volvieron al mismo pueblo; y de el un dia llamando mucha gente, que los acompañara á la laguna de donde salieron, junto á la qual les hizo la Bachue una platica, exhortando á todos la paz, y conservacion entre si, la guarda de los preceptos y leyes, que les havia dado, que no eran pocos, en especial en orden al culto de los Dioses, y concluido se despidio de ellos con singulares clamores y llantos de ambas partes. Y convirtiendose ella, y su marido en dos mui grandes culebras, se metieron por las aguas de la laguna, y nunca mas parecieron por entonces. Si bien la Bachue despues se aparecia muchas veces en otras partes, por haver determinado desde alli los Yndios contarla entre sus dioses en gratificacion de los beneficios que les havia hecho."—" Per molto bene che della creazione dell' uomo parlino i Tamanachi, e con esso loro i Caribi, i Parèchi, ed altre nazioni loro simili, più distintamente, e meglio ne discorrono i Maipùri. Io reco in testimonio il regolo Caravàna, il quale non sapea punto nè poco di Spagnuolo, onde potersi sospettare, che ciò che dissemi, sentito prima l' avesse da qualche Cristiano. Purrùnaminàri, dissegli, formò l' uomo: non seppe dirmene il nome: fece dipoi, seguitò a dire, la donna. Questo non è gran fatto. Il sanno molt' Indiani. Ma è mirabile ciò che siegue. *Dormendo l' uomo, Purrùnaminàri gli recise una costola, e ne formò la donna;* lo svegliò dipoi, e dissegli: pinavà tiniochì, (guarda la donna). Un racconto come questo, *che si trova parola per parola nel Genesi*, si può facilmente immaginare qual maraviglia recommi. Nè minore fu quella di sentirmi dire da un barbaro, che Iddio (egli disse Purrùnaminàri) *creata avesse la luce innanzi di creare il Sole:* il che è pure conformissimo a ciò, che ne sappiamo dal sacro testo." Gumilla asserts, as we have already observed at pages 272 and 273 of the sixth volume of this work, that the Salivas and other Indian tribes of the Orinoco were circumcised, and held the flesh of swine in extreme abhorrence: from whence he infers that those tribes were descended from the Jews. It may be interesting to know that so learned a writer as the Abate Gilii, whose work, dedicated to Pope Pius VI., received the express approbation of the Spanish monarch Charles III., although differing in opinion from Gumilla respecting the Hebrew origin of those tribes, still bears honourable testimony to the merits of that historian, and corroborates the truth of his relation in some of its most important particulars; and in those which favour him on the question mainly at issue between them, as the perusal of the following passage, taken from the sixth chapter of his work above referred to, will fully prove: " Di Ebrea origine non gli credo in veruna maniera, checche in contrario ne dica non meno distesamente, che pugnacemente il Gumilla. I loro bagni non sono un' osservanza religiosa, ma unicamente fatti per rinfrescare le membra, e per torne la polvere: *le incisioni assomigliate alla circoncisione, sono suggerimenti crudeli de' loro Piaci.* Gl' Indiani, che io conosco, non si chiaman cugini; *eccetto i Tamanachi*, che a distinzione dell' altre nazioni si apellano tra sè parenti. Riti stabili di religione non gli ha veruno. In somma mi pare una chimera il volerli assomigliare agli Ebrei. Vero è, che alcuni piglian più mogli, *e che tocca al residuo fratello la moglie del morto:* ma, come altrove dicemmo, queste cose possono anche dirsi di nazioni, che non vengon certo dagli Ebrei, e sembrano effetti non di sangue, ma d' ignoranza, e di sfrenatezza."

the waters *stood* above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled; *at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* They go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys unto the place which thou hast founded for them. Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth. He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills." This passage of the Psalms has been inserted at some length, because the Mexicans appear to have founded their system of natural philosophy upon it: and might easily have supposed that Tlaloc was the voice of thunder which caused the waters of the deluge to haste away. The fifth verse of the Psalm immediately preceding,—in which David, after eulogizing the Deity for his other acts of mercy, exclaims, "who satisfieth thy mouth with good things, *so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's,*"—might have furnished the Mexicans with a pretext for affirming that their youth was renewed on the festival of Yzcalli; for that appears to be the meaning of the words "*se volvian los hombres como niños los cuerpos,*" at page 134 of the fifth volume of this work, although otherwise translated at page 103 of the sixth volume. In reference to another opinion which the Mexicans entertained about children,—an opinion which the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, at page 171 of the sixth volume of the Antiquities of Mexico, declares that the devil induced them to adopt,—namely, that the world, after its third destruction, would be re-peopled by the souls of children who would return to life,—it is scarcely possible, on recollecting the stress which the religion of the Mexicans laid on children being dear to Tezcatlipoca, and on the efficacy of their intercessions with God for men,—to refrain from the conjecture that the Jews might have made the Mexicans acquainted with the doctrine of the Millennium; since, if children who died in their infancy, became, as they supposed, saints in heaven, and the saints had to return to reign on earth, it would necessarily follow, that the world would have to be re-peopled by children, who would re-inhabit it after *the final destruction* of the wicked, whose return would constitute a new and important epoch in its existence. The prophet Esdras, whose writings, though apocryphal, are held in high estimation by the Jews, appears, in the following passage of the tenth chapter of his second book, to advocate the doctrine of children returning to life by the mercy of God:—"Now therefore keep thy sorrow to thyself, and bear with a good courage that which hath befallen thee. For *if* thou shalt acknowledge the determination of God to be just, thou shalt both *receive* thy son *in time,* and shalt be commended among women." It has already been observed at page 387 of the sixth volume of this work, that the same prophet believed that the world had been several times destroyed*, which opinion he shared with the ancient Mexicans, who, in naming their supreme deity Tezcatlipoca, and in emphatically styling him Teiocoianitehimatini, which signifies *the provider of all necessary things,* as likewise in believing that the sun moved in a diurnal course round the earth, appear to have had an acquaintance with the hundred-and-fourth Psalm, in which the following singular passages occur:—"He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, and *they smoke.*" "He appointeth the moon for seasons†. The sun *knoweth his going down.*" "The young lions roar after their prey, *and seek their meat from God.*" The incidental allusion in the fifteenth verse to oil, reminds us that the Mexicans, like the Jews, were accustomed to anoint their faces with oil, and to make use of paint. In confirmation of a previous observation, that the Mexicans appear to have borrowed some of their notions in natural philosophy from the above-mentioned Psalm, we shall here insert a passage from the tenth chapter of the eleventh book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in which it is highly deserving of observation, that the opinion of the Mexicans,—that all rivers flowed from Tlalocan, or the terrestrial paradise; that the mountainous portion of the earth's surface *is hollow and full of water;* and that the sea runs *beneath the earth in secret channels and pipes,* which, straining away its saline particles, converted the salt into fresh water,—seems to be

* Whence, it may be inquired, could Esdras have derived this heterodox—it might be said heretical—opinion? The canonical books of the Old Testament record only one destruction of the world by water; and if the ancient traditions of the Chaldeans, whose chronology went back myriads of ages, admitted several to have taken place, it still should be recollected that the Jews are generally understood to have returned to Jerusalem under the auspices of Esdras, free from idolatry, and bringing back with them the pure faith of their ancestors. It would therefore be by many doubted, that Esdras himself, as well as numbers of his countrymen, might have returned to Jerusalem infected with the superstitions of the Chaldeans,—an opinion which nevertheless the celebrated Volney is inclined to maintain. It deserves to be noticed, that some writers affirm that the Egyptians believed that the world had once been destroyed by fire, and that, in commemoration of that catastrophe, they annually dyed their trees and cattle red. "The Egyptians," says Porphyry, "employed every year a talisman in remembrance of the world; at the summer *solstice* they marked their houses, flocks and trees, with red, supposing that on that day the whole world had been set on fire."

† The Mexicans might hence have named their months *meztli,* after the moon, although they only consisted of twenty days each, actuated merely by superstition in the choice of the name.

derived from Scripture, and to have originated in what is said, in the tenth verse of the second chapter of Genesis, of the river that went out from Eden, which was parted into four heads, themselves the sources of the four most famous rivers of the globe; and in the inference apparently deducible from the eleventh verse of the seventh chapter of Genesis, in which it is said that the Deluge was caused by God's opening the windows of heaven, and simultaneously *breaking up all the fountains* of the great deep; which would seem to imply that the sea, which before that period had flowed in its allotted channels at a certain depth beneath the earth's surface, on those channels being broken up, burst forth and caused the Deluge;—heaven and earth, to which the Jews, like the Mexicans, were fond of appealing in their adjurations*, in this manner cooperating to fulfil the word of God. To these reasons may be added another, founded on the language of David in the twenty-fourth Psalm, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein; for he hath founded it *upon* the seas, and established it *upon* the floods;" which passage deserves to be compared with the expressions of the Psalmist in the seventh verse of the forty-second Psalm,

* "O sun and earth (tlaltecutli)!" was a Mexican adjuration; and Moses, in the nineteenth verse of the thirtieth chapter of Deuteronomy, exclaims, "I call *heaven* and *earth* to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." And he again appeals to heaven and earth in the first verse of the thirty-second chapter of the same book, "Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth." Isaiah likewise apostrophizes heaven and earth in the second verse of the first chapter of his Prophecies, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me." The form and manner in which the Mexicans took a solemn oath is thus described by Sahagun in a concluding paragraph of the Appendix to the second book of his History of New Spain; and it deserves to be noticed that the Mexicans, in the nature, object, manner, and peculiarity of their vows, resembled the Jews, and likewise in the superstitious importance which they attached to them:—"Tenian tambien costumbre de hacer juramento de cumplir alguna cosa á que se obligaban, y aquel á quien se obligaban les demandaba que hiciesen juramento para estar seguro de su palabra; y el juramento que hacian era en esta forma: '*Por vida del Sol* y de nuestra señora la tierra que no falte en lo que tengo dicho, y para mayor seguridad como esta tierra;' y luego tocaba con los dedos en la tierra, y llegabalos á la boca y lamialos; y asi comia tierra haciendo juramento." "They were likewise accustomed to take an oath to fulfil any thing to the performance of which they had pledged themselves; and the person to whom they bound themselves required that they should take an oath as a security for their word; and the oath which they took was in this form: '*By the life of the Sun* and our lady the Earth, let there be no falsehood in that which I have uttered, and for greater security I eat this earth,' when immediately he touched the earth with his fingers, and lifting them to his mouth licked them; and in this manner he ate earth when taking an oath." It was a Jewish custom to eat earth as a sign of humility; and to cover the mouth with the hand was a very ancient Hebrew mark of respect, as we learn from the following passage of the twenty-ninth chapter of the Book of Job: "When the Almighty was yet with me, when my children were about me; when I washed my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil; when I went out to the gate through the city, when I prepared my seat in the street! the young men saw me, and hid themselves: and the aged arose, and stood up. The princes refrained talking, and *laid their hand on their mouth*." This usage is also mentioned in the fifth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Job, "Mark me, and be astonished, and *lay your hand upon your mouth*;" where it is spoken of as the effect of astonishment mingled with awe, which may serve to explain the signification of Isaiah's prophecy respecting the Messiah, in the fifteenth verse of the fifty-second chapter of his Prophecies, "The kings shall *shut their mouths* at him," which might better have been translated "shall compress their mouths," since συνεξουσι (the term employed in the same passage in the Septuagint) might easily be understood to refer to the act of compressing the lips with the hand. It is very deserving of notice, that to place the hand on the mouth, or to cover the mouth with the hand, after having previously *touched the earth with it*, was a Mexican ceremony indicative of extreme respect and reverence. This was the salutation with which Montezuma received Cortes on his first interview with him in Mexico, to the great surprise of his own subjects, who could scarcely believe that a stranger would receive such a mark of condescension from their sovereign. The ancient Hebrew custom of placing the hand upon the mouth may perhaps be alluded to by the figure of a hand covering the mouths of three of the figures contained in the upper compartment of the sixty-seventh page of the Borgian MS. Having already shown that the Jews and the Mexicans resembled each other in the outer act or ceremony with which they accompanied an oath, it is extremely deserving of observation that "By the life of our Lord," or "As our Lord liveth," was an oath used by the Mexicans, the form of which they appear to have borrowed from the Old Testament, judging, perhaps, that it would be most agreeable to God that man should adopt the same form of oath as that which he employed to ratify solemn promises to the Jews; two examples of which it will be sufficient to adduce in this place from Scripture, the first of which is contained in the following passage taken from the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah: "Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, and come to thee. *As I live*, saith the Lord, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth." The second occurs in the twentieth chapter of Ezekiel: "Wherefore say unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God; Are ye polluted after the manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredom after their abominations? For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make your sons to pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with all your idols, even unto this day: and shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? *As I live*, saith the Lord God, I will not be inquired of by you. And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone. *As I live*, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and *with a stretched out arm*, and with fury poured out, will I rule over you."

"Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy water-spouts;" by which he appears to mean, that remote as one sea might be from the other, still the tumultuous roaring of the waves, striving to gain ingress into the channels which conducted their waters into the common reservoir in the centre of the earth, produced a common sympathy between them. "One brook calleth another, because of the noise of the water-pipes," is an analogous expression which occurs in another Psalm. A surprising conformity is here exhibited between the theory of the Mexicans respecting the sea, and that which appears to be deducible from the Old Testament: but whether the ancient Jews believed, like the Mexicans, that the earth was encompassed by the sea,—an error into which they might have been led by putting a wrong construction upon the sixth verse of the hundred-and-fourth Psalm, where David says, in reference to the earth, "Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment,"—or argued, like some of the ancient Fathers, that it was a vast plain immoveably fixed upon pillars,—it is of little importance to know, although Scripture seems to authorize the adoption of both these theories, and the latter was maintained by more than one of the ancient Fathers, who pronounced the opinion opposed to it to be impious and heretical. The singular notion which the Mexicans entertained, that heaven was supported on walls of water, and formed a sort of roof to the earth, may also with great probability be traced to what is said in the sixth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, of the creation of the firmament: And an attentive perusal of the following extract from Sahagun's History of New Spain will convince the most sceptical that the Mexicans borrowed largely from the natural philosophy of the Jews, to whose moral code they were so much indebted: "This first chapter treats of the water of the sea, and of the sea itself, which they name Teuatl, which word does not signify 'God,' 'the God of water,' or 'divine water,' but means simply, 'water of marvellous depth and magnitude'. It is likewise named Hiluicaatl, which signifies 'water that joins the heaven'; for the ancient inhabitants of the earth imagined that the heaven and the sea joined, forming as it were a house, that the water was the walls, and that heaven was placed above them*; and for this reason they named the sea Hiluicaatl, or, in other words, 'the water which joins heaven'. Now however, since the arrival of the faith amongst them, they know that heaven joins neither the sea nor the land; and accordingly they name the sea Veyatl, which signifies 'a vast and dangerous sheet of water', covered with foam, and with waves and billows resembling mountains, bitter, salt, and unfit to drink, in which many animals constantly in motion exist. They name large rivers Atoiatl, which name signifies 'water that runs with great rapidity', or, in other words, 'water which flows swiftly'. *The ancient inhabitants of this country affirm that all rivers proceed from a place called Tlalocan, that is to say, the terrestrial paradise,* which place is under the dominion of a god named Chalchiuitlycue; and they likewise declare *that the*

* The creation of the firmament is thus recorded in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "And God said, Let there be *a firmament in the midst* of the waters, and let it *divide* the waters *from* the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day." There are strong grounds for presuming that the Mosaic account of the creation of the firmament gave rise to the Mexican fable of heaven being supported upon walls of water, and forming a roof over the earth, the solid nature of which seems to be intimated by the expression στερεωμα, the term employed in the Septuagint for the firmament; which, when we consider the force of its signification, in connection with its derivation, as likewise that of the Latin word *firmamentum*, and reflect at the same time that the command, "and let it divide the waters from the waters," would seem to refer to the creation of some solid body capable of supporting the weight of the waters which were above the firmament, or, in other words, of resisting the laws of gravity,—it really becomes difficult to understand στερεωμα in a sense that would not have favoured the growth of the Mexican fable. That the creation of space was not ambiguously signified by the formation of the firmament is evident, because space is admitted, in the second verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to have had a previous existence; nor the creation of the heavenly luminaries, because they are declared, in the fourteenth verse of the same chapter, to have been created afterwards. The firmament then, it is evident, was a distinct portion of the work of creation, formed for the sole purpose of dividing the waters, and mentioned along with them in the seventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis. And it is very deserving of remark, that Job and Esdras both describe it as a solid roof placed over the earth; the former in the eighteenth verse of his thirty-seventh chapter, where he emphatically alludes to its strength and solidity, "Hast thou with him spread out the sky? which is strong and as a *molten* looking-glass,"—the latter in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of his Second Book, where he positively declares that it was founded or supported upon the waters which were under it, which were the sea: "He hath shut the sea in the midst of the waters, and with his word hath he hanged the earth upon the waters. He spreadeth out the heavens like a vault; *upon the waters hath he founded it.* In the desert hath he made springs of water, and pools upon the *tops of the mountains,* that the floods might pour down from the high rocks to water the earth." The Mexican theory of the sea forming walls of water round the earth is suggested by the interrogatory of Job in the eighth verse of his thirty-eighth chapter, "Who shut up the sea with doors when it broke forth as if it had issued out of the womb?" since the mention of doors necessarily implies the existence of walls through which there was a door-way.

mountains whose bases are there situated are full of water, and covered externally with earth, being as it were large pitchers of water, or houses full of water; and that, if need required, the mountains would burst, and the water within them would flow forth and deluge the earth. Hence they took occasion to apply the epithet of *altepetl,* which signifies 'a mountain of water', or 'a mountain full of water', to inhabited towns: they likewise said that rivers produced mountains, and that the god Chalchiuitlycue* caused them. But having become acquainted with the truth, they now say that it is by the will of God that the sea enters the earth by veins and channels; and wherever it can find an outlet oozes forth, whether from the roots of mountains or the level surface of the ground; and that afterwards many streams unite, and so form large rivers: and although the water of the sea is salt, and that of rivers sweet, it loses its salt or bitter taste by percolation through the earth or through stones and sand, and becomes sweet and potable; so that in this manner large rivers flow from the sea, through secret channels beneath the earth, which, forcing their passage through its surface, become fountains and rivers."—Returning to the examination of the prophecies contained in the twenty-second Psalm, which by some extraordinary chance the people of two different hemispheres have applied to two different Messiahs,—since this will have to be conceded, except on the supposition that Quecalcoatle was Christ,—we shall observe that the prediction† "My tongue cleaveth to my jaws" appears to be literally remained, from motives of filial piety, *subject* to them, must likewise remind us of the language of Isaiah, in the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of his Prophecies, "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and *the government shall be upon his shoulder;* and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever." Since none of the high-sounding titles which are here given to the Messiah occur in the corresponding passage in the Septuagint, which merely invests the son of the virgin with the attributes of a great prince, and contains not an expression, with the exception perhaps of ἀπο του νυν και εἰς τον αἰωνα, which deviates from strict propriety of language, were a mere mortal the subject treated of, it may easily be supposed that the Mexicans, if they had been acquainted with the prediction of Isaiah, might have persuaded themselves that they beheld the accomplishment of the ancient prophecy in the temporal power of Topiltzin, whose very misfortunes,—such as the destruction of the Tultecas and the city of Tulan, (which event occurred in the latter end of his reign, and was preceded by the rebellion of some neighbouring kings and rulers,) as also his own departure to the kingdom of Huetlapallan, with a promise that he would return thence with a mighty army to take vengeance upon his enemies, and the destitute state in which he left his sons and subjects, however at variance with one famous prophecy,—might have appeared to them the fulfilment of others relating to the Messiah;—for instance, of that of David in the second and third verses of the second Psalm: "The kings of *the earth* set themselves, and *the rulers take counsel together,* against the Lord, and against *his anointed,* saying, Let us break *their bands* asunder, and cast away *their cords* from us:" to which prophecy Isaiah appears obliquely to allude in the concluding sentence of the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of his Prophecies, which is translated in the Septuagint: "ἀξω γαρ εἰρηνην ἐπι τους ἀρχοντας, και ὑγιειαν ἀυτῳ," "for I will pacify the rulers, and restore him to health." It may be proper to observe, for the information of those who know little of the ancient history of the Mexicans, that three kings of the earth, that is to say native Tultec princes who were tributary to Topiltzin, and a multitude of inferior rulers, are said to have conspired against him, towards the end of his reign, who, as history declares, no longer possessed the *mens sana in corpore sano,* but trod closely in the footsteps of David's son, having *lost the judgment* of his early years, which he afterwards recovered on confessing his sins to Tezcatlipoca; although the divine decree having gone forth, he could not avert impending ruin from his state, or prevent the Tultecas becoming a dispersed people, and their land a dreary and waste wilderness. The expectation of the Mexicans that Topiltzin would return to them from the East, and that his advent would take place on the sign of the Thief, (for the sign Ce Acatl was considered by the Mexicans highly favourable to thieves,) was perhaps founded on the language of Isaiah in the twenty-fifth verse of the forty-first chapter of his prophecies, "I have raised up one from the North, and he shall come; from *the rising of the sun* shall he call upon my name; and he shall *come upon princes as upon mortar,* and as *the potter treadeth clay;*" and on the declaration in the New Testament, that the coming of the Son of Man would be like that of a thief in the night. Isaiah, in the eleventh verse of the forty-sixth

* Tlaloc is probably here meant, who is represented in the fifty-seventh plate of the Codex Vaticanus by the symbol of a skull placed upon a mountain, from the base of which a stream of water appears to flow forth. Tlaloc was the Mexican god of water, and the skull might have been a hieroglyphic employed by the Mexicans to signify his spiritual nature, since a ghost or spirit can properly have no material type, and cannot therefore be represented by any appropriate symbol.

† If faith can be placed in Mexican tradition, the following remarkable prophecies respecting the Messiah would seem to have been verified in the person of Quecalcoatle, either in his character of king or high priest of the city of Tula; "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you *a sign.* Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. *Butter and honey shall he eat,* that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good." The remarkable accordance of the proper name Topiltzin with Immanuel has already been pointed out at page 507 of the sixth volume of this work; but it is equally deserving of notice, that the first name which was bestowed upon Topiltzin king of Tula shortly after his birth, on the famous sign of Ce Acatl or *the Star,* (and whilst yet an infant in the arms of his mother, the *reputed* virgin Xochitl,) was Meconetzin, which word signifies *the child of the honey of the aloe.* The extraordinary capacity which this prince is said to have displayed in his earliest years for governing a state, and his precocious talents, which disposed his parents, (who were of the *royal* race of the Tultecas,) to surrender up to him the administration of public affairs, who still

fulfilled in the seventy-second page of the Borgian MS.,* in which painting, *two* women (mothers, as it is to be presumed from the children which they carry behind them,) are represented with coffers, the inclined position of which

chapter of his Prophecies again seems to insinuate that the Messiah would come from the East, since no other interpretation can be put upon the passage "Calling a ravenous bird from the east, *the man that executeth my counsel* from a far country." But if it be denied that the coming of the Messiah the prince of peace could possibly have been associated, even in the mind of the most fanatical observer of the laws of Moses, with ideas of blood and carnage,—those who make this futile objection had better peruse with attention the prophetical books of the Old Testament, and refer to the hundred-and-tenth Psalm, every verse of which is prophetical of the Messiah and his advent,—when they will find reason to change their opinion, and perhaps to come to the conclusion that the Mexicans would never have offered human sacrifices to Quecalcoatle, or applied the epithet of Topiltzin to the high priest who presided at those revolting rites, if they had not entertained the idea that his coming would be a day of retribution and vengeance, and that he could only be appeased by propitiatory sacrifices: and hence perhaps the reason why Montezuma's ambassadors presented Cortes with cakes moistened with human blood, at the very time that they felt convinced that he was Quecalcoatle.—Before noticing those prophecies of Scripture which appear to have been verified by Quecalcoatle in his pontifical character, we must observe that the Mexicans, in recording that Topiltzin was the father of two sons, might have agreed with the Jews in supposing that the Messiah who was to be seated on the throne of David, would be a married man; and that the words of Isaiah, "*he shall see his seed,*" in the tenth verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies, required a literal fulfilment. Having briefly adverted to some prophecies in the Old Testament which are applicable to Quecalcoatle, in whose history we behold, as through a mirror darkly, the pretended accomplishment of some important prophecies relating to the advent of the Messiah in his regal character,—we come to the consideration of a still more mysterious portion of his history, in which he is presented to our view as a priest zealous for the honour of his God, who came into the world to preach a new law, and to reform mankind by penance; teaching them the doctrine of repentance and the remission of sin, and exhorting them above all things to avoid pleasure, as a crime most odious in the eyes of the Deity, and the cause of a considerable portion of mankind having been once destroyed. He was the founder of innumerable temples, and the institutor of all sorts of religious rites, especially of baptism and the teoqualo or communion. He had many disciples, who religiously observed the rules laid down by the founder of their faith, and practised similar or greater austerities,—drawing blood from various parts of their body with thorns, perhaps from a tradition that their master had been pierced with thorns; and lacerating themselves with cruel voluntary scourgings, as an act of merit and supererogation. The Mexicans named the age of Quecalcoatle the age of roses; and believed that when he was king of Tula the earth spontaneously produced fruits and flowers of every description, and that both animate and inanimate nature displayed a miraculous sympathy with this new order of things, the stalks of maize attaining the stature of trees, and cotton budding forth of every dye; whilst the plumage of the birds became more beautiful, and their melodious songs filled the groves. Isaiah describes the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom in a similar glowing strain in the

eleventh chapter of his Prophecies: and it seems extremely probable that the Mexicans understood in a literal sense the allegory of the lion eating straw like the ox, and the child putting his hand on the cockatrice; whilst their fable of gourds a yard and a half in length, and trees producing pink, yellow, and scarlet cotton, seems to have been founded on the prediction of the same prophet in his fourth chapter, where, alluding to the coming of Christ's kingdom, he exclaims, "In that day shall *the branch* of the Lord be beautiful and glorious, and *the fruit of the earth* shall be excellent and *comely* for *them* that are *escaped* of Israel." The interpreter of the Vatican Codex declares, at page 178 of the sixth volume of this work, that Quecalcoatle was the inventor of temples, and built many places of prayer, which would well accord with the prediction of David in the ninth verse of the sixty-ninth Psalm, "For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up;" which prediction we learn from the seventeenth verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. John was expressly uttered by David of the Messiah, "And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." Those who may wish to trace the apparent fulfilment of other prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah in the person of Quecalcoatle, can refer to the 108th and 166th pages of the sixth volume of this work, and to note xii of the same volume, of which the first note in the present volume is the continuation.

* The crucifixion of Quecalcoatle appears to be the subject of the seventy-second page of the Borgian MS., and there is possibly an allusion in it to the prophetical language of Isaiah in the nineteenth verse of the forty-second chapter of his Prophecies: "Who is blind, but *my servant*? or deaf, as *my messenger* that I sent? Who is blind, as he that is *perfect*, and blind as the Lord's servant?" It deserves to be remarked that this passage is translated very differently in the Septuagint, which precisely in those chapters and passages that are allowed by common consent to contain the most famous prophecies respecting the advent of the future Messiah, and the signs and tokens by which he should be known, is most at variance with the Hebrew Bible;—incredible as this fact may appear, a comparison of the Greek and Hebrew texts of the ninth, fifty-second, and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah; of the twenty-second and hundred-and-tenth Psalms; of the forty-third verse of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy (to which St. Paul refers in the sixth verse of the first chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews); of the sixth verse of the fortieth Psalm (likewise referred to by St. Paul in the fifth verse of the tenth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews),—will clearly demonstrate its truth; although it will not explain the cause of variations which never could have been accidental. Even the famous passage of the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Job, which is introduced in the Burial Service, from its apparent connection with two vital articles of Christianity, wants the authority of the Septuagint Bible, as a comparison of the Greek text with the corresponding passage in the English translation of the Bible will clearly show; since Job can only be understood to allude in the following passage to his strong conviction that through the mercy of God he would recover from the infirmity under which he was then labouring, and that his skin would be healed of its many sores. *Οἰδα γαρ ὁτι ἀενναος ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλυειν με μελλων ἐπι γης, ἀναστησαι το δερμα μου το ἀναντλουν ταυτα· παρα γαρ Κυριου ταυτα μοι συνετελεσθη, ἁ ἐγω ἐμαυτῳ συνεπισταμαι, ἁ ὁ ὀφθαλμος μου ἑωρακε, και οὐκ ἀλλος, παντα*

appears to indicate an offering; which leads us to inquire whether the Mexicans might have had a tradition of the two women, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, who bought sweet spices to anoint the body of Christ, as recorded

δε μοι συντετελεσται ἐν κολπῳ. "For I know that he is everlasting who is about to liberate me upon the earth, (who is about) to restore my skin, which has endured these things; for these things have been accomplished upon me from the Lord, which I myself am conscious of, which my eye hath seen, and not another, for all these things have had their completion in my breast." It deserves to be remarked, that the authority of the Septuagint was preferred by the Apostles to that of the Hebrew Bible, which even St. Matthew (the only evangelist who composed his Gospel in Hebrew for the express use of the Jews,) thought proper to reject, as is evident from the agreement of the names in his genealogy of Christ with those which occur in the Septuagint. Having noticed an important variation in the Septuagint reading of the nineteenth verse of the forty-second chapter of Isaiah, we may here observe, that all traces of the prediction contained in the original Hebrew are quite lost sight of in the Greek translation: *Και τις τυφλος ἀλλ' ἡ οἱ παιδες μου; και κωφοι ἀλλ' ἡ οἱ κυριευοντες ἀυτων; και ἐτυφλωθησονται οἱ δουλοι του Θεου.* "And who is blind but my children? and deaf but those who rule over them? and the servants of God shall become blind:" which resolves itself into an accusation and denunciation of blindness against the children of Israel and their rulers, and has no reference to the Messiah, the prediction of whose blindness, though here a mere allegory, might have been understood in a literal sense by the Jews; and it seems to have induced the translators of the English version of the Bible to put a wrong construction on the words אזנים כרית לי in the sixth verse of the fortieth Psalm, which they have interpreted "mine ears hast thou *opened*"; apparently thinking that it was as reasonable to suppose that the Messiah would be deaf, as that he would be blind; and that opening his ears would refer to the removal of his deafness, whether understood in a spiritual or in a real sense. The proper signification, however, of the Hebrew passage is, "mine ears hast thou *bored*": and when it is recollected that to bore the ears was an ancient *mark* of Hebrew *servitude*, ordained by God himself in the sixth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, and that the Messiah is habitually called by God in the Old Testament his *servant*,—little doubt can be entertained that Isaiah prophesied that the Messiah's ears should be bored, in token of his *perpetual* servitude to God. From slavery being so common and slaves so numerous amongst the Jews, it may confidently be inferred that from the earliest times to the age of Christ a large portion of the Hebrew population had their ears bored; which renders it probable that the Mexicans and the Peruvians might have derived that custom from the Jews, who ever manifested a strong disposition to propagate far and wide their native superstitions, employing, like St. Paul before he became a Christian convert, fire and sword to further the ends of the blindest religious zeal. That to bore the ears was a religious ceremony amongst the Mexicans is asserted by Sahagun in the thirty-seventh chapter of the second book of his History of New Spain, who describes towards the conclusion of that chapter the manner in which it was performed, and expressly says that it was a rite which was publicly celebrated every four years in Mexico on the festival of the month Yzcalli, when all the children who had been born within that space of time had their ears bored; being carried to the temple for that purpose by their parents, who provided them with godfathers and godmothers. Acosta notices the existence of the same custom amongst the Peruvians, without however comparing it with the analogous Mexican rite. Balboa likewise makes mention of it in the tenth chapter of the third part of his Miscellanea Antarctica, where, enumerating the ceremonies with which Mango Capac the founder of the Peruvian monarchy, and his companions, celebrated so auspicious an event as that of the birth of a son to the former, he says; "Y al nuevo infante Sinchiruca lo armaron cavallero, y en el se comenzó á los tres años de su edad la fiesta Tocochicui, que es quando le horadaron las orejas, y á los quatro el Rutuchicui, que es la primera vez que se le cortó el cabello, y á los quince el Huarachicui, que es quando le pusieron las primeras bragas, y se invento un infinito numero de ceremonias que se hiran poniendo en sus lugares y tiempos; dieronle en la mano en señal de citro real, un baston de oro á quien llamaron Topayauri." "They knighted the new infant Sinchiruca, and in him began in the third year of his age the festival of Tocochicui, which was when they bored his ears; and in his fourth year that of Rutuchicui, which was when they for the first time cut his hair; and in his fifth year that of Huarachicui, which was when he was first breeched;—and invented an infinite number of ceremonies which shall be noticed in their proper place and time; they placed in his hand by way of a royal sceptre a mace of gold which they named Topayauri." The ceremonies with which the Peruvians celebrated the most trifling incidents which marked the growth and increasing age of the infant Sinchiruca, were quite in accordance with the customs of the ancient Jews, who, as it has been elsewhere observed, appear to have been the instructors of the Mexicans in everything relating to the treatment and education of children.—To the testimony of Acosta and Balboa respecting the Peruvian rite of boring the ears of children when they attained their fourth year, may be added that of the Inga Titucusi Yupangui, whose written Instructions to the Licentiate Garcia de Castro, are preserved in MS. in the Escurial, and form a very important historical monument;—in those instructions the following curious passage occurs:—"Pasadas todas aquellas cosas de la prision segunda, y el dar de la Ynguill en lugar de la Coya á Gonzalo Pizarro; no pasaron muchos dias en que Gonzalo Pizarro dije que mi padre Mango Ynga hizo una fiesta muy principal, en la cual se oradaban las orejas; y en esta fiesta, nosotros los Yngas, solemos hacer la mayor fiesta que hacemos en todo el año, porque entonces nos dan muchos nombres y nuevo nombre del que teniamos antes, *que tira casi esta ceremonia á lo que los Cristianos hacen cuando se confirman:* en la cual fiesta mi padre salio con toda la autoridad real conforme á nuestro uso, llevando delante sus cetros reales, y el uno de ellos como mas principal era de oro mazizo, y con sus borlas de lo mismo, llevando todos los demas que con el iban juntamente cada uno el suyo, los cuales eran la mitad de plata, y la mitad de cobre, que serian mas de mil todos unos y otros *los que iban á rebautizar*, que en nuestro uso llamamos *Vacaroz*; y estando que estubieron todos nuestros Yndios y los Españoles que estaban, en un llano de un cerro que se llama Anauarque, á donde se hacia la ceremonia, acabada de hacer, (*el como se hace, se dira delante*) al tiempo que se iban á lavar los que asi havian sido rebautizados en el bautismo, los trasquilar y horadar las orejas, los Españoles, no sé si por codicia de la plata que iba en los cetros, ó de algun recelo que de ver tanta gente les debio de caer, pusieronse en arma y comenzaron á alborotar á toda la gente, hechando mano á sus espadas con este apellido, los cuales decian: O bel-

by St. Mark in the first verse of the sixteenth chapter of his Gospel: "And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him." The exclamation which follows, "And thou hast brought me into the *dust* of death," seems to be alluded to by the *prostrate* figure of Death in the lower compartment of the same painting; whilst the next ejaculation, "For dogs have compassed me," may possibly be alluded to by the representation, in the preceding painting, of a man *in a serpent form* exposed to the attacks of ravenous animals. The famous prophecy, "they pierced my hands and my feet," —which is so often appealed to, to prove that David (from whose root the Messiah was to spring) foresaw clearly the manner in which the Jews would put him to death,—is represented as literally accomplished in the seventy-second and seventy-fifth pages of the Borgian MS. The declaration which follows, "I may TELL all my bones," appears to be symbolically alluded to by the figure of the *crucified person*, in the seventy-third page of the same MS., whose bones are *bare*, and *exposed to view*. "They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture," is another famous prophecy relating to the Messiah, the literal fulfilment of which is recorded by Saint John in the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of his Gospel: "Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for

lacos, vosotros levantaros quereis; pues no ha de ser asi, esperad, esperad; y asi de esta manera arremetieron á los cetros para los quitar á los cuales llevaban con deseo de llegar á quitar el de mi padre; y como tenia tanta guarda al derredor de si, por sus mangas no pudieron llegar, sino quitaron de los otros los que pudieron, que fueron muchos. Mi padre que asi oyó tanto ruido y mormullo entre la gente, atendio á ver lo que pasaba, y desque supo que los Españoles se habian desvergonzado de aquella manera, alzó la voz diciendo: Que es esto? y los Yndios todos, como llorando, se le quexaron de esta suerte, los cuales digeron: Sepai Ynga, que gente es esta que tienes en tu tierra, que no se contenta con tanto oro y plata como les has dado, y por fuerza nos han quitado nuestros *yauris* de plata, que quiere decir cetros, nos han quitado con amenazas, de lo cual recibimos gran pena: diles que nos los vuelvan, y que les baste ya la plata y oro que les habemos dado." From the above passage it would appear that boring the ears was the ceremony with which the Peruvians solemnized the second baptism of their children; and it might have been intended as a sign of the compact into which they then entered to be faithful servants to God. It deserves to be noticed, that Titucusi Yupangui had embraced Christianity at a period prior to his transmitting his Instructions to Spain; and it may further be pointed out as a most curious fact, that he should prefix to one of the chapters of his Instructions a declaration that the deity adored under the name of Viracocha by the Peruvians and the God worshiped by the Christians *were the same*. The following is the passage in which this most remarkable declaration is contained. "Aqui comienza la manera y modo por la via que yo Don Diego de Castro Titucusi Yupangui vine á tener paz con los Españoles, de la cual paz, *por la bondad de Dios*, á quien *nosotros* antiguamente *llamabamos Viracocha*, vine á *ser Christiano*, la qual es esta que sigue." "Here commences an account of the way and manner in which I Don Diego de Castro Titucusi Yupangui became at peace with the Spaniards, by which peace, *through the goodness of the God whom we anciently named Viracocha*, I became a Christian, which was as follows." We have here the testimony of a Peruvian Inga after his conversion to Christianity, and consequently not before he had been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, in favour of the identity of the God of Christians and the deity adored in ancient times in Peru; and hence perhaps the tenacity with which the Peruvians clung to the faith of their ancestors; since if the preaching of the missionaries produced in their minds the conviction that the god of the Spaniards was the same as Viracocha, it would also have been likely to inspire them with a feeling of unwillingness to relinquish the practice of those rites which they believed that he had commanded, which same feeling continues to actuate the Jews of the present day, to whom the argument derived from the profession of a common faith as regards many vital articles of religion, is never found to be persuasive, religious extremes being more likely eventually to meet than religious approximations, which are frequently looked upon as a collateral evidence of the truth of their own religious persuasion by each contending sect. Having referred to the nineteenth verse of the forty-second chapter of Isaiah as a text of Scripture likely to have induced the Jews to suppose that it was foretold that the Messiah should be blind, we shall conclude this note by citing a passage from the fourth volume of the Universal History, page 241, in which mention is made of a material difference of sentiment which prevails between Jews and Christians as to the right reading of the sixteenth verse of the twenty-second Psalm, in reference to the famous prophecy, "they pierced my hands and my feet;" the Jews contending that through an intentional alteration of the Hebrew text by Christians, the genuine prophecy respecting the Messiah, which they explain to be, "My hands and feet *like those of a lion* were watched," is quite lost sight of. "Before we dismiss this noble Psalm we beg leave to answer an objection which the latter (the Jews) raise against our reading in the sixteenth verse, כארו, caru, *they pierced my hands*, &c., instead of כאורי, caare, which they pretend is the true reading, and signifies *like a lion*, as if the meaning had been, *My hands and feet like those of a lion* (to which they were forced to add to make it sense) *were watched* or *observed*. And this exchange of the latter for the former they do not scruple to charge *us* with. Vide inter alios auctorem libri Nitzachon." It is most singular that Quecalcoatle should be represented in the third, seventy-third, and seventy-fifth pages of the Borgian MS. with feet having claws like those of a lion, as well as with pierced human feet, which may perhaps refer to that old Jewish notion.

my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did." Ancient commentators on Scripture contend that the words of David, besides being prophetical of the Messiah, involved a type and great hidden mystery; for that the seamless mantle of Christ, which the soldiers refused to rend, signified the *unity* of the church; the truth of the type has, however, been less insisted upon since the period of the Reformation; neither is the fact itself, of the coat or tunic of Christ having been without a seam, as remarkable as the ancient commentators on the prophecies affect to think; since it is not at all improbable that in the age of Christ such tunics were in general fashion amongst the Jews: and to this opinion we have been led by reading, either in the History of Torquemada or of Sahagun, that the Mexicans, who borrowed so many of their other usages from the Jews, were accustomed to weave their tunics of a *single* piece, beginning at the neck and weaving downwards, leaving apertures for the head and arms. The Ingas wore likewise a vest of the same description, if we may be permitted to judge from their portraits prefixed to the Decads of Herrera. Saint John affirms that the soldiers, at the Crucifixion, after dividing the other garments of Christ into four parts, cast lots for the tunic, to which he gives the Greek name of χιτων. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that to cast lots in order to determine chances was an ancient Hebrew custom, so frequently resorted to by the Jews, that it is only surprising that Moses should no where have forbidden gaming in the Pentateuch, to which habit that of casting lots would have been so likely to lead, and the existence of which amongst the Jews at a later period of their history may be inferred from what is recorded of Samson in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Judges, who is there said to have laid a wager with the Philistines for thirty sheets and thirty changes of garments; affording by so doing grounds for supposing that his countrymen were extremely addicted to play, and justifying the observation that the Jews, from the age of Samson to that of Christ, were accustomed to lay wagers, and to cast lots upon garments, and that the Mexican game of patol, or of lots, was probably of Hebrew origin. We shall only further remark, in reference to the last-mentioned prophecy of David, that the garments of Quecalcoatle were esteemed by the Mexicans as holy relics, and were preserved for many ages in the city of Cholula, where was a famous shrine dedicated to Quecalcoatle, to which pilgrimages were performed from all parts of New Spain, and even from the kingdom of Guatemala; and it deserves to be noticed, that on certain solemn festivals a transfer of these garments from the citizens of Cholula to those of Tlaxcala and Huexocingo, constituted a solemn religious ceremony, of which a more particular account will be found in the note subjoined to page 343 of the sixth volume of the present work. The concluding supplication of David, "Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling from the power of *the dog*. Save me from the lion's *mouth*, for thou hast heard me from the horns of the *unicorns**," might have led the Jews to suppose that the Messiah would be exposed to danger from the attacks of fierce and carnivorous animals; and to that absurd belief the figures of the tiger and the eagles in the seventy-first page of the Borgian MS. may perhaps allude. The seventy-fifth page of the Borgian MS. is very remarkable, from the representation which it contains of Quecalcoatle in the attitude of a crucified person, with the impressions of nails visible in his hands and feet; and the seventy-sixth page would be scarcely less so, supposing it to relate to the advent of the Messiah on the last day, when the dead are to be awoke by the sound of a trumpet,—on which supposition the twelve figures which stand on the azure border of the circle, which is intended perhaps to represent teotl-tlatlaucha, or 'the red heaven' of the Mexicans, may signify the twelve apostles who are to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. The former of these paintings is still more deserving of attention, on account of the suns that so conspicuously adorn the body of Quecalcoatle, which serve to remind us of the appellation of *the Sun of righteousness*, which the prophet Malachi bestows on the Messiah, in the second verse of the fourth chapter of his Prophecies: "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing *in his wings*, and ye shall go forth and grow up as *calves* of the stall." This figurative language of Scripture explains to us the reason why the Sun, as well as the Morning-star, was an epithet applied to Christ, who is also named in Scripture 'Light,' a phrase which seems to have laid the foundation of a famous heresy which arose in the earliest ages of the church. The wounds on the body of Quecalcoatle in the same painting are also very remarkable: they are not five but nine; yet still they present an odd number, and may create a doubt whether the tradition of the five precious wounds of Christ,—which, like other primitive traditions, Protestants affect totally to disregard,—might not have passed over to the New World; Boturini at least so supposes at page 418

* The Mexican sign Cipactli was sometimes represented by the head of an animal with a single horn proceeding from its forehead, which Valades in his treatise, entitled "Christian Rhetoric," names a sword-fish, but which was perhaps intended to represent the unicorn, a beast with which the Jews were so well acquainted.

of the sixth volume of the present work, where an account of his discovery of a blue cross of the form of the Greek letter T will also be found. The phrase of Malachi, "*healing in his wings*," in reference to the Sun of righteousness,—presenting as it does, under *one* and the *same* image, *the threefold idea* of a man, a bird, and *the sun*, and exactly agreeing in metaphorical anomaly with the figure delineated in the eighth page of the Vatican MS., which perhaps represents Quecalcoatle personified as the sun and the *green feathered serpent*, holding *a fan* in his left hand, with what appears to be a *sickle* in his right, together with flints, *the symbols of his penance*, whom the Mexicans might have named Citlaltotonametle*, from their belief that he would appear *in the clouds of heaven* —affords grounds for supposing that the Jews of Mexico were acquainted with the prophecy of Malachi, and had applied that, like many others contained in the Old Testament, to Quecalcoatle. It is not undeserving of notice that the bust of Quecalcoatle, (of which a description will be found at page 168 of the sixth volume of this work,) in addition to the ornament of the collar round the neck, composed of the solar disc, and the feathered serpent sculptured in a stone of a *greenish hue*, is represented with a fan and sickle, which suggests the possibility of the Mexicans having been acquainted with the following passage of the third chapter of Saint Luke, descriptive of the advent of the Messiah: "John answered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and *with fire*: whose *fan* is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable." This passage nearly corresponds in phraseology with the words of Saint Matthew, in the third† chapter of his Gospel, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire: whose *fan* is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." The signification of the fan in the hand of the Messiah is explained by the text; but it may be proper to observe, that the sickle is emblematical of the harvest which he is to reap on the day of judgment. These analogies having been sufficiently pointed out, we shall notice the verification of an ancient prophecy in the person of Quecalcoatle, to which it is impossible not to attach the greatest importance, affording, as it does, a surprising corroboration of the curious fact, that the Jews had applied many of the types and the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to Christ, to Quecalcoatle. The remarkable prediction, "In his humiliation *his judgment was taken away*, and who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth," occurs in the eighth verse of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and is quoted in the eighth chapter of the Acts, where Philip declares to the eunuch that this prediction was to be interpreted of Christ. Since however the Gospels make no mention either of the manner or the time in which Christ lost his judgment, we may be permitted from the context, "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth," to suppose that the event took place at the Crucifixion. The prophecy that the Son of God should lose his judgment was in itself one of so extraordinary a nature, and apparently so at

* The sun is named simply Totonametl in the address of the Mexican midwife to that luminary, which is inserted in the thirty-seventh chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain. This epithet appears to be the same as Citlaltotonametle, the name which the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus gives to the symbolical representation of Quecalcoatle, in the eighth page of that MS., the latter being compounded of *citlalin* 'a star', and *tototl* 'a bird'. Molina however, in his Mexican Dictionary, assigns to *totonal* the signification of 'the sign on which any one was born, or the soul or spirit,' "el signo en que alguno nasce, o el alma y espiritu," and *ametl* signifies 'paper', or 'a book'. The Mexicans entertained the belief already alluded to in the note subjoined to page 6 of the sixth volume of this work, that Topilçin, or Quecalcoatle, presided over destinies, and invented the tonalametl, or art of divination, by means of the signs of the days of the year; which suggests a preferable etymology for the proper name Totonametl, the resemblance of which to Citlaltotonametle almost identifies the two proper names; whilst the insertion of the former in the prayer of the midwife at the Mexican baptismal ceremony, proves that the Mexicans worshiped Quecalcoatle as the sun, and named him the tiger, as the Jews called their Messiah the lion of the tribe of Judah.—In a note subjoined to page 176 of the sixth volume of this work, another probable signification has been assigned to the proper name Citlaltotonametle, which, if it may lead some persons too hastily to suppose that the Mexicans might have entertained the belief that Quecalcoatle would appear in the clouds of heaven in the manner foretold of the Messiah, is still deserving of attention, from the fact of a name having been given to Cortes by the Indians of several provinces of New Spain fully indicative of that belief.

† It is useless to inquire why each of these two evangelists made choice of the third chapter of his Gospel for this description of the Messiah; but it deserves to be noticed, that many coincidences of this kind occur in the four Gospels, in which the order of the relation is frequently similar, when the events narrated have no connection with each other.

variance with other predictions respecting him, and with the assumption of his being equal with the Father, that it is most surprising, Saint Luke referring to it in the Acts, *none* of the Evangelists should record its fulfilment in the Gospels; which is perhaps the reason why the old translators of the Bible into English, who preferred the authority of the Hebrew Bible to the Septuagint, have translated the same passage of Isaiah in their version, "*He was taken from prison and from judgment;* and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken;"—which passage is translated in the Septuagint, Εν τη ταπεινωσει ἡ κρισις αὐτου ἠρθη, την γενεαν αὐτου τις διηγησεται; ὁτι αἱρεται ἀπο της γης ἡ ζωη αὐτου, ἀπο των ἀνομιων του λαου μου ἠχθη εἰς θανατον. "In humiliation *his judgment was taken away:* who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken away from the earth: for the transgressions of my people he was led to death." The passage in the Acts which confirms the Septuagint reading of the prophecy of Isaiah, proving at the same time the corruption of the Hebrew text of Scripture, and with what truth Eusebius declared that the Apostles quoted from the Septuagint, rejecting the authority of the Hebrew Bible, is the following:—Εν τη ταπεινωσει αὐτου ἡ κρισις αὐτου ἠρθη, την δε γενεαν αὐτου τις διηγησεται; ὁτι αἱρεται ἀπο της γης ἡ ζωη αὐτου. It hence appears that it was prophesied by Isaiah that Christ should lose his judgment, and that this was to be one of the *signs* of the future Messiah; but when and how this event came to pass, the Evangelists do not record. Torquemada, however, informs us that Quecalcoatle, *on the occasion of his drinking the contents of the cup which Titlacaoa presented him to drink,* lost his judgment. The words which that author employs to commemorate that event are the following: "Despues de aver bebido este brevaje, quedó Quetzalcohuatl fuera de si, *y sin juicio;*" which have been translated with some degree of latitude at page 259 of the sixth volume of the present work, "Quetzalcohuatl after having drunk this beverage *lost all self-possession;*" the more literal meaning of the concluding portion of the sentence being "*remained beside himself and without judgment.*" Enough having been said to prove that the Jews of the New World applied many of the prophecies of the Old Testament to Quecalcoatle, we shall conclude by remarking that, as amongst Christians the institution of the sacrament of the communion was intended to record the crucifixion of Christ; and the offering up of the host at the solemnization of the mass is a sort of renewal of that sacrifice*,—so amongst the Mexicans the rite of Teoqualo, or of eating God, (a description of which will be found at page 414 of the sixth volume of the present work, and a further account at page 105 of the seventh volume, where Sahagun enumerates the austerities which were practised by the Mexicans previously to their receiving the body of Vitzilopuchtli,) appears to have been in commemoration of the crucifixion of Quecalcoatle. That the Mexican ceremony of Teoqualo was of *two kinds,* and was solemnized by *drinking the blood,* as well as by eating the flesh of Quecalcoatle, may be inferred from the fourth and seventy-fourth pages of the Borgian MS.; in the former of which paintings the *four* disciples of Quecalcoatle, mentioned by Torquemada at page 261 of the sixth volume of the present work, may perhaps be recognised in the act of drinking his blood: nor is it less surprising that the Mexicans should have named the flesh of Quecalcoatle, eaten under the similitude of *bread,* toyoliatlaquatl, which name, compounded of *to* 'our,' *yolotl* 'a heart,' (metaphorically signifying *life,*) *atl* 'water,' and *tlaqualli* 'food,' literally signifies *the food of our lives;* and wonderfully agrees with the appellation of *bread of life,* which Christ himself gives to his body received in the sacrament, in the following passage of the sixth chapter of the Gospel of Saint John: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. I am that *bread of life.* Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven,

* This doctrine of the Roman Catholic church is severely reprobated in the Thirty-nine Articles, under the head of that which treats of the *one* oblation of Christ *finished* upon the cross, the entire of which article we shall here take the liberty of transcribing: "The offering of Christ *once made* is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of masses, in the which it *was* commonly said *that the priest did offer Christ* for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, *were* blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." When it is recollected that blasphemy is a sin which is never to be forgiven, and that there must be blasphemers where there are blasphemous fables, the language of this article will appear to every unprejudiced person rather objectionable, and calculated to wound the consciences of weaker brethren: neither is it faultless in grammatical construction, since the substitution of *were* for *are* in the concluding paragraph would seem to imply that the celebration of masses was a thing over, and not still going on, if indeed we have not here a grammatical subterfuge rather than a grammatical error. At the same time, the entire tone of the thirty-first Article will create surprise in all who have perused the nineteenth and the twenty-first Articles, the former of which speaks so confidently of the errors of the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, that any one of those Churches might, almost in self-defence, demand whether the Church of England was alone infallible.

that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am *the living bread* which came down from heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is *my flesh*, which I will give for the life of the world. The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, *How* can this man give us *his flesh* to eat? Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat *the flesh* of the Son of man, and drink *his blood**, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth *my flesh*, and drinketh *my blood*, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that *eateth me*, even he shall live by me. This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." It is unnecessary to attempt to explain the causes which might have led to the abuse of the sacrament amongst the Mexicans and the Peruvians; since it is sufficient to observe that Saint Paul reprobates the Corinthians for eating and drinking *their own damnation*, in allusion to their profanation of that solemn rite; and the early Christian authors accuse the Gnostics of the most shocking practices connected with the celebration of its mysteries,—even of killing infants for the sake of making a superstitious use of their blood. But if professed Christians in the apostolic age, and Christian heretics in the primitive ages of the church, living in the bosom of Christianity, and in fraternity with other orthodox Christians, could have been guilty of these abominations,—where is the difficulty in supposing that time and a train of concomitant causes might have induced the ignorant and superstitious Mexicans to run into excesses still more atrocious? or if that were impossible, to become the blind pupils of the Gnostics and the Jews, who are accused of every revolting rite in the celebration both of the Passover and the Communion? Leaving however to others the investigation of a mystery which time will perhaps reveal, we shall conclude by citing a passage from Balboa's Miscellanea Antarctica, in which that learned author affirms that the traditions of the Peruvians recorded a great earthquake, an eclipse of the sun, and the graves to have been opened, at a period which would nearly correspond with that of the Crucifixion. This passage we transcribe at greater length, because the testimony of Balboa, (who was one of the earliest writers on the ancient history of Peru,) as to the probability of the Gospel having been preached in the earliest ages nearly throughout the continent of America, is highly important, and corroborates the account of many later historians: "Creyeron casi todos los Indios *la immortalidad de el anima*, mas no alcanzaron ni pudieron imaginar que havia de haber *universal resurreccion de la carne*†; antes estavan persuadidos á que despues de muertos yvan á lugares de pena ó de contento, *segun las obras y vivir de cada uno:* aunque tampoco en esto se puede dar regla general, por ser tantas y tan varias, ó desvariadas, las opiniones que para cada cosa de estas havia en cada provincia, y aun en cada familia, y aun en cada casa: solo es de creer que la fuerza de los lazos y engaños mas empecibles y dañosos á las animas de estos desventurados, devieron comenzar á tomar mas fuerza y violencia desde el felice tiempo de el nacimiento del unigenito Hijo de Dios, porque el Demonio viendo rebatido y destrozado su poder *en el mundo conocido y frequentado*, se vino á este oculto y desviado‡ entendiendo el mal entendido, estar en

* The reply which Christ made to the Jews who *strove* amongst themselves about eating his *flesh* must have astonished them, since they were absolutely forbidden by the Mosaic law to *taste the blood* of sacrifices of atonement, although they were commanded *to eat the flesh*, as we have already remarked at page 308 of the sixth volume of this work. How incomprehensible does it appear, that a question which was disputed in *the life-time* of Christ should divide the Christian world still, and that the Apostles should not have foreseen the controversies which might arise amongst Christians of later ages from any *equivocation* in the words of Christ, and have remedied the evil arising from it by stating their true signification, instead of leaving the matter *adhuc sub judice*, to verify in an unlucky sense his famous prediction "I am not come to bring peace into the world, *but the sword*," of which the river Boyne, blushing with the blood of Erin's sons, alas! knows too well the fatal truth.

† To the testimony of Garcilasso de la Vega, and of Juan de Betanços (a portion of whose inedited History of Peru is preserved in the library of the Escurial), in favour of the belief of the Peruvians in the resurrection of the body, as well as the immortality of the soul, may be added that of two Spanish historians, contemporary with Betanços, whose unpublished manuscripts are preserved in the same library, and who profess to have received their information from the Peruvians themselves. Without recurring in this place to the authority of Herrera, it may be proper to observe that the celebrated Garcia was so fully persuaded of the belief of the Peruvians in this essential article of the Christian faith that in the eighth chapter of the sixth book of his rare treatise, entitled "Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo", he employs it as a strong argument to prove that the Gospel had been preached in America at a period antecedent to the age of Columbus.—We shall reserve for a subsequent note extracts from the works of the Spanish historians above alluded to, in further corroboration of that important fact.

‡ The theory here maintained by Balboa and many other writers in the age in which he lived, has contributed more than any other

estas partes mas seguro y encastillado, y saliole vana su esperanza, segun lo que despues sucedio. *Generalmente (entre las naciones de algun entendimiento en estas Yndias) se tiene noticia por tradicion de padres á hijos, que un dia subito y repentinamente tembló la tierra, y el Sol, fuera de la orden de sus cursos, se escureció, y las piedras se quebraron hiriendose unas con otras, y muchos sepulcros de hombres muertos de mucho tiempo atrás se vieron abiertos, y en todo genero de animales se conoció gran turbacion y espanto, y por congeturas y indicios se viene á sacar haver sido aquel, dia santisimo de la pasion y muerte de nuestro Redentor Christo:* porque tambien dicen, que á pocos años despues fueron vistos en las partes superiores de este Piru ciertos varones de aspecto y presencia venerable, *barba larga**, vestido onesto, trato y conversacion santisima, informadores de nova manera de vivir, y predicadores de doctrina de que nada se acuerdan: de esto se tuvo y *tiene* en la parte dicha *muy clara y comun noticia,* y se ven y muestran sus efigies y figuras en algunas piedras, esculpidas y entalladas de bulto†: *y verdaderamente, no solo en este Piru se tiene noticia de lo tal,* mas en *muchas* muy *diferentes provincias* se dize de generacion en generacion haverse visto hombres semejantes. Es muy comun en este Piru, que en la provincia de el Cuzco, en el pueblo de Cacha, vieron y conversaron

cause to throw the veil of oblivion over the history of the New World; since, when once it became a received opinion that the Devil, from feelings of envy and rivalry towards God, felt a pleasure in counterfeiting in the New World and amongst the Indians the laws and ceremonies of the Jews, the Spanish clergy must have found it an easy task to persuade the laity to cooperate with them in destroying the most interesting monuments of antiquity; and if coercion had been necessary, the Inquisition would no doubt have lent its powerful aid to further the object of such mistaken zeal.

* The copper complexion and smooth skins of the Indians have sometimes been appealed to in proof of the population of America having received little or no admixture of foreign blood until the Spaniards visited their shores. Oviedo however, in the twenty-eighth chapter of the twenty-ninth book of his General History of the Indies, denies that the Indians of Cueva and of many other provinces of the Indies were beardless, observing, in reference to a previous remark, "tienen tantos pelos como los cristianos ó qualquiera otra nacion."

† Garcia, in the tenth chapter of the fifth book of his treatise concerning the preaching of the Gospel in the New World, gives the following account of the existence of similar sculptured monuments in New Spain. "Quando passando yo por Nueva-España, yva inquiriendo y preguntando á los religiosos que doctrinavan los Indios, si avian oydo á ellos dezir y contar algunas cosas que tocassen á la predicacion del evangelio en los siglos passados; si me referian algo que fuesse á mi proposito de lo que buscava para este Tratado, no me contentava con oyrlo, ni lo queria escrivir de mi mano: y assi les pedia lo escriviessen de la suya (que assi lo hize en la relacion que arriba escrivimos del vicario de la Vera Cruz) para que se entienda que no contamos patrañas inventadas de nuestro ingenio, sino lo que otros me contaron y refirieron, cuyos memoriales guardo y tengo en mi poder, ya que no son conocidos los autores, para quien dudare dello. Estando pues yo en un convento de mi orden, que esta en Nexapa, villa y pueblo pequeño de Españoles, diez y ocho ó veinte leguas de Tehuantepec, yendo de Mexico, me dio por escrito un religioso llamado Fr. Diego de Azebedo, que despues fue Provincial de aquella provincia, algunas cosas bien notables que ay en aquella tierra. Entre ellas refiere una que haze á nuestro proposito, tratando de la disposicion y temple de la tierra de Tehuantepec, en la forma siguiente. Alli hazia el Norte, ay una cosa mysteriosa, la qual he visto yo y otros muchos religiosos y seglares y los Indios todos: y es, que en una peña grande, alta, que la baña el sol en su nacimiento está una imagen, que al vivo parece de frayle Dominico, hecha por la naturaleza, de tiempo immemorable, con su corona, y á sus pies está una India con un paño grande como mantellina, que se está confessando; *á el qual ofrecian los Indios sacrificios.* Y quando los primeros religiosos persuadieron la confession, dixeron como aquella figura significava lo que les persuadian. Hasta aqui la relacion del Padre Azebedo." Garcia proceeds to say, that other persons who had seen the same image informed him that it was commonly called by the people in the vicinity Fray Peña, i. e. 'the stone friar'; and that for his part he could not persuade himself that it was the work either of Nature or of the Devil, but that he believed it to be the figure of some ancient preacher of the Gospel, who had left behind him that sign to show that monks of the order of Saint Dominic were destined to receive the confessions of the Indians, as in due course of time had come to pass. He afterwards observes, that Father Azebedo bore testimony to another remarkable fact, declaring to him that on the summit of Cenpoaltepec, (a mountain situated in the neighbourhood of Tehuantepec, and the highest in all New Spain,) there were two stones lying opposite to each other, with the impression of a footstep visible upon each, which according to Indian tradition recorded a battle that took place between God and the Devil upon the summit of that mountain. This tradition wonderfully assimilates itself to what is said in the ninth verse of the General Epistle of Saint Jude, of the Devil and the archangel Michael contending about *the body* of Moses, the scene of whose contention must have been the summit of a mountain; since Moses is said in the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy to have died upon the top of Mount Pisgah, and to have been buried by God himself in a valley of Moab. The cause of the quarrel, which it must be confessed reminds one a little of the tales of the Genii, probably originated in the Devil's wish to remove the body of Moses, notwithstanding the prohibition of the archangel, which mysterious piece of sacred history,—attested by Saint Jude, and no doubt current in his day among the traditions of his countrymen, although not noticed in the Old Testament,—might have induced the Jews who colonized America to place stones on the summit of Cenpoaltepec, *as a memorial* of the contest which the Devil waged for the body of Moses.—Garcia closes the above-mentioned chapter with the following brief notice of some curious buildings existing in his time in the vicinity of the town of Occocingo in the province of Chiapa: "Conto me otro religioso en Nueva-España, que en los Cendales, provincia de Chiapa, junto á un pueblo que se llama Occocingo, veynte y dos ó veynte y tres leguas de Chiapa de los Españoles,

un hombre santo como los que aqui se tratan; y su figura se vio muchos años esculpida en una piedra; por la qual figura se colegia ser apostol ó discipulo de ellos; y porque reprendia vicios lo quisieron matar los Yndios, y en su defensa *bajó fuego de el cielo y quemó mucha gente,* y las piedras oy dia se muestran quemadas; y él se desaparecio, y ha quedado entre los Yndios una opinion, que la tierra que este piso dá mejor el fruto que la demas. Diré lo que me conto un soldado de los que con Lope de Aguirre sulcaron el Marañon, que haviendose apartado de las vegas de el rio, hallaron una poblazion no pequeña, y en medio de ella havia una casa estremada y diferenciada de las demas de el pueblo, dentro de la qual, en la pared frontera, vieron hecha de barro una manera de pulpito ó catedra, y en él se mostrava de el pecho para arriba la figura de un hombre asi mismo de barro ó de piedra, *con barba larga*, y vestido estrangero, *y en una mano un libro á manera de breviario,* y no pudieron entender de los naturales de la tierra lo que tal espectaculo significava, porque ni el tiempo les dio lugar para ello, ni tampoco ponian en aquella coyuntura sus cuydados en inquirir *curiosidades.* En la provincia de Caucacoto termino de la ciudad de Quito, me fue asi mostrado por Yndios viejos y antiguos, cierto cerrillo donde en tiempo antiguo se recogio otro varon santo huyendo la furia popular de los barbaros contra el amotinados, y que de alli se desparecio, y nunca mas fué visto. Los naturales de las provincias de el Brasil (tierra firme y continuada con nuestras Yndias) dicen y afirman haver visto en sus tierras hombres como los que havemos dicho, y muestran en unas vivas peñas las señales y estampas de sus pies. Pedro Martyr de Anglier en su Decada, dice que en la provincia de Yucatan, aparecio y vieron los naturales antiguos un varon santo y muy hermoso, el qual les enseño á adorar y reverenciar la santa vera cruz. Tienese *por verdadera noticia* que los de el Obispado de Chiapa en la Nueva-España tuvieron rastro y noticia de el misterio de la Santisima Trinidad, y *semejantes cosas* se cuentan y *tienen por verdaderas* en otras *muchas* provincias de estas nuestras Yndias, asi *en islas* como en tierra firme de ellas: y verdaderamente (hablando con *el mismo recato y salva* que lo demas) diria yo (y no creo me engaño) que hasta el tiempo de la predicacion evangelica, devió ser tierra continuada esta de las Yndias nuestras con la Austral, y que despues de aquellos tiempos aca *se prorumpio, y sucedio lo que dejamos tratado en el capitulo* 15 *de la Segunda Parte:* y como tierra conjunta de la que no estava muy lejana de el reyno de Narsinga* devia ser frequentada y visitada algunas vezes de gentes que de alla venian, y de alli encendidos con fuego de el Espiritu Santo algunos discipulos de el glorioso Santo Tome, que en aquel reyno predicava la ley evangelica, devieron pasar de estas partes, y derramarse por ellas predicando y enseñando á las gentes saludable doctrina que de su sagrado maestro aprendieron, y como no estavan sus animas dispuestas para recibir tan admirable informacion, ó nuestro Dios milagrosamente los redujo y volvio á la tierra donde mas aprovechasen, ó los recibio en su gloria con la corona aurea de el santo martirio: piadosamente se puede creer lo dicho, y las muestras y vestigios que en la tierra vemos, nos induzen á ello sin dar lugar la falta de escrituras á mas larga especulacion." Miscellanea Antarctica, cap. 6.—We must here observe, in anticipating an objection which may perhaps be made to the foregoing account,—viz. that if the facts stated by Balboa were true, they would have been related by many other Spanish historians,—that they are not without the most respectable testimony; and that if their corroboration be not complete, it must be attributed to the causes which Garcilaso de la Vega complains of, and which he characterizes as *tyrannous* in the following passage of the first book of his History of Peru, in which he records the belief of the Peruvians in the resurrection of the body, of which it would appear the Jesuits Vazquez de Padilla and Geronimo de Prado were extremely tenacious: "Tuvieron los Incas Amautas, que el hombre era compuesto de cuerpo, y anima, y que el anima era espiritu immortal, y que el cuerpo era hecho de tierra, *porque le*

ay unos edificios antiguos, y en ellos figuras de hombres de grande estatura, armados de la misma piedra, otros *con almaticas,* y otros *con mitras.* No saben dar mas razon los Indios de que aquellas figuras eran de otra gente de diferente nacion que la suya."

* It may be proper to remark, that the kingdom of Narsinga was a name given by the Spaniards to Bengal and some of the adjoining provinces of Hindostan. Balboa intimates in the preceding passage his belief in the existence of a great southern continent, which Ortelius does not scruple to lay down in his map of the Pacific Ocean, naming it "Terra Australis sive Magellanica incognita," and making it extend from the Straits of Magellan to the confines of the East Indies. On the assumption that such a continent existed in the age of St. Thomas, there would have been nothing absurd in Balboa's supposition that the Apostle might have proceeded by that route to the East Indies, there to preach the Gospel,—a fact which it was a matter of religion in that age to believe; or that he might have returned homewards in the same direction. Balboa, in citing the fifteenth chapter of the second part of his Miscellanea Antarctica, would seem to allude to Indian traditions of a large island or continent which once adjoined America having been submerged in the ocean. It would have been a curious coincidence if the Indians of Peru, as well as the Egyptian priests of Sais, had retained a tradition of the Atlantic island.

veian convertirse en ella, y assi le llamavan Allpacamasca, que quiere decir, *tierra animada;* y para diferenciarle de los brutos, le llaman *runa*, que es hombre de entendimiento y razon, y á los brutos en comun dicen *llama*, que quiere decir, bestia. Dieronles lo que llaman anima vegetativa y sensitiva; porque las veian crescer y sentir; pero no la racional. Creian, que avia otra vida despues desta, *con pena para los malos, y descanso para los buenos.* Dividian el universo en tres mundos, llaman al Cielo, Hanan Pacha, que quiere decir, *mundo alto;* donde decian, que iban los buenos á ser premiados de sus virtudes: llamavan Hurin Pacha á este mundo de la generacion y corrupcion, que quiere decir, *mundo bajo:* llamaran Vcu Pacha al centro de la tierra, que quiere decir, *mundo inferior de alla abajó*, donde decian que iban á parar los malos; y para declararlo mas, le davan otro nombre, que es Zupaypa Huacin, que quiere decir, *casa del Demonio.* No entendian que la otra vida era espiritual, sino corporal, como esta misma. Decian, que el descanso del mundo alto, era vivir una vida quieta, libre de los trabajos, y pesadumbres, que en esta se pasan. Y por el contrario tenian, que la vida del mundo inferior, que llamamos infierno, era llena de todas las enfermedades y dolores, pesadumbres, y trabajos, que aca se padescen, sin descanso ni contento alguno. De manera, que esta misma vida presente dividian en dos partes: davan todo el regalo, descanso, y contento della, á los que avian sido buenos, y las penas, y trabajos á los que avian sido malos. *No nombravan los deleytes carnales, ni otros vicios entre los gozos de la otra vida*, sino la quietud del animo, sin cuydados, y el descanso del cuerpo, sin los trabajos corporales. Tuvieron assimismo los Incas *la resurreccion universal*, no para gloria, ni pena, sino para la misma vida temporal, que no levantaron el entendimiento á mas que esta vida presente: tenian grandisimo cuidado de poner en cobro los cabellos y uñas, que se cortavan y tresquilavan ó arraneavan con el peyne: ponianlos en los agujeros ó resquicios de las paredes; y si por tiempo se caian, qualquiera otro Indio que los veia, los alçava, y ponia á recaudo. Muchas veces (por ver lo que decian) pregunté a diversos Indios, y en diversos tiempos, para que hacian aquello, y todos me respondian unas mismas palabras, diciendo: sabete que todos los que hemos nascidos hemos de volver á vivir en el mundo (no tuvieron verbo para decir resuscitar) y las animas se han de levantar de las sepulturas con todo lo que fue de sus cuerpos; y porque las nuestras no se detengan buscando sus cabellos y uñas (que ha de aver aquel dia gran bullicio y mucha priesa) se las ponemos aqui juntas, para que se levanten mas ayna; y aun si fuera posible, aviamos de escupir siempre en un lugar. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, capitulo ciento y veinte y cinco, hablando de los entierros, que á los reyes, y á los grandes señores hacian en el Peru, dice estas palabras, que son sacadas á la letra: Quando Españoles abrian estas sepulturas, y desparcian los huesos, les rogavan los Indios, que no lo hiciesen, porque juntos estuviesen al resuscitar: ca bien creen la resurreccion de los cuerpos, y la immortalidad de las almas, &c. Pruebase claro lo que vamos diciendo; pues este autor con escrivir en España, sin aver ido á Indias, alcançó la misma relacion. El Contador Agustin de Zarate, libro primero, capitulo doce, dice en esto casi las mismas palabras de Gomara; y Pedro de Cieça, capitulo sesenta y dos dice: que aquellos Indios tuvieron la immortalidad del anima y la resurreccion de los cuerpos. Estas autoridades, y la de Gomara hallé leyendo estos autores, despues de aver escrito yo lo que en este particular tuvieron mis parientes en su gentilidad; holgué muy mucho con ellas, porque cosa tan agena de gentiles como la resurreccion parescia invencion mia, no aviendola escrito algun Español. Y certifico, que las hallé despues de averla yo escrito; porque se crea que en ninguna cosa destas sigo á los Españoles, sino que quando las hallo huelgo de alegarlos en confirmacion de lo que vi á los mios de su antigua tradicion. Lo mismo me acaescio en la ley que avia contra los sacrilegos, y adulteros con las mugeres del Inca ó del Sol (que adelante veremos) que despues de averla yo escrito, la hallé acaso, leyendo la Historia del Contador General Agustin de Zarate, con que recibi mucho contento, por alegar á un caso tan grave un historiador Español. Como, ó por qual tradicion tuviesen los Incas la resurreccion de los cuerpos, siendo *articulo de Fe* no lo sé, *ni es de un soldado* como yo *inquirirlo*, ni creo que se pueda averiguar con certidumbre, hasta que el sumo Dios sea servido manifestarlo, solo puedo afirmar con verdad, que lo tenian. Toda este cuenta escrivi en nuestra Historia de la Florida, *sacandola de su lugar, por obedecer á los V V. P P. M M. de la Santa Compañia de Jesus*, Miguel Vasquez de Padilla natural de Sevilla, y Geronimo de Prado natural de Ubeda, que me lo *mandaron* assi, y de alli lo quité aunque tarde, *por ciertas causas tyranicas*, aora lo buelvo á poner en su puesto, porque no falte del edificio piedra tan principal; y assi vamos poniendo otras, como se fueron ofreciendo, que no es posible contar de una vez las ninerias ó burlerias, que aquellos Indios tuvieron, que una dellas fue tener que el alma salia del cuerpo mientras el dormia; porque decian, que ella no podia dormir, y que lo que veia por el mundo, eran las cosas que decimos aver soñado. Por esta vana creencia miravan tanto en los sueños, y los interpretavan, diciendo que eran agüeros y pro-

nosticos, para conforme á ellos temer mucho mal ó esperar mucho bien."—Comentarios Reales de los Incas, lib. 1. cap. vii.*

The following is an extract from the eighth chapter of the sixth book of Garcia's treatise, entitled "Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo viviendo los Apostolos," which confirms the testimony of Garcilaso de la Vega respecting the belief of the Peruvians in the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul†, and renders more conclusive what is said on the same subject at page 413 of the sixth volume of the present work. "Betanços en la enarracion que hizo de los Incas, por mandado de Don Antonio de Mendoza, virrey del Piru, refiriendo la victoria que avia tenido Pachacutec Inca con los Indios Collas, y el cuydado que tuvieron de depositar los cuerpos de los amigos muertos en aquella batalla, dize las palabras siguientes, poniendo en ellas las que los Indios le dixeron en su propia lengua, porque estos Indios dizen desta manera: CAY PACHA TUCUPTIN HATARISSUN LLAPALLANCHIC RUNACUNA CAUZARISPA AYCHANTIM IMANANCUNA CANCHIC: QUIERE DEZIR: ACABADO ESTE MUNDO, NOS AVEMOS DE LEVANTAR TODAS LAS GENTES CON VIDA NUEVA, *Y CON ESTA MISMA CARNE COMO AORA SOMOS*." "Betanços, in the account which he wrote of the Incas, by the command of Don Antonio de Mendoza the viceroy of Peru, narrating the victory which Pachacutec Inga obtained over the Collas, and the care which they took to bury the bodies of their friends who were killed in that battle, employs the following terms, repeating the very words which the Indians addressed to him in their language; for those Indians said: 'Cay pacha tucuptin hatarissun llapallanchic runacuna cauzarispa aychantim imanancuna canchic: quiere dezir: acabado este mundo, nos avemos de levantar todas las gentes con vida nueva, *y con esta misma carne como aora somos*;'" which signifies "at the end of the world we all of us have to rise again with new life, and with the self-same flesh as we now have."

NOTE XXXII.

THE following is a literal translation of the greater portion of the twenty-first chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; and it would be very desirable if some one who had leisure for the task would translate the entire of that book, and illustrate it with parallel passages taken from the Old Testament, that is to say with such as would be calculated to prove the similarity in taste, manners, morals, and religious and philosophical opinions, which prevailed between the Jews and the Mexicans.

"My dear Son, attend‡ to the admonitions which I address to you, and lay them up in your heart, for they have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, the old of both sexes, wise and experienced persons who once lived in this world, who charged and exhorted us to keep them, like gold preserved within a coffer or wrapped up in a garment; for counsels directing us how to live, are indeed gems brilliant to behold and of polished lustre, perfect and without a flaw. Those who lived a life of perfection in this world uttered them, and those who conform to them are indeed like precious chalchiutles and costly sapphires§ in the eyes of our Lord; they resemble broad and rich and waving plumes, and are rightly named the pure in heart. Reflect, my Son, on what the old have declared to us, that children and young men‖ and maidens are highly pleasing unto God. The Lord our God, who is everywhere, delights in them and accounts

* The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, by Zarate, (to which Garcilaso here refers,) was first printed at Antwerp in the year 1551, and afterwards at Seville in 1577: in the latter edition no mention is made in the twelfth chapter of the first book of the belief of the Peruvians in the resurrection of the body; but the intimation in the title page "aviendose visto y examinado por los Señores del Supremo Consejo de Castilla," might lead one to suspect an intentional omission of the passage in question.

† The difference between the tenets of Christians and the disciples of Socrates, Plato and Pythagoras on this important point, consisted in the former teaching *the immortality of the body* as well as that of the soul; whilst the latter taught that of the soul alone, in which component part of man they believed all true personal identity to reside.

‡ 'Attend', 'hearken', 'incline thine ear', were words which the Hebrew orators frequently employed either when commencing their orations to the people, or in their exhortations to their children in their private dwellings.

§ The *chalchiutle* was a sort of green jasper highly prized by the ancient Mexicans. It deserves to be remarked, that the jasper and the sapphire were stones on which the Jews set extreme value, and they are frequently recurred to in the Old Testament for a simile.

‖ That this was a Jewish notion is evident, as well from what is said in the New Testament of little children and their angels being ever present before God, as from the denunciation of Isaiah in the seventeenth verse of the ninth chapter of his Prophecies against the Jews, "Therefore the Lord shall have no *joy* in their young men," which implies the previous affirmative of the proposition.

them his friends; and for this reason devout old men, who consider it a duty frequently to do penance and to fast, and who offer incense to the gods, esteem highly boys and girls who pray and get up at midnight from their early sleep, and stripping off their garments they sprinkle water upon them, and cause them to sweep and to offer incense before the gods, and to wash their mouths*, whose prayers, homage, tears, sorrow, and sighs, they say, are heard and acceptable to God, because their hearts are pure and undefiled by sin, pure and spotless like a precious chalchiutle or a sapphire. *They say that it is for their sake that God preserves the world, and that they are our intercessors with God.* There is another class of persons who are pleasing both to God and man†, and those are pious priests, who live a life of chastity, whose hearts are upright, pure and spotless, washed from every defilement and white as snow, whose lives

* This was a refinement on the Hebrew custom of washing the feet of those to whom the Jews wished to show particular marks of veneration and respect. Thus, in the fourth verse of the eighteenth chapter of Genesis, the angels are entreated by Abraham to allow water to be fetched to wash their feet; and in the second verse of the nineteenth chapter of the same book Lot requests his angelic visitors to wash their feet. Mary, likewise, is recorded in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of Saint John to have anointed the feet of Christ, and to have afterwards wiped them with her hair; although from the reply of Jesus to Judas Iscariot, in the seventh verse of the same chapter, it would appear that while to wash the feet was a mark of honour which the Jews showed to the living, to *anoint* them was one which they paid to the dead. It has been observed, in the note subjoined to page 389 of the sixth volume of this work, that *lavatorio de pies* (the washing of feet,) was the name which the Mexicans gave to one of their festivals: and from that name, as well as from other grounds of assumption no less strong, the existence of the above rite amongst them may be inferred. While the washing of hands before meals,—about which the Pharisees and *all* the Jews (as we are informed in the third verse of the seventh chapter of Saint Mark) were so scrupulous, that they were scandalized at seeing the Disciples *eat bread* with unwashed hands,—was customary among the ancient Mexicans, as we learn from the following passage of the twenty-second chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in which a parent admonishing his son desires him neither to sit down to a meal nor to wash his hands before others, instilling in this manner into his mind precepts of humility: "Al *principio* de la comida lavarás las manos y la boca, y donde te juntares con otro á comer no te sientes luego, mas antes tomarás el agua y la *xicara*, paraque se laven *los otros*, y echarles has agua á manos, *y despues de haber comido* haras lo mismo, y daras, agua á manos *á todos*." It appears from this passage that vessels of water were placed by the ancient Mexicans on their tables, for the express purpose of washing their hands before meals; and that custom is incidentally mentioned in the third chapter of the ninth book of the same author's History. Ablutions among the ancient Jews were religiously observed from respect to traditions, although nowhere enjoined by Moses in the Pentateuch, except in the case of unclean persons and the priests, who were commanded in the nineteenth verse of the thirtieth chapter of Exodus to wash their hands and feet in the brazen laver, which stood between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation[1]. As regards the Mexican and Hebrew custom of washing the feet of persons judged worthy of such a mark of respect, or of presenting them with water for that purpose, we must observe that Christ is recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel of Saint John to have washed his disciples' feet; and the fourth verse of that chapter,—which in the original Greek is *Ἐγειρεται ἐκ του δειπνου, και τιθησι τα ἱματια· και λαβων λεντιον, διεζωσεν ἑαυτον,* which is translated in English "He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a *towel* and *girded* himself,"—is very remarkable, no less on account of the strange signification which is there assigned to the word λεντιον, which involves the necessity of supposing that Christ did a very *unaccountable* act, than because, regard being paid to the other and preferable sense in which Hesychius understands this same word, what is said, at page 298 of the sixth volume, of the resemblance which the apparel of the Mexicans bore to that of the Jews, receives the fullest confirmation. Stephanus notices, in the following passage of his Greek Thesaurus, Hesychius's definition of the word λεντιον, which he rejects on grounds that many will judge insufficient; since, admitting that λεντιον is derived from the Latin *linteum*, there is no reason why the Romans should not have given that name to the article of dress which the Jews girded round their loins, or that the Latin word *linteum* should not, like κηνσος and many others which occur in the New Testament, have been adopted into the Greek language by the Evangelists, who, although they possessed the gift of tongues, it cannot be denied, wrote Greek quite in a Latin idiom: "Λεντιον, Hesychius esse dicit περιζωμα ἱερατικον, *cinctum* sacerdotalem. Meminerunt hujus vocabuli Suidas quoque et Etymologicus; sed neuter exponens: hic a verbo λειαινειν derivat, quod sit καθαιρειν, ac per syncopen dictum vult quasi λειαντιον. Sed vana hæc etymologia: nam vox est à Græcis recentioribus tantum usurpata, et mutuata ex Latino *linteum*. Joan. Euang. cap. 13. λαβων λεντιον, διεζωσεν ἑαυτον. Gregorius Naziansenus, λεντιῳ διαζωννυται, linteo præcingitur." If we suppose with Hesychius that λεντιον, in the passage of the thirteenth chapter of Saint John above referred to, means 'a girdle,' and that it exactly resembled in the manner in which it was fastened on the person the *maxtle* worn by the Mexicans, the two ends of which hung down before rather lower than the knee,—not only do we perceive how easily such an article of dress might have been used as a towel by the person wearing it, rendering the description in the following verse, και ἠρξατο νιπτειν τους ποδας των μαθητων, και ἐκμασσειν τῳ λεντιῳ ᾧ ἠν διεζωσμενος, very intelligible. But we avoid the inconvenience of being forced to believe that Christ stripped himself naked in order to wash the feet of his disciples, by supposing that he only made a change in his apparel, resuming the girdle which from motives of convenience he might have laid aside before *sitting down* to supper.

† 'To grow in favour with God and man' was, perhaps, a phrase familiar to the Jews.

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[1] Bathing, as well as ablutions, appears to have been enjoined to Aaron by God in the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus; and Gumilla, in his Orinoco Illustrado, supposes that the Indians borrowed that rite from the Jews.

are without stain, and whose acts are free from all sinful contamination; such being their character they are fit servants of God, and offer up prayers and incense to him, and entreat him for the people. The king says of them, These are fit servants of my gods, for their lives and their example are good; and the elders of the people, who are skilled and learned in the books of our religion, have by word of mouth declared, that the pure in heart who are far removed from all filthy and sensual lusts are highly worthy of being beloved, and that those whose lives are so spent being precious in the eyes of heaven, the gods desire them, and strive to possess them, and call them to themselves. Those who are pure from all defilement and who die in war, as the old affirm, go to the Sun, who invites them to himself, that they may live with him in heaven, to rejoice and to gladden him, and to sing before him: these enjoy perpetual happiness with the Sun; they live a life of continual delight, they sip and banquet upon the nectar and ambrosial dew of flowers, and never do they taste of sorrow, pain, or grief, for they dwell in the house of the Sun, where is the fullness of joy: those who risk their lives in battle are even in this world greatly esteemed, and many covet that kind of death, and many envy those who so die; and this is the reason why all long for such a death, for those who so die are highly extolled. It is yet recorded, that a noble youth of Huexocingo, whose name was Miscoatl, died in a war with the Mexicans, whom they killed in battle, in whose honour was composed the hymn 'O happy Miscoatl! well dost thou deserve to be celebrated in hymns; well dost thou deserve an immortal reputation in this world, and that the dancers should resound thy praises amidst the trumpets and the drums of Huexocingo, to gladden thee, and induce thee to appear to thy friends and noble kinsmen.' There is another hymn in honour of this same youth, in which they praise him for his chastity and the purity and integrity of his heart: 'O glorious youth, worthy of all praise, who madest a tender of thine heart to the Sun, pure as the precious crystal of the sapphire—wilt thou again bud, wilt thou again bloom on earth? wilt thou return to the dances, and show thyself amidst the drums and the trumpets of Huexocingo? wilt thou appear to the noble and the brave? may thy friends again expect to see thee?' There is another description of persons who are likewise beloved and desired by the gods; they are those who have been drowned by some animal inhabiting the water, such as the avitzotl or the teponaztli, and several others; as also those who have been struck dead by lightning; for the old affirm that because the gods love all such, they take them to themselves to the terrestrial Paradise, that they may live with the god named Tlalocatecutli (who is the god of verdure), and serve him, with *ulli* and *yauhtli*. These, after their death, live in glory with the god named Tlalocatecutli in a place of perpetual spring, where are green meads and every sort of shrub, fruit, and flower. Young men and maidens likewise who die without having committed any sin, who die in a state of innocence, simplicity, and virginity, the old declare that these partake largely of the graces of our Lord, because they resemble precious stones, and because they go pure and spotless to the presence of their God. Listen, while I recount to you another class of persons who are happy and dear, whom the gods take unto themselves;—these are children who die in their tender infancy; they are as it were gems; these go not to the dread mansions of hell, but they go to the habitation of the god named Tonacatecutli, who lives in the gardens named Tonacaquahtitlan, where grows every kind of tree, fruit, and flower; and there they wing their flight like tzintzones, which are small birds of varied plumage, which flutter about sipping the juices of flowers. They bury children who die at such an early age, not unadvisedly, beside the granaries where they store up their maize and other provisions, signifying by so doing that their souls are in a place of joy and abundance, because they died in a state of innocence and simplicity, resembling precious gems and rich sapphires. It is fit also that you should know that children who are good, beautiful, and amiable, as long as they remain in a state of innocence and simplicity, are gems precious as the turquoise or the sapphire. Another class of persons remains to be mentioned who are beloved and desired by the gods, and these are men and women of virtuous dispositions and of upright lives, in whom all confide, whom all honour, whose conduct is irreproachable, who live at peace with all, are esteemed by all, and are at variance with none. And now, my dear Son, give heed to the manner in which you should live, if God grants you life in this world: Guard against all carnal pleasures, and desire them not; avoid all filthy things which can defile either the soul or the body of man, producing diseases or bodily death. The ancients have left us this saying,—that childhood and youth is the time when God is wont to confer his graces and his gifts, and that then he marks out those who are to fill the stations of kings, lords, governors, and commanders. Childhood, youth, and the age of simplicity, are likewise the time for meriting a good death. Consider, my Son, the words which I address to you; know that this is the mode of increasing and multiplying in this world, *and that God ordained, for the sake of progeny and increase, that one woman should be the wife of one man, and one man the husband of one woman.*"

This latter passage implies an acquaintance on the part of the Mexicans with the Book of Genesis; a fact already noticed by the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus, who thence concluded that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews*; and the following sentence which occurs towards the conclusion of the same address, (the entire of which is not here translated,) unequivocally proves that the Mexicans believed that a husband and wife were *one flesh*, a notion suggested to Adam by the reflection that *his* wife had been formed out of his rib: "Aunque es asi que es tu muger, *y es tu cuerpo*." "Although so it is that she is your wife, and is your body." But if it be contended that the custom of polygamy amongst the Mexicans refutes the assertion here made, it will be necessary to prove that their alleged polygamy differed from the concubinage practised by the patriarchs: and when this has been done, it may be proper to inquire, whether the Mexicans might not have justified it on the precedent of the Jewish patriarchs, who married many wives, notwithstanding such was not the intention of God in the beginning. The apology pleaded by their advocates is, that they did so that the earth might be quickly peopled;—but why, if that was the case, did not those who lived before the Deluge, and after it until the time of Abraham, contract early marriages, instead of waiting till they had arrived at the extreme age which the Septuagint allots to each of them? It is true that the Hebrew copy of the Bible, which reckons only sixteen hundred and fifty-six years, according to Eusebius, from the fall of man to the Deluge, and makes Noah contemporary with Abraham,—while the Septuagint includes two thousand two hundred and forty-two years within the same period, prolonging the life of Noah three hundred and fifty years after the Deluge to the eighty-third year of Heber,—makes the marriages of all the patriarchs, with the exception of three, Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, earlier by a century. But it is also true that Eusebius prefers the authority of the Septuagint to that of the Hebrew Bible, declaring in the following passage that the Hebrew Scriptures had been corrupted by the Jews, and that *from the age of the Apostles to his own* the Church throughout *the whole* world adhered to the Septuagint version *alone*. Εστι δε και αλλως την ΑΤΟΠΙΑΝ συνιδειν των παρ' Ιουδαιοις αντιγραφων, απο του τριακονταετεις αναγραψαι τους προ του Αβρααμ πεπαιδοποιημενους· οποτε οι μετα τον Αβρααμ ιστορουνται πρεσβυτεροι των λ ετων επι την παιδοποιαν ελθειν. Πανταχοθεν τοιγαρουν της των ο ερμηνειας εκ παλαιας, ως εοικεν, και αδιαστροφου Εβραιων γραφης μεταβεβλησθαι συνισταμενης, εικοτως ταυτη ημεις κεχρημεθα κατα την παρουσαν χρονογραφιαν· οτε μαλιστα και η καθ' ολης της οικουμενης ηπλωμενη Χριστου εκκλησια ταυτη μονη προσεχει, των του Σωτηρος ημων αποστολων τε και μαθητων αρχηθεν αυτη χρησθαι παραδεδοκοτων. It must therefore have been Selden's partiality for the Oriental languages and Hebrew literature, that induced him so often to introduce the phrase 'Hebraica veritas,' as opposed to 'Seniorum interpretatio,' in his treatise De Diis Syris, and to speak with such contempt of the history of Bel and the Dragon; which if a fiction, as he supposes it to be, though forming in the Septuagint an integral portion of the Book of Daniel, will at least prove two things; first, that the philosopher Porphyry was not so impious as some of the early Fathers pretended, in feeling doubts about the authority of a book which had been so interpolated; and, secondly, that if dragons had not a real, they had an ideal existence in the minds of the Jews, in the same manner as they had amongst the Mexicans, whose paintings place that matter beyond the reach of doubt. We shall observe, in conclusion to this note, that Eusebius supposes that the Jews corrupted the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures, by cutting off a century from the ages of the patriarchs before they married, for the sake of encouraging early marriages amongst themselves (επιτροπη ταχυγαμιας): but it is more probable that they did so, to make the inconsistency less apparent, of their defending the polygamy of the patriarchs on the sole plea that the earth required to be peopled, when they were obliged to confess at the same time that they waited centuries before they married for no possible assignable cause.

* At page 204 of the sixth volume of this work will be found the reasons which induced the interpreter to come to this conclusion; and he enumerates, among others, the offering which Mexican parents made when presenting their children shortly after their birth at the temple, which he likens to the purification of the mother and her son ordained in Leviticus. This curious fact, incidentally mentioned by the interpreter, may serve to throw some light on the subject of the forty-first plate of the third part of the Monuments of Dupaix, in which two figures are represented standing beside a cross; that on the left hand is probably the mother with her offering, and the more robust figure on the right the priest holding the child in his arms: both have something of a Jewish cast of countenance.

Note XXXIII.

Sahagun, recording in the first chapter of the eighth book of his History of New Spain the prodigies which portended the destruction of the empire of Montezuma, relates that a beam cried out of a wall. The following is the passage in which this curious occurrence is stated. "En su tiempo tambien aconteció una maravilla en Mexico, en una casa grande donde se juntaban á cantar y bailar;—porque una viga grande que estaba atravesada encima de las paredes, canto como una persona este cantar: *Veyanoquetztepole velzomitotia atlantivetztoce;* que quiere decir, Guay de ti mi anca, baila bien que estarás echada en el agua; lo cual aconteció cuando la fama de los Españoles ya sonaba en esta tierra de Mexico." "In Montezuma's time, likewise, a marvellous thing occurred in Mexico, in a large edifice where they were accustomed to assemble in order to sing and dance;—for a thick beam which lay across the walls above, sung as a man would have done, the following song: Veyanoquetztepole velzomitotia atlantivetztoce; which signifies, 'Alas for thee, my prop, dance well, since you will be thrown into the lake'; which happened when the rumour of the Spaniards was noised through the land." It is singular that Habakkuk, in the eleventh verse of the second chapter of his Prophecies, should have denounced this very judgment against the Jews: "For the stone shall cry out of the wall*, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it." The prophecy of Habakkuk only required for its full accomplishment that a stone should cry out as well as a beam; and Acosta, in the twenty-third chapter of the seventh book of his History of the Indies, in which he treats of the prodigies which foretold the destruction of the Mexican empire, informs us, that the latter prodigy also happened. "Viendose acossado destos anuncios, quiso aplacar la yra de sus dioses, y para esto dio en traer una piedra grandisima, para hazer sobre ella bravos sacrificios. Yendo á traerla muchisima gente con sus maromas y recaudo, no pudieron moverla, aunque porfiando quebraron muchas maromas muy gruessas, mas como porfiassen todavia, *oyeron una voz junto á la piedra,* que no trabajassen en vano, que no podrian llevarla, porque ya el Señor de lo criado no queria que se hiziessen aquellas cosas. Oyendo esto Moteçuma, mando que alli hiziessen los sacrificios. Dizen que tornó otra voz: Ya no he dicho, que no es la voluntad del Señor de lo criado, que se haga esso? Paraque veays que es assi, yo me dexaré llevar un rato, y despues no podreys menearme. Fue assi, que un rato la movieron con facilidad, y despues no uvo remedio, hasta que con muchos ruegos se dexó llevar hasta la entrada de la ciudad de Mexico donde subito se cayó en una acequia†, y buscandola no parecio mas, sino fue en el proprio lugar de adonde la avian traydo, que alli la tornaron á hallar, de que quedaron muy confusos y espantados." Another prodigy, that of the voice of a woman bewailing her children by night in the streets of Mexico, which is likewise mentioned by Sahagun, is thus recorded by Acosta in the chapter above referred to: "A este tiempo dizen, se oyeron muchas vozes como de muger angustiada, que dezia unas vezes, O hijos mios que ya se ha llegado vuestra destruycion. Otras vezes dezia, O hijos mios, donde os llevaré, paraque no acabeys de perder." "They say that about the same time the voice of a woman lamenting was frequently heard, who at times ejaculated, 'O my children, the time of your destruction is drawing nigh'; and at others, 'O my children, whither shall I carry you to save you'." Sahagun affirms that this woman was the Devil: but in the thirty-eighth verse of the ninth chapter of the second book of Esdras, *Sion,* under the similitude of a woman, bewails the destruction of Jerusalem and the hapless lot of her children; and the angel Uriel, in the forty-fourth verse of the next chapter, emphatically says to Esdras, "This woman whom thou sawest is Sion." The Jews might have felt disposed to refer the prophecy of Jeremiah, appealed to by Saint Matthew in the eighteenth verse of the second

* The prodigy of "stones crying out" is conditionally foretold in the New Testament: "I tell you that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." Luke, xix. 40. It is probable that the occurrence of such a prodigy was familiar, in expectation at least, to the minds of the Jews.

† Many lives are said to have been lost on that occasion, and the high-priest himself to have been drawn after the stone into the water. If this event had occurred in the idolatrous city of Jerusalem, how many persons would have been ready to ascribe to prophecy what was the effect of mere accident? The prophecy declared to be accomplished would probably have been that of Zechariah, contained in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of his Prophecies: "And in that day will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people; all that *burden themselves with it* shall be cut in pieces." The other obvious signification of this passage they would have disregarded, as is too often the custom with modern commentators on the Prophecies.

chapter of his Gospel, to the threatened destruction of their State: "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping *for her children*, and would not be comforted because they were not." Josephus, in the twelfth chapter of the seventh book of his History of the Jewish War, relates many prodigies which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, every one of which it may confidently be affirmed were pure fictions of the Jews; since, if it be true that Nature acts always in pursuance of some end, it is no less true that the Deity does not work miracles where there is no end to be attained; and all historians admit that no effect was produced either on the Jews themselves, or the Romans, by the many prodigies narrated by Josephus: on the contrary, the former remained hardened in their sins, and the latter continued to press the siege of the city. One of these prodigies appears even to have been adapted by the Hebrew historian to the Roman taste; since the story of a cow when about to be sacrificed on the altar giving birth to a lamb, would have come better from Livy than Josephus, prodigies of that description being more familiar to the Romans than the Jews. There is, however, another on which Josephus lays great stress, which is in some degree analogous to the prodigy of a woman uttering public lamentations in the streets of Mexico: he says that a young man of the name of Jesus, the son of Ananus, cried continually for seven years "Woe to Jerusalem!" and that neither threats nor torture could make him desist from that cry, until towards the conclusion of the siege, mounting upon the ramparts of the city, and crying "Woe also to myself!" he was killed by a stone thrown from an engine. We may here remark, that this latter prodigy seems to have been inserted by Josephus in his History with the view of gratifying the prejudices of his own countrymen; since he appears not undesignedly to have put into the mouth of the young man a denunciation analogous to that which Isaiah pronounced against God's enemies, in the following passage of the sixty-sixth chapter of his Prophecies: "*A voice* of noise from the city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the Lord that rendereth recompence to his enemies." We may further remark, that the words φωνη ἀπ' ἀνατολης, φωνη ἀπο δυσεως, φωνη ἀπο των τεσσαρων ἀνεμων, φωνη ἐπι Ἱεροσολυμα,—"a voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem,"—with which the anathema commenced, appear to manifest some regard on the part of the Jews for the *cardinal points of the compass* and *the four winds*, in which they would have resembled the Mexicans. The author of an extremely rare Spanish book, entitled 'Tratado unico y singular del Origen de los Indios Occidentales del Peru, Mexico, Santa Fé, y Chile, por el Doctor Don Diego Andres Rocha, Oydor de la Real Audiencia de Lima,' draws an argument from the prodigies which the Mexicans declared preceded the downfall of their empire, to prove that they were descended from the Jews. The following is his style of reasoning upon this curious subject: "Tengo tambien observado para entender, que estos Americanos, principalmente los de Mexico, descienden de los diez Tribus, los prodigios que Dios obro con ellos, i las señales del cielo que tubieron, significandoles el fin de su monarchia, y que Dios los entregaba á otras gentes i naciones. En Mexico, cuando entro el gran capitan Cortes, *se observaron diez prodigios bien singulares*, que les indicaba el fin de su monarchia, que podran verse en el P. Torquemada, en el lib. 2. de su Monarquia Mexicana, en el cap. 90. i entre los prodigios, uno era el oirse de noche una voz de una muger, que á grandes voces lloraba la destruccion de sus hijos Mexicanos: esto mismo sucedio con los diez Tribus antes de su destierro, como consta del lib. 4. de Esdras, cap. 9. al fin, donde dize, se le aparecio una muger llorando la destruccion de los Tribus, i luego explicando la vision en el cap. 10. num. 44. dize, que esta muger era Sion, *madre* de los Israelitas, y de los Tribus que salieron luego desterrados en el cap. 13. *Assi en los Hebreos como en los Americanos á su acabamiento llora Sion su madre:* porque aunque unos i otros avian degenerado á idolatrias, como dize el cap. 4. del Deuteronomio, num. 28. no por eso olvidaria Dios, que eran descendientes de Abraham, Isaac, y Jacob, como se da entender mas abajo, en el dicho cap. 4. num. 31. De los prodigios que Dios hizo con los Israelitas, como con estos Mexicanos, estan llenas las historias, *y por aqui se reconoscen ser de una estirpe*, y añadó lo que dize el P. Fr. Gregorio Garcia en el lib. 3. del Origen de los Indios, cap. 3. sec. 5. que en la jornada de los Mexicanos, quando vinieron de tan lexas tierras, el Idolo, que los venia governando, hazia que del cielo lloviese pan, y que saliese agua de los pedernales, y otras maravillas que Dios permitia, imitando el Demonio con permiso de Dios, lo que avia hecho en el desierto con el pueblo Israelitico, todo lo qual prueva este autor con lo que escriven el P. Acosta y Fr. Augustin Davila." Tratado del Origen de los Indios, cap. 3. sec. 1. num. 24.—Arriving at the same conclusion as the learned author just quoted, we may be permitted to state that we come to it by a different mode of reasoning: since he grounds his hypothesis of the Mexicans being descended from the Jews, on the assumption that amongst no other people did God work such prodigies as he did amongst the Israelites; while we, on the contrary, adopt the sentiments of that author, because

never did there exist two such superstitious nations as the Jews and the Mexicans; and the same inclination for signs and wonders that actuated the Jews when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, seems to have existed amongst the Mexicans, and to have produced the same results, when their city was besieged by the Spaniards,—namely, a belief in numerous prodigies; nor did Josephus, in composing such fictitious narratives, do more than imitate the example of Esdras in the Apocrypha. As a further proof of the force of superstition over the minds of the Mexicans even when hope seemed to have abandoned them during the latter days of the siege of Mexico, we shall insert the following narrative, taken from the thirty-eighth chapter of the twelfth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain:—"The Mexicans, being pressed on every side by the enemy, resolved to divine by a sign or omen whether their fortune was now at an end, or whether there remained any means of escaping from the imminent peril to which they beheld themselves exposed. The king of Mexico accordingly, whose name was Quauhtemotzin, spoke, and addressed the following discourse to the principal persons of the city, who stood beside him; 'Let us make trial of our chances of escaping from our present danger; let one of the most valiant amongst us step forward, and let him attire himself in the arms and insignia which belonged to my father Auitzontzin.' They immediately summoned before him a valiant youth named Tlapaltecatlopuchtzin, who was a native of a division of the city called Coatlan, which is now the parish of Saint Catharine of Tlatilulco, to whom king Quauhtemotzin thus addressed himself: 'You see here the arms named Quetzalteculotl, which arms were worn by my father Auitzontzin;—attire yourself in them, and fight against the enemy; perhaps you will slay some of them: let our enemies behold these arms; possibly the sight of them will terrify them.' No sooner had he equipped himself in them, than he appeared something more than human to the beholders: they commanded four captains to march before him, two on each side of him who went forth to battle in the arms of Auitzontzin, in which they relied as a great omen, believing that when they beheld those arms the enemy would immediately fly: *they placed in his hands also the bow and the arrow of Vitzilopuchtli,* which they likewise carefully preserved as relics, feeling firmly persuaded that when *that bow* and *arrow* were brought forth they would be invincible; the barb of the arrow was of flint. When these five were ready, a Mexican lord named Cioacoatl-tlacotzin cried out in a loud voice; 'O Mexicans! O Tlatilulcans! the rock and fortress of the Mexicans is Vitzilo-puchtli*, who shoots his arrow named Xiuhcoatl and Mamaloaztli against the foe; that very arrow you now carry with you, which is an omen for us all: take care that you direct it to the mark, against our enemies, and so as not to miss its aim. Should you by chance kill or take any prisoners with it, we shall consider it a sure prognostic that we shall not this time be destroyed, but that our God will vouchsafe to aid us.' No sooner were these words pronounced, than he who wore the armour, together with the other four, advanced against the enemy. When the Spaniards as well as the Indians beheld them coming, a great panic seized them; it appeared to them something supernatural: and he who was armed with the armour named Quetzalteculotl ascended upon a terrace, and the enemy stopped to gaze upon him to see what he was; and when they were quite sure that he was a man and not the devil, they attacked him and made him retreat: Quetzalteculotl however and those who were with him rallied, and compelled them in their turn to fly, and climbed again upon the tlapanco†, where the Tlaxcaltecas had deposited their booty of quetzales and gold, and captured it; and then descended from the tlapanco to the ground: nor did he sustain any bodily injury, nor could the enemy take him prisoner. On the contrary, those who were with him took three of the enemy prisoners; and the contest, for that day, terminated, all returning to their respective stations: neither on the following day was the battle renewed." If Jewish councils enabled the Mexicans to make the amazing resistance which they did to the Spaniards, and if either all or only a portion of the Mexican population were Jews, it is probable that those who suggested the drawing an omen from the arrow of Huitzilopuchtli bethought themselves of the following passage in the ninth chapter of Zechariah, and the prophecy which it contains of deliverance to the *besieged* Jews. "Turn you to the *strong hold*‡, ye prisoners *of hope:* even today do I declare that I will render double unto thee; when I

* "El fundamento y fortaleza de los Mexicanos en Vitzilopuchtli está puesta." This passage strongly assimilates itself to the language of David in the second verse of the eighteenth Psalm, whose ejaculation, "The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and *my deliverer,*" would seem to refer to expressions made use of in Deut. xxxii. 4. 18. 30. 31.

† The Mexican name for the terrace of a house. It has elsewhere been observed that the Mexican houses had flat roofs with battlements. This style of architecture was *enjoined by Moses to the Jews,* indirectly, in the command which he gave them to build battlements to their houses, lest any one should fall from the roof and be killed, which implied that they should be built with flat terraces.

‡ This is the exact meaning of 'fundamento y fortaleza,' which words constituted a title of the Mexican god Yao.

have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword *of a mighty man**. And the Lord shall be seen over them, and *his arrow* shall go forth as the lightning: and the Lord God shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with whirlwinds of the south. The Lord of hosts shall defend them; and they shall *devour*†, and subdue with sling stones; and they shall drink, and make a noise as through wine; and they shall be filled like bowls, and as the corners of the altar. And the Lord their God *shall save them in that day* as the flock of his people: *for they shall be as the stones of a crown*‡, lifted *up* as an ensign upon his land." The arrow of the Lord is also frequently mentioned in the Old Testament: "I will make *mine arrows drunk with blood*, and my sword shall devour flesh," is a threat which Moses puts in the mouth of God in the forty-second verse of the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy. And David, in the twelfth verse of the twenty-first Psalm, declares that the arrows of the Lord cause *his enemies to retreat:* "Therefore shalt thou make them *turn their back* when thou shalt make ready thine arrows upon thy strings against the face of them." In the seventh Psalm *the bow* of God is mentioned as well as his arrows: "God judgeth the righteous, and God is angry with the wicked every day: if he turn not, he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready: he hath also prepared for him the instruments of death: he *ordaineth his arrows* against the persecutors." It deserves to be remarked, that the Mexicans represented Tezcatlipoca with arrows in his right hand, and a bow and shield in his left; and they honoured him as the god of war, and praised him in his name Yao§, being perhaps not wholly ignorant of the injunction, "Praise him in his name Yah," which was given to the Jews in the Old Testament. The destruction of Mexico closely resembled, not only in the prodigies which are alleged to have then happened, but in the obstinacy of the besieged and the cruelties which the Spaniards exercised upon the people when the city was taken, that of Jerusalem. The sufferings likewise which the Mexicans underwent during the siege,—amongst which might be enumerated famine, intestine sedition, and the disease of the small-pox, (then for the first time known in New Spain,) were of the most dreadful description. And it would be very difficult to prove that the Jews endured greater calamities from the Romans, than the Mexicans from the Spaniards; although the latter did not eat the dead bodies of their countrymen, much less those of their children *and their parents*, as the former are accused of having done by the Prophets; some of their Rabbis not scrupling *to palliate* such an atrocity by ascribing it *to the judgments pronounced by God against their countrymen*, rather than to the *wilful depravity* of a people whom sacrifices of animals had at last inured to human sacrifices:—as if it were not the worst description of blasphemy to maintain that cannibalism took place by God's *decree;* and to appeal to such passages in the Old Testament as the following, to prove the truth of a proposition which *reason denies*, and *religion* cannot but *abhor:* "And *I will do* in thee that which *I have not done*, and whereunto *I will not do* any more the like, because of all thine abominations. *Therefore the fathers shall eat the sons in the midst of thee*, and *the sons shall eat their fathers;* and *I will execute* judgments in thee, and the whole remnant of thee will I scatter into all the winds. Wherefore, as I live, saith the Lord God; surely, because thou hast defiled *my sanctuary* with *all* thy detestable things, and with *all thine abominations*, therefore will I also diminish thee; neither shall mine eye spare, neither will I have any pity."—Ezekiel, chap. v.

Note XXXIII. Page 215.

Sahagun affirms, in the thirty-seventh chapter of the second book of his History of New Spain, that boring the ears of their children was a religious custom amongst the Mexicans, as Acosta declares that it was likewise amongst

* The Mexicans sent one of their *most valiant men* against the Spaniards when they resolved to draw an omen from bringing forth the bow and the arrow of Huitzilopuchtli.

† The Mexicans devoured the Spaniards whom they took prisoners.

‡ It is a singular coincidence, that the Mexican warrior, when he took with him the arrow of Huitzilopuchtli, should have worn the royal insignia, including perhaps the *copilli* or the *Mexican crown*, and that the first thing he did should have been to ascend the terrace of a house, with the intention as it were of being gazed at like an *ensign* by the people.

§ Vide page 356 of the fifth volume of this work, where the epithet of Yautl is substituted for Yao, and annexed to Tezcatlipoca. The Mexicans frequently added, for the sake of euphony, the letters *tl* to their words; thus forming from Tulteca the word Tultecatl.

the Peruvians. The Mexicans, according to the former author, performed that rite with much solemnity once every four years, on the festival of Yzcalli, appointing sponsors, whom they named Petla and Tecuy, which words signify *uncle* and *aunt*, who stood as godfathers and godmothers for the children; and it is to be presumed undertook some engagement for them, which they were not released from till the children had arrived at years of discretion; and which perhaps might have been, that they should be faithful servants to Tezcatlipoca. It may be remarked, that amongst the Jews, *more than amongst any other people*, the relative situations of uncle and parent approximated, from the *duty* which by the laws of the Pentateuch *devolved upon the husband's brother*. It is singular that boring the ears of *Hebrew servants* as a sign of *perpetual* servitude should have been a religious custom amongst the Jews, enjoined in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, and again in the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, to which some learned men have supposed, that the passage אזנים כרית לי in the sixth verse of the fortieth Psalm, which signifies, *mine ears hast thou bored*, although otherwise translated in the Septuagint, alludes. That passage confessedly relates to the Messiah; and it deserves to be remarked that, taken in the sense here assigned to it, it would seem to refer to the epithet of *servant*, by which Christ is designated in the famous prophecy of Zechariah, "Behold, I will bring forth *my servant the* BRANCH." The objection that David lived before Zechariah, and therefore could not have alluded to a prediction of the latter prophet, is of no weight here, since it cannot be denied that inspiration reveals the future as well as the past. It may be interesting to subjoin a note by the authors of the Universal History, in which some critical remarks are introduced upon the passage in the fortieth Psalm, which is the subject of these observations: "But with respect to the Jews' expectation of a glorious Messiah, it is so strongly riveted in them, that they have even gone so far as to acknowledge two Messiahs;—namely, one suffering and obscure, despised and persecuted, whom they believed to have appeared at the time foretold by the prophets; and the other a glorious one of the seed of David, whose kingdom is to reach unto the end of the world, and is still expected by them; though they own themselves altogether in the dark concerning the time of his coming. But this notion of a twofold Messiah is plainly opposite to that prophecy of Isaiah which appropriates both those characters to one and the same person. However, as to this first character, it is plain the ancient Jews were not fond of *publishing it*, whatever notion they might have of it. This is plain from the Septuagint's paraphrase of that verse of the Psalmist in which the Messiah is represented as voluntarily taking upon him the form of a servant, by an expression alluding to the law of boring those servants' ears that refused to be released, spoken of under this article. The words in the original are, אזנים כרית לי, Oznaim carita li, 'Mine ears hast thou bored'. These interpreters fearing, in all probability, lest such a servile mark should be thought too derogatory to his character, have rendered it σωμα δε κατηρτισω μοι, 'a body hast thou prepared me,' or 'adapted for me,' which in the main comes near to the same purpose, and only softens very much in the expression; the first implying by the boring of the ears that Christ freely submitted himself to become God's perpetual servant, and the other that God had given him a body fit for the service he had voluntarily undertaken at his coming into the world. This is therefore the reason of the difference between the words in the original and in the quotation from it by the Apostle to the Hebrews, and is a further confirmation of the writers of the New Testament making use of the Septuagint version; and this will, we hope, apologize for this digression, if it may be deemed such."

NOTE XXXIV.

IT is impossible, on reading the following ordinance contained in the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, not to feel convinced that this was one of those statutes of which God, speaking in a later book of Scripture of the code of laws which he had given to the Jews, says: "Wherefore also I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments by which they should not live." Εαν δε τις εύρη την παιδα την παρθενον, ήτις ού μεμνηστευται, και βιασαμενος κοιμηθη μετ' αὐτης, και εύρεθη, δωσει ὁ ἀνθρωπος ὁ κοιμηθεις μετ' αὐτης τῳ πατρι της νεανιδος πεντηκοντα διδραχμα ἀργυριου, και αὐτου ἐσται γυνη, ἀνθ' ὡν ἐταπεινωσεν αὐτην. ού δυνησέται ἐξαποστειλαι αὐτην τον ἀπαντα χρονον." Justice is subject to no changes from time; and being founded on immutable principles of right, is the same to-day as it was three thousand years ago. It resembles the Deity in being everlasting, and in knowing not the vicissitudes of youth or age.

Note XXXV. Page 113.

The Mexicans were accustomed to draw blood from their tongues in the manner represented in the third page of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis; and the ancient Jews might perhaps have been acquainted with the practice, since Madden in the recent account of his travels in the Holy Land says that "the Arabs of Mount Lebanon are very expert at bleeding *under* the tongue: Lady H. Stanhope first pointed out to me the advantage of abstracting blood in this way in cases of determination to the head."—*Madden's Travels in Turkey in* 1824 *&* 1825.

Note XXXVI. Page 390.

From the following passage of the thirty-seventh chapter of the second book of Sahagun's History of New Spain it would appear that the ornaments or memorials which the Mexicans wore on their faces were not made of gold but of blue paper,—which assimilates them still more to the Hebrew phylacteries, which were pieces *of paper* containing written portions of the Law, which the Jews bound to their foreheads: "Llevaban todos en la cabeza unas coronas de papel como medias mitras, solamente llevaban las puntas de adelante sin la de atrás; llevaban en las narices un ornamento de papel azul, hecho como media mitra pequeñita, que envestia la nariz y colgaba hasta la boca; *era como corona de la boca.*" "They all wore on their heads paper crowns resembling half mitres, which terminated in a single point before, without any behind: to their noses were fastened ornaments of blue paper, somewhat in the shape of a small half mitre, which hung down to the mouth, forming as it were a crown to it." The real nature and shape of these ornaments will immediately be perceived by referring to the representation of them in the thirtieth and thirty-first pages of the lesser Vatican Codex; and they seem to be alluded to in the following passage of the twenty-first chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History: "Quierote dar otro ejemplo, y notale muy bien, *paraque te sea todo como mochila*, paraque vivas castamente en este mundo." "I will furnish you with another example, which fail not to remember, that it may be a constant appendage to you, so that you may live chastely in this world." A Mexican parent addresses this language to his son; and it deserves to be remarked, that although *mochila* cannot be translated *a frontlet*, still it signifies something that was carried about on the person, and suggests the recollection of the Mosaic ordinance contained in the sixteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus: "And it shall be for *a token* upon thine hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes."—Since writing the above, further inquiry into the manners of the Jews, and the reflection that it was an ancient Hebrew custom to cover *the upper lip* as a sign of grief, have led us to suppose that the Mexicans might, in compliance with the Hebrew fashion, have covered their upper lip at some of their solemn festivals, either as a visible sign that they had not forgotten the command delivered by Moses to the Jews, that at stated festivals they should *afflict their souls;* or in commemoration of some national misfortune, such as was the destruction of their temple: and it has already been observed, at page 390 of the sixth volume of this work, that some of these ornaments were worn so as to imitate *a reversed temple.* Whether the Jews covered their upper lip with cloth or paper in their mournings, and what might have been the shape of these badges of their grief, it would be vain to inquire; since all that we can infer from the passages in the Old Testament wherein they are mentioned is, that they were in general use amongst the Jews from the age of Moses till the Babylonian captivity, and perhaps till that of Christ. We read in the forty-fifth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus, that Moses ordained that the person afflicted with the leprosy should "put a covering upon his *upper lip*, and cry Unclean, unclean." And Ezekiel, in the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of his Prophecies, declares to the Jews that he was ordered by God to dispense with all the usual ceremonies of mourning on the death of his wife, amongst which covering the lip is enumerated: "Also the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke; yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down. Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, *bind the tire of thine head upon thee*, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and *cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men.* So I spake unto the people in the morning:

and at even my wife died; and I did in the morning as I was commanded. And the people said unto me, Wilt thou not tell us what these things are to us, that thou doest so? Then I answered them, The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Speak unto the house of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will profane my sanctuary, the excellency of your strength, the desire of your eyes, and that which your soul pitieth; and your sons and your daughters whom ye have left shall fall by the sword. And ye shall do as I have done: ye shall *not cover your lips*, nor eat the bread of men. And *your tires* shall be upon your heads, and your shoes upon your feet: ye shall not mourn nor weep; *but ye shall pine away for your iniquities, and mourn one toward another.* Thus Ezekiel is unto you *a sign:* according to all that he hath done shall ye do: and when this cometh, ye shall know that I am the Lord God." It deserves to be remarked, that the Septuagint translation of this passage varies exceedingly from the text of the Hebrew Scriptures, and that in the latter it is "cover not thy *upper* lip", instead of simply "cover not thy lips". The injunction to Ezekiel to refrain from eating the bread of men is curious, as it would seem to imply that funeral feasts were celebrated by the Jews as they were by the Mexicans. The prophet Micah predicts likewise, in the third chapter of his Prophecies, that the Jewish diviners should, from grief and shame *at God's vouchsafing no visions to them*, cover their lips: "Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people err, *that bite with their teeth*, and cry Peace; and he that putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him: therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded: yea, *they shall all cover their lips;* for there is no answer of God." We are hence inclined to think that the Mexicans covered their upper lips on certain solemn festivals as a sign of mourning, and to pertetuate the remembrance of some great national calamity, such as, had they been descended from the Jews, would have been the recollection of the destruction of their temple and state, an event which that people have ever considered it a religious duty to deplore. Traces of reminiscences such as these appear likewise to occur in some of the prayers which the ancient Mexicans addressed to the Gods, as has already been observed at page 385 of the sixth volume of this work, where we have remarked that a Jewish tone of complaint seems to pervade many parts of them: and to the example there adduced we shall add another, taken from the twentieth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, wherein it is very deserving of notice that the Mexicans affirmed that their ancestors, *notwithstanding* that they were powerful and great, esteemed themselves poor, and *pilgrims* on the earth (como pobres y *peregrinos*); which mode of speaking was entirely Jewish, and accorded well with the style of Jacob's reply to Pharaoh in the forty-seventh chapter of Genesis, when he was brought before him; and that monarch questioned him as to his age, when he answered, "The days of the years of *my pilgrimage* are an hundred and thirty years: *few* and *evil* have the days of the years of my life been; and I have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of *their pilgrimage:*" which humble way of speaking of himself was not inconsistent, it seems, with the saying "*great* as our father Abraham," which was used by the Jews of later ages: whence it would appear that the Jews, like the Mexicans, considered their ancestors both great and at the same time pilgrims upon the earth.—The following is the passage in which the latter example is contained: "I wish to admonish you, my son, of that which it is very fit that you should know and practise, and which is a thing worthy to be esteemed, and to be preserved like gold in a napkin, and jewels within a coffer. For the old of both sexes, hoary-headed and aged persons, our ancestors who lived in this kingdom and state, and dwelt amongst this people, and obtained dignities and principalities, bequeathed it as such to us. They who were powerful lords, and possessed regal and senatorial dignity, did not on that account grow proud or elated, but on the contrary they humbled themselves, and walked with their bodies bent and inclined to the ground, with tears, groans, and sighs. They did not account themselves as lords, *but as poor pilgrims.* Those ancestors, from whom we descend, lived with great humility in this world: they were neither presumptuous, proud, nor haughty; nor did they desire honours. But although they lived with great humility, as we have observed, they were reverenced and highly esteemed, and enjoyed the dignities of the kingdom. They were lords and captains, and possessed authority to kill and to make war; and they fed the sun and the earth with blood and the flesh of men: and although by the grace of God they were great, and reigned over the earth, and governed the kingdom which our Lord, who is everywhere, has entrusted to us, and judged and superintended affairs of state, and consoled and favoured the multitude,—they did not on that account cease to be humble; nor did they grow haughty, or act in a manner unworthy of their station: and although they were rich and powerful, and had

many possessions which our Lord bestowed upon them; and had flowers and perfumes, and all sorts of costly vestments, and spacious houses, and meat and drink of every description, and possessed arms, and very sumptuous and glorious apparel; for example, rich sandals*, rich tassels for the head, and precious ear-rings†; so that all who beheld them trembled at their majesty:—did they on that account despise their inferiors, or look down upon them? Was that a reason for pride intoxicating their minds, and their judgment forsaking them? No, truly; they were on the contrary very courteous, and very humble, and very affable, and paid respect to all, and bowed themselves to the earth, and accounted themselves as nothing; and the more they were honoured and esteemed the more they wept, the more they afflicted themselves, and sighed, and inclined and bowed their bodies to the ground‡. In this manner, my son, the old men from whom we descend, your ancestors in the third and fourth degree, *who left us here*, from whom you also descend, lived in this world: fix your eyes upon them; behold their virtues, contemplate their fame, and the lustre and renown which they have bequeathed to us: consider the example and pattern which they set: take care that you make your life to resemble theirs: take care that you place their life before your eyes, and you will immediately know the faults and defects which may belong to you.—I wish to address another word to you, my much beloved son;—mark it most attentively. Know, then, that you have been born at a period of much affliction, and at a season of great poverty; for I, who am your father, feel the pressure of distress, and suffer extreme want. Although our ancestors were great and rich, we are not the inheritors of their wealth and riches, but on the contrary are in great want of everything. Poverty is that which sways and exercises dominion over us. We are your parents; old men, full of years, and in great distress. My son, if you wish to be convinced whether this is the case, turn your eyes on the hearth of this house; look at the place where they kindle the fire: and you will discover nothing but poverty and extreme wretchedness, which renders it difficult for us to provide ourselves with the necessary supply of meat and drink: we are likewise in want of clothing, and suffer on every side from the cold, and have not wherewithal to cover ourselves. Behold us, and you will perceive that our bones appear through our skin, from starvation and want of proper sustenance;—and this happens by the will of our Lord, and *on account of our sins*. Behold your cousins of both sexes: inquire whether they possess abundance: inquire whether they are stout and strong; and whether they have the necessaries of life, and enjoy a superfluity of food and clothing. Do you not perceive the abject state of poverty into which they are all fallen?—all are a prey to absolute misery. In such a state of suffering, in so much poverty, there is no opportunity to lift up the head, or to grow elated; for it would be acting like drunkards, or the meanest amongst the rabble, to encourage feelings of haughtiness and pride amidst so much poverty and misery as abide within this house, and are the lot of those who dwell within it. That you have been born at such a time is a sufficient cause for you to feel humility and sorrow, and to hang down the head. Hearken until I finish my exhortation to you. You see your first-cousin, who is older than you; do not point out him as an example of the low state to which God has reduced us, since he now possesses rule over the people, occupies now a post of dignity, and is now invested with authority to determine the causes of the multitude, and to sentence and punish criminals, and to adjudge the guilty to death. He can now admonish and chastise, for he now possesses dignity and the seat of judicature: to him belongs the principal seat, where our Lord placed him. They now address him by the titles of Tecutlato Tlacatecutli; by these names all the people salute him. He is raised to this dignity in the absence of persons better qualified by their prudence and their wisdom to govern this people and state. There exist no longer illustrious persons of great wealth and famous lineage amongst us: the race of all these is now extinct. If there had been *only one* of these, our Lord would have made choice of him, and he would have been elected king and lord of this state. I know not how the youth who is now weeping on account of his elevation will conduct himself: perhaps he will bring down destruction upon himself; or perhaps our Lord has only promoted him to his present dignity until another may appear who will discharge his office better. Our Lord certainly stands in no need of friends§, and persons who are known to him. You well know the manner in which your cousin lived before he attained this dignity. Was he accustomed to jest, or to play the buffoon? Did he lead a dissolute or shameless life? Was he very elated?—No: he was very humble, he was very obsequious, he truly was possessed with sentiments of propriety; he displayed no marks of pride or vanity, he prayed to the Lord our God with great devotion, he watched by night, and he prostrated himself

* See Song of Solomon, vii. 1; and Judith, xvi. 9. "Her sandals ravished his eyes." † See Exod. xxxii. 2; and Job xlii. 11.
‡ See Genesis xxiii. 7 & 12. xxxiii. 3 & 7. "Jacob bowed himself seven times to Esau." and Ruth ii. 10.
§ Abraham was called *the friend* of God.

on his knees at midnight, to pray and to sigh before God :—and this still continues to be his practice. No sooner did morning dawn than he arose, and swept with a broom, and cleansed the dust with a brush from the holy places. And what think you of his style of life at present? how does he behave? Is he proud or capricious? does he seem to recollect that he is king?—He is now the same humble and submissive person as before; and he therefore weeps and sighs and prays with great devotion to our Lord. You never hear him now exclaim, I am lord! I am king! He still watches in the same manner by night; he sweeps in the same manner, and he offers incense in the same manner. Although you are his elder first-cousin, your younger first-cousin excels you, my son, in all good customs. Remember the words which I now address to you, my son; let them be a thorn in your heart, and a cold blast to afflict you, that you may humble yourself and betake you to inward meditation. Consider, my son, that it has been your lot to be born in a time of trouble and sorrow, and that God has sent you into the world at a period of extreme poverty. Behold me, who am your father; see what a life I and your mother lead, and how we are accounted as nothing, and the memory of us has passed away. Although our ancestors were powerful and great,—have they bequeathed to us their power and greatness? No, truly. Cast your eyes upon your relations and kindred, who fill no public offices, but who live in poverty and *as outcasts*. Wherefore, although you yourself are noble and illustrious, and of famous origin, it becomes you to have ever present before your eyes how you ought to live. Remember, my son, that humility and lowliness of body and of soul, and lamentation, and weeping, and sighing, are true nobility, and worth, and honour. Reflect that no one accounted proud, or haughty, or arrogant, or presumptuous, has ever been elected king: no one who wanted courtesy, or was ill-bred, or who gave himself free licence of speech, and had no command over his tongue,—no one who gave utterance to whatever came into his mouth, has ever been elevated to the throne and regal dignity: and if there chanced to be any lord prone to indulge in buffooneries and silly jests, they immediately gave him the nickname of Tecucucuechtli, which signifies 'a buffoon'. Never was any important office in the state confided to any one who was forward, and wanted discretion in speaking and in jesting. They named persons of that description Quaquachtin, which is an appellation they bestow upon those who want common sense but are brave in war; they likewise named such persons Ototinotlaotonxinti, which signifies shorn and insensate Otomies,—these dealt great slaughter amongst the foe, but were not esteemed fit to be entrusted with the affairs of state. Those who in past times ruled over republics and commanded armies were all of them persons greatly addicted to praying and religious devotion, and weeping, and sighing; very humble and submissive, neither disdainful nor presumptuous, very discreet and prudent, very peaceable and sedate.—You are already informed, my son, and you must well recollect that the king is, as it were, the heart of the people; he is assisted by two senators in whatever concerns the civil government of the people. One of these is a Pilli, and the other a person experienced in war; the one is named Tlacatecutli, and the other Tlacochtecutli. Two other officers assist the king in the military department of the state: one of whom is a Pilli, and experienced in war; and the other is not a Pilli;—one is named Tlacatecatl, and the other is named Tlacochcalcatl. In this manner, my son, the government of the state is constituted; and the four above-mentioned persons, styled Tlacatecutli and Tlacochtecutli, and Tlacatecatl and Tlacochcalcatl, possess not those titles and offices by inheritance or by right, but only because they are elected to them *by the inspiration of our Lord*, on account of their being the fittest persons for them. Mark well the advice which I give you, my dearly beloved, my much esteemed son,—grow not proud, nor become elated if by chance you should be made choice of for any of the above-mentioned offices. Perhaps God will call upon you to fill one of them; or perhaps you will remain without any, and will live as a private person and one of the multitude. But should you be called and elected to any of these dignities, I charge you again and again not to presume upon your own merits, not to esteem yourself great, and valiant, and eminent,—for that is a thing highly displeasing to God. Should you by chance deserve any dignity, and by chance deserve to be a person of some account, or should you by chance deserve to be elected to fill any of the offices already mentioned,—humble yourself, and be very lowly and submissive; hang down your head, and fold your arms, and give yourself up to tears and devotion, and sorrow, and sighs, and be submissive unto all; be under subjection to all, and humble yourself to all. And remember, my son, that the admonition which I have given to you concerning humility and submission and being lowly in your own esteem, will render you in the eyes of the Lord our God a person *after his own heart*. Take care that your humility be not feigned, for in that case you would be called Titoloxochton, which means 'a hypocrite': you would likewise be called Titlanixiquipile, which signifies 'a dissembler.' Remember that the Lord our God sees hearts, and sees all secret things,

however hidden they be, and hears whatsoever we determine in our hearts, as many of us as live in this world. Take care that your humility be pure and unadulterated with pride: take care that your humility before God be pure as a precious gem: take care that you be not a hypocrite." It has been remarked at page 515 of the sixth volume of this work, in reference to an instance there cited of the Jewish tone of complaint in which the Mexicans were accustomed to indulge,—that the Mexican empire was at the height of its greatness in the reign of Montezuma; and it cannot for a moment be supposed that his subjects were poorer, more destitute of apparel, or more exposed to sufferings from famine and cold, than their ancestors had been in any of the preceding reigns: or, finally, that the citizens of Mexico were worse off in any of these respects than the native population of the other Indian states. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that from the reign of Ahuitzotl,—when the Mexican merchants succeeded in opening a new communication with the provinces and states situated to the south-east of Mexico, on which they bestowed the general appellation of Anaoac, which included modern Guatemala,—the Mexicans enjoyed comparative abundance both of the necessaries and the luxuries of life. It would have been impossible therefore for them,—if descended from the Chichimecas, the aboriginal inhabitants of New Spain, (who led a very rude and uncivilized life, according to the testimony of Sahagun in the second section of the twenty-ninth chapter of the tenth book of his History of New Spain,)—to have complained of their food and clothing, or to have contrasted their situation under the reign of Montezuma with a period of greater national prosperity. But if they had been of a mixed race, and of Jewish as well as Indian descent, the Mexicans might have had some reasonable cause for complaining of their reverse of fortune, and for repining, on comparing their own situation in Mexico with that of their ancestors in Jerusalem, and the territory of New Spain with the land of Palestine. It may readily be conceived, from a cursory examination of the Mexican paintings,—which present a true picture of the manners of the Mexicans,—that a colony of Jews, or a mixed race, the offspring of the first Jewish settlers who intermarried with the native Indians, and so became naturalized in America, retaining any tradition of the refined state at which civilization had arrived in Europe, Asia, or Africa, would sometimes have reverted in terms of regret to the more happy lot of their ancestors, and bid their children recollect that they had not always been a poor and an outcast race. Many passages in the speeches contained in the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain become on this supposition alone intelligible. That the Mexicans were of mixed blood, and not of pure Indian descent, may be inferred from a certain portion of the male population having beards. This fact, which has been denied by many writers, may be proved,—first, from the Mexican paintings, in which the representation of Indians with beards frequently occurs:—secondly, from the concurrent testimony of several Spanish historians, who, in describing the person of Montezuma, agree that he had a beard, though very thin; which account corresponds with the portrait* of that king, inserted by Gemelli in the Italian edition of his Travels; although Boturini believes it to be that of Nezahualpilli king of Tezcuco, observing that the original picture from which the engraving was taken was in his possession:—thirdly, from the following passage, which occurs in the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; from which it might be inferred that the Mexicans who chanced to have beards did not all of them choose, for the sake of resembling the rest of the Indian population, to eradicate them; but on the contrary, that some of them set a high value upon them, which would have been more agreeable to the Mosaic law. "You have now concluded your oration, which we have assembled together in this place to hear, at *the instigation*† of our Lord; and from the affection which we bear to this young woman, who is still of tender years, whom

* This portrait, with four others, representing two of Montezuma's brothers, his immediate predecessors on the throne, and his successor Quauhtemoctzin, will be found in the fourth volume of this work. The testimony of Boturini as to their authenticity attaches some interest to them, and they show the proficiency which the Mexicans had attained in the art of portrait painting, the style of which was so different from that which they employed in their mythological paintings. Hernandez the celebrated Spanish naturalist, who visited New Spain by the command of Philip the Second shortly after the conquest, says that he saw in a hall of the palace at Tezcuco the portraits of many kings, ancestors of Nezahualcoyatl,—which reminds us that the Jews were accustomed to ornament the walls of their palaces with portraits of the human person; the mischievous consequence of which, as regarded the morals of the people, are described by Ezekiel in the twenty-third chapter of his Prophecies with extreme *naïveté;* the plain phraseology of the prophet, in the twentieth verse of that chapter, has been so modified by the English translators of the Bible that the real sense is not apparent.

† The most common acts of life, when recorded in the Old Testament by the Hebrew prophets, are imputed to the instigation of God, and to *being in the spirit,* or acting under the influence of the spirit: the phrase employed in Scripture is *πνευμα Θεου,* which seems sometimes to signify, the action of the air, or at least to be associated with it, and which might have induced the Mexicans to bestow the other epithet of Yoalliehecatl upon Tezcatlipoca. The following passage, taken from the second chapter of the Acts, affords an example of the Apostles being brought together in the manner in which the Mexican orator pretends that his audience was assembled: "And

you prize as a gem or a rich feather, or as *your own beards* and nails, or as a rose-bud of our ancestors who are no more, to whom our Lord has assigned their allotted place, hiding and removing them from this world :"—and lastly, from the high authority and undoubted information of Peter Martyr, who, in the second chapter of his seventh Ocean Decad, professing ignorance as to whether the Chicorani were beardless by nature or by art, asserts that the Mexicans eradicated their beards : " Chicoranos aiunt semifuscos esse, uti nostri sunt agricolæ sole adusti æstivo : capillos nigros cingulo tenus viri nutriunt, fœminæ longiores in giros : uterque sexus nectit comam. Sunt imberbes : sit ne id a naturâ, vel ab arte, medicamenti aliquo genere adhibito, *vel pilos evellant more Tenustitanæ gentis*, est in ambiguo." That the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico and Peru were naturally, with the exception of some tribes, a beardless race, is unanimously admitted by the Spanish historians who have treated of America; and notwithstanding the laboured arguments by which Garcia, in the fifth chapter of the second book of his Treatise concerning the Origin of the Indians, endeavours to prove that the dryness of the soil of America, with other concurring causes, had rendered the descendants of Noah in that quarter of the globe beardless, in the same manner as the dryness of the soil of Africa had caused his posterity, comprising the negro population, to be black,—we cannot but think that the features of the negro, as well as the smooth and copper-coloured skins of the Indians, bespeak two distinct races of mankind. Having already pointed out the mysterious allusions to their ancestors which frequently occur in the exhortations which the ancient Mexicans addressed to their children, and thence deduced an argument in favour of the supposition of the Mexicans being descended from the Jews, we may further observe, that the language which their orators employed in the congratulations which it was usual for them to offer on the part of the relations and near kinsmen to the parents of a new-born infant, and even to the infant itself, so nearly resembles that made use of by the Jews in alluding to the birth of the hoped-for Messiah, that many may reasonably entertain a doubt whether the Mexicans did not indulge in an expectation similar to that of the Jews of Morocco, whose silly anticipation of the coming of the Messiah, and the absurd custom to which it gave rise, have been noticed at page 351 of the sixth volume of this work. If the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, and conscious of their origin, and that they were God's people,—a fact which, like the ancient Jews, they frequently took occasion to remind him of, as if eternal Justice could be moved by such an idle plea,—nothing would have been more probable than that, when suffering hardships, and in extreme difficulty, they should have expected the *quick* coming of the Messiah; and to that expectation might be referred the solemn ejaculation, " *Come quickly, since we expect you*," which both the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis and the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus affirm that the Mexicans were accustomed to utter from the terraces of their houses* on the festival of Hueymiccaylhuitl, the latter observing that they repeated that ejaculation during three successive nights. Nothing can be inferred from the silence of Sahagun on this point, except, perhaps, that being acquainted with the antipathy which was manifested by the learned of his age, who were the clergy, to the theory that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, he did not choose to state anything unguardedly which might lend a strong corroboration to that opinion; and hence it is not improbable that, well knowing that the Mexicans did expect a Messiah, and even alluded, in the set speeches of congratulation which they addressed to each other on the births of their children, to the possibility of *his being born in their days* and being of their race, he dissimulated his knowledge, from a fear that the eloquent orations of the ancient Mexicans, in which traces of that expectation seem to occur, should be consigned to oblivion; and hence he might have wished the readers of his History to suppose that none of the passages† in those orations had any other reference than to

when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing *mighty wind*, and *it* filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."

* The Mexican custom of mourning on the terraces of their houses accorded with the ancient Hebrew practice, as appears from the following passage of the Universal History, in which the existence of that usage among the Jews is sufficiently proved from the words of Isaiah in the twenty-second and fifteenth chapters of his Book of Prophecies : " In public mournings the people were wont to get up to the top of their houses, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at least it seems probable that there was some such custom, by what the prophet says, speaking to Jerusalem, 'What aileth thee, that thou art gone up *wholly* to the house-tops?' and so on : and speaking elsewhere of the Moabites, he says, 'On the tops of their houses and in their streets every one shall howl and weep abundantly.'"—Universal History, vol. i. p. 696.

† It must not be forgotten that the History of Sahagun, as now published, is a recompilation by the author when an old man, of

the ordinary births of Mexican children. In order to show the probability of such a supposition, we shall here insert some extracts from the above-mentioned orations, the style and language of which is not unlike that employed in the Old and New Testament when *the birth of the Messiah* is the subject treated of. The difficulty which the allusion to the husband in the following passage may create, will vanish as soon as it is recollected that although the prophecies of the Old Testament predicted that the Messiah should be born of a virgin, they did not declare that that virgin should not be a married woman*:—Oid pues, Señores, que estais presentes y todos los demas que aqui estais, viejos y viejas, y canos y canas; sabed, que nuestro Señor *ha hecho misericordia* por la Señora N., moza y recien casada; quiere nuestro Señor *hacerla misericordia* y poner *dentro de ella* una piedra preciosa *y una pluma rica,* porque ya está preñada la mozuela; parece que nuestro Señor ha puesto dentro de ella una criatura;—pues que será ahora la voluntad de nuestro Señor? si merecerá este mancebo gozar de la merced de nuestro Señor, y vuestra hija N., si será merecedora por ventura, de que venga á luz lo que ha concebido? y los viejos de adonde ellos vienen, que ya son difuntos que vivieron en este mundo algunos pocos dias, los viejos y viejas que ya están en su recogimiento en la cueva y en el agua, en el infierno donde están descansando y no se acuerdan de lo que acá pasa, porque fueron para nunca mas volver; ni tarde ni temprano nunca mas los veremos; pluguiera á Dios que esto aconteciera en su presencia, paraque oyerades las palabras de vuestra salutacion de su boca. Ahora no hay viejos que autoricen, ni canas que resplandezcan†." "Hearken unto me, Lords who are present, and all else who are here assembled, old men and women, and hoary-headed persons of both sexes; know that our Lord hath dealt mercifully with the Lady N., who is young and recently married; our Lord hath vouchsafed to deal mercifully with her, and to put a precious jewel *and a rich feather within her,* since it is now plain that she is pregnant; it is plain that our Lord has bestowed an infant upon her. What then will be the future will of our Lord? Will the youth who is now present deserve to enjoy the bounty of our Lord? and your daughter N., will she peradventure be deemed worthy of bringing to light that which she has conceived? And the patriarchs from whom they descend, who are now deceased, who lived a *few* short *days* in this world,—the patriarchs who have been gathered to their allotted place‡ in the pit and in the water,

what he had written on the same subject in his youth; and that the circumstances under which he commenced his later task render it very probable that whatever was likely to give offence to his superiors in the first copy, was in the second omitted.

* The Virgin Mary was a married woman, and so was the mother of Huitzilopuchtli, whose children (no mention is made of her husband), *suspecting* that she had been guilty of adultery, were about to kill her, when she miraculously gave birth to the above-named deity. The tradition of the ball of feathers falling through the air, by which she became pregnant,—which is noticed at page 103 of the sixth volume of this work,—might have originated in some misconception of the true meaning of the metaphor of Tezcatlipoca placing a rich feather within those women on whom he bestowed the gift of children; which had no other signification than that "children and the fruit of the womb" were the gift of that supreme God of the Mexicans. Thus God is said, in the first verse of the twenty-first chapter of Genesis, to have visited Sarah and caused her to conceive; and in the concluding verse of the preceding chapter of Genesis he is declared "to have closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah, Abraham's wife." In the thirteenth verse of the fourth chapter of the Book of Ruth we likewise read, "So Boaz took Ruth, and she was his wife; and when he went in unto her *the Lord gave her conception,* and she bare a son." Whence it is plain how exactly the Jews and the Mexicans resembled each other in believing that their supreme deity bestowed children upon them by a special act of grace, which, however late accorded, was decreed *before the creation of the world,* as must be inferred from the language of Saint Paul in the fourth and fifth verses of the first chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians, "According as he hath chosen us in him *before the foundation of the world,* that we should be holy and without blame before him in love, *having predestinated us* into the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will;" and from the words *antes del principio del mundo* in the speech of the Mexican orator quoted at page 515 of the sixth volume of this work, which, it deserves to be remarked, nearly correspond in signification with the words προ καταβολης κοσμου, employed by Saint Paul in the passage cited from his Epistle to the Ephesians.—We shall conclude this note by observing that the Jews entertained very odd notions about the time and the manner in which the Deity was supposed to fashion children in their mothers' wombs. An article upon this subject appeared about two years ago in a foreign Review, many passages of which were in Latin, because the writer judged them unfit for translation into French. The Jews however, we are told, are the only people whose minds could rise to the contemplation of the pure nature of the Deity.

† This passage is taken from the twenty-fourth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain.

‡ It is difficult to find an English phrase exactly expressive of the signification of "en su recogimiento:" that which is here employed appears to be the most proper, and will convey an idea of the torpid sort of immortality which the Mexicans and the Jews, as several passages of the latter books of the Old Testament obscurely hint, believed would be the lot of their deceased ancestors, until the period of the day of judgment. The same vague definition of the place allotted to departed spirits,—the same confused notion that it was in the centre of the earth,—the same metaphorical expressions of "going down into the pit (*cueva*)," and "descending into mictlan, or hell (*infierno*)," for dying,—the same belief in a purgatory of *four years* duration, or at least of a year, during which space of time the dead suffered all kinds

and in hell, where they now repose, and no longer recollect* what passes on the earth,—for they have gone never more to return; neither late nor early shall we behold them more;—would that it had pleased God that this had happened in their days, that you might have heard the words of *your salutation* pronounced from their lips; but now there no longer remain amongst us the old to lend authority, or white hairs to glisten." It is evident from the above passage that the Mexicans believed, like the Jews, that children and the fruit of the womb were the gift of Tezcatlipoca; and the phrase of *the Lord's dealing mercifully with the lady N.*, denoting that she had conceived, was quite in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, as we learn from the following verses of the first chapter of Saint Luke: "Now Elisabeth's full time came that she should be delivered; and she brought forth a son. And her neighbours and her cousins heard how *the Lord had shown great mercy upon her*, and they rejoiced with her." Like the Jews also they made a great boast of the patriarchs who went before them; and the repetition of the feminine of the adjective *viejos* would seem to imply that the Aztec tribes had retained some tradition of Sarah the wife of Abraham, and of Rachel *the mother of the house of Israel*, the latter of whom they might have worshiped under the name of Tonantzin; this at least is probable from the superstitious reverence which the Mexicans paid to women who died in childbirth, and their *burying* the bodies of such, instead of burning them according to their usual rites of sepulture, as well as their belief that they went after their death to enjoy happiness in the region of the west, named Cioatlanpan,—Scripture informing us, in the following passage of the thirty-fifth chapter of Genesis, that Rachel, who *is canonized* by the writers of the Talmud, died in child-birth and was buried in Bethlehem, where Jacob set a pillar over her grave: "And they journeyed from Beth-el; and there was but a little way to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour. And it came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, *Fear not*†; thou shalt have this son also. And it came to pass, as her soul was in departing (for she died), that she called his name Ben-oni: but his father called him Benjamin. And Rachel died, and *was buried*‡ in the way to Ephrath, *which is Beth-lehem*. And

of hardships in prosecuting a long and painful *journey* to the place destined for their last retreat,—were common to the Jews and Mexicans; and afford strong proofs that the Mexicans derived their doctrine of the immortality of the soul, of the day of judgment, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, from the Jews.

* "Man dieth *and all his thoughts perish*" is a passage in Scripture which might have suggested to the Mexican orator this moral reflection.

† "Esfuerzate," 'Be courageous,' was the exhortation with which the Mexican midwife sought to revive the exhausted energies of a woman dying in childbirth.—Vide Sahagun's History of New Spain, cap. xxviii. lib. 6. The prayers which she also addressed to Eve, and, as Sahagun rather oddly observes, "á otras no sé que diosas," remind us of the concluding passage of the second chapter of Paul's First Epistle to Timothy, "And Adam was not deceived, but *the woman* being deceived was in the transgression; notwithstanding she shall be *saved* in child-bearing, if they continue in faith and charity, and live with sobriety."

‡ The Mexicans were accustomed, as the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus informs us at page 226 of the sixth volume of this work, to burn the bodies of the dead, with the exception of those who had died of the leprosy and other contagious diseases, and the bodies of boys who had died under fourteen years of age; to which list of exceptions Sahagun adds those of women who died in childbirth, whose souls they believed went to the region in the west, named after them Cioatlanpan.—It is singular that the custom of burying, instead of burning, the bodies of the Jewish kings who died afflicted with leprosy, should be recorded by the author of the Second Book of the Chronicles, in the account which he gives of the reign of Uzziah, which we have transcribed at greater length on account of the notice which it contains of the vast standing armies which the petty state of Judea was able to maintain, even after the secession of the ten tribes of Israel; *of the military character of the Jewish priests of that period*, which assimilates them so strongly to the Mexican priests; and of the bulwarks from which stones were cast, of the nature it may be presumed of the fortification of Mictlan, described by M. Dupaix at page 455 of the sixth volume of this work: "Moreover Uzziah had an host of fighting men, that went out to war by bands, according to the number of their account, by the hand of Jeiel the scribe, and Maaseiah the ruler, under the hand of Hananiah, one of the king's captains. The whole number of the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valour were two thousand and six hundred. And under their hand was an army, *three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred*, that made war with mighty power, to help the king against the enemy. And Uzziah prepared for them throughout all the host shields, and spears, and helmets, and habergeons, and bows, and slings to cast stones. And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and *upon the bulwarks*, to shoot arrows and *great stones* withal. And his name spread far abroad; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong. But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the Lord, that were *valiant men*: And they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honour from the Lord God. Then Uzziah was wroth, and had a censer in his hand to burn incense: and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy even rose up in his forehead before the priests in the house of the Lord,

Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." Sahagun, in the twenty-ninth chapter of the sixth book of his History of New Spain, relates many curious opinions of the ancient Mexicans respecting women who died in child-birth:—they assimilated them to soldiers who died in battle, and allotted to them the same place in the house of the Sun, there to enjoy eternal life, and to intercede with him for other mortals. The concluding invocation of the chapter referred to is so explicit upon that article of the Mexican creed, that we shall here insert it, remarking at the same time that the person who pronounced it was the midwife who had attended the deceased in her confinement. "Hija mia muy amada, ruegote que nos visites desde allá, pues que soys muger valerosa y señora, pues que ya estais para siempre en el lugar del gozo y de la bienaventuranza, donde para siempre habeis de vivir y estais con nuestro Señor. Ya le veis con vuestros ojos, y le hablais con vuestra lengua, rogadle por nosotros, habladle paraque nos favorezca, y con esto quedamos descansados." "My much loved daughter, I entreat you to visit us from thence, since you are a woman of courage and a lady, since you are now for ever in a place of joy and felicity, where it will be thine ever to live and to abide with our Lord. Now you behold him with your eyes, and speak to him with your lips, intreat him for us, beseech him to favour us, and we shall rest at once from our toils." It has already been remarked that the Mexicans typified Quecalcoatle, as the ancient Jews did the Messiah, under the image of the sun; and they appear likewise to have assigned to him the sun as a distinct dwelling place apart from Homeyocan, or the ninth heaven, the residence of Tezcatlipoca, and from Tlalocan, or paradise, the habitation of the god Tlaloc, whither the souls of children went after death; which might lead to the inference that they were not wholly unacquainted with the Evangelical doctrine, "In my Father's house are *many* mansions," and that they even reckoned in the number 'the mansion of the Sun' (*casa* del Sol), which according to their notion was the solar orb itself inhabited *by the deity named the Sun*, supposed by some to be the brother of Tlaloc, who in that case it is probable would have had his residence in the moon, and presided over *the conception* of children,—an office which the Mexicans ascribed to Meztli, or the Moon*; which conjecture acquires increased probability from attention to the etymological derivation of the proper name Ylhuicatl-tlalocaypanmeztli, which signifies 'the heaven of Tlaloc and the Moon,' and was the name which the Mexicans gave to Paradise. The Peruvians, like the Mexicans, associated the persons of their Trinity with the sun and the moon; but whether as typical images or mansions in which they believed them to reside, it would be difficult to determine. The triumphant career of the sun *personified*†, and in the guise of *a warrior* pursuing his course round the whole earth, is described by Sahagun in language such as the Mexicans themselves employed, which, although far more poetical than that of David in the nineteenth Psalm, conveys in substance precisely the same image to the mind, as a comparison of that description with the following passage of the nineteenth Psalm will show: "Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set *a tabernacle for the Sun*, which is as *a bridegroom* coming out of his chamber, and *rejoiceth* as *a strong man* to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his *circuit* unto the ends of it: and there is *nothing*‡ hid from the heat thereof." The coincidence here pointed out is

from beside the incense altar. And Azariah the chief priest, and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he was leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out from thence; yea, himself hasted also to go out, because the Lord had smitten him. And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the Lord: and Jotham his son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land. Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write. So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and *they buried him* with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; *for they said*, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

* Vide page 203 of the sixth volume of this work. The Mexicans, in believing that the moon presided over generation, and bestowing on it the appellation of Tecuiztecatl, would seem to have retained some recollection of the blessing pronounced by Jacob upon Joseph, in the fourteenth verse of the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, where there is express mention of "the precious things *put forth* by the moon." The term Tecuiztecatl reminds us of the simile of the snail in the eighth verse of the fifty-eighth Psalm.

† A highly poetical description of the sun personified as the God of light, will be found in the twenty-ninth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain. The Mexicans believed that their favourite deity, reclining in a golden litter ornamented with green plumes, and preceded and escorted by the souls of the blessed, performed his journey through the heavens amidst tumultuous acclamations and the loud notes of vocal and instrumental music. From the eleventh verse of the twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings,—wherein it is said that Josiah "took away *the horses* which *the kings of Judah* had given to the sun," and "burnt *the chariots* of the sun with fire,"—it would appear that the Jews believed with Ovid in the poetical car of Phœbus, and the sun's diurnal course round the earth.

‡ The Mexicans believed that the rays of the sun penetrated even to the regions of the dead.

extremely singular, especially when it is considered that Christ is named a bridegroom in the New Testament. It may be proper to observe that the words "their line," in the beginning of this passage, refers to the heavens, round which and the earth both the Jews and the Mexicans believed that the sun revolved: in reference to which notion, and the doctrine once deemed heretical opposed to it, we shall take the liberty of remarking that the Rabbinical philosophy is extremely detrimental to the cause of knowledge, chiefly because it forbids inquiry, and itself decides upon the greatest questions, as well in natural as in moral science.—To revert once more to the singular belief of the Mexicans, that women who died in child-birth went to the house of the Sun,—we may observe, that that belief was grounded on the doctrine that the souls of those who died in war went thither; and proceeded on the supposition that giving birth to children was a sort of battle which women waged with Death, and a trial bequeathed to them by the goddess Cioacoatl or Quilaztli, who is declared, at page 536 of the sixth volume of this work, to have been the Mexican Eve. The words of Rachel, in the eighth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Genesis, on being informed that her maid Bilhah had borne a second son to Jacob, would almost imply that the Jews occasionally employed a warlike metaphor to designate the act of giving birth to children; since the words, "with great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have *prevailed*," can only allude to her having obtained a son by the device which she determined to resort to in the third verse of the above chapter*; and they remind us of the phrase "*cautivado* un niño," "*captured* a child," used by the Mexican midwife on similar occasions. The firm belief of the Mexicans that the souls of those who died in war went to the Sun or Quecalcoatle, is further illustrated in the following pathetic prayer, which the Mexicans addressed to the Sun when they perceived that the utmost efforts of valour were unavailing to defend their city from the Spaniards: "O Sun, that canst *encircle* the earth in so short a space of time as a single day and one night, kill us at once and relieve us from such great and protracted sufferings, since we desire death in order to go and rest with Quecalcoatle, who is expecting us." This was the last ejaculation which, according to Gomara, they uttered when they beheld their whole city a prey to fire and the sword. Another superstitious custom of the Mexicans connected with the celebration of the funeral rites of women who died in child-birth deserves to be noticed, which is thus described by Sahagun in the twenty-ninth chapter of the sixth book of his History of New Spain: "The body of the deceased was carried forth with dishevelled hair, when the aged midwives assembled and accompanied it, all armed with swords and shields, and uttering cries as when soldiers shout at the commencement of an engagement; upon which the youths named Telpupuchtin sallied forth to attack them, in order to take from them the body of the woman, and fought with them not in jest but in earnest. The time which they made choice of for the burial of the deceased was at sun-set, or, as we should express ourselves, at the hour of evening vespers. They buried her in the court of the temple of certain goddesses, whom they styled the celestial women, or Cioapipilti, to whom that temple was dedicated; and on entering the court they performed the ceremony of inhumation; when the husband of the deceased, with some other friends, watched for *four* successive nights, lest any one should *steal away* the body; and the young soldiers sought an opportunity for stealing away the body, for they considered it as something sacred or divine: and if these soldiers conquered when they fought with the midwives, and got possession of the body, they immediately cut off the middle finger of the left hand, and the hair from the head of the deceased; and they did this in the presence of the midwives themselves: and if they found means to steal away the body by night, they cut off the same finger and the hair from the head of the deceased, and kept them as relics. The reason for the soldiers being so desirous of obtaining the finger and the hair of the deceased woman was, that when they marched to battle they might put them within their shields, which they said made them so valiant and courageous that none would dare to resist them, and caused them to lose all sense of fear, and enabled them to put many to flight, and to make prisoners of the enemy; they declared that the finger and the hair of the dead woman, whom they named Mociocuezqui, enabled them to perform these exploits, and also to blind the eyes of their enemies. A set of enchanters named Temamacpalitotique were also anxious to steal the body of the dead woman, in order to cut off the left arm together with the hand; for they affirmed that through their magical art they were

* The mandrakes mentioned in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of the thirtieth chapter of Genesis, might have suggested to the Mexicans the curious virtues which they ascribed to eating the mazacoatl.—The end of science being the attainment of truth, it would certainly be desirable to know to what species these plants belonged, which had the happy effect of producing a partial reconciliation between the jealous sisters Leah and Rachel, of conciliating the affections of Jacob to the former, and of conducing to the birth of Joseph, an event which gave so much satisfaction to the latter.

enabled by means of them to deprive the inmates of houses where they assembled of all presence of mind, terrifying them in such a manner as to render them incapable of stirring or speaking, notwithstanding that they witnessed all that was going on. Although the deaths of these women, whom they named Cioaquezque, caused affliction and grief at the moment to the midwives, their relations nevertheless rejoiced; for they said that instead of going to hell they went to the house of the Sun, and that the Sun in recompense for their valour had taken them to himself." The fact of its being customary for the Mexicans to watch a body reputed to be holy for four successive nights, lest it should be stolen from the grave by *soldiers* or by thieves, suggests doubts as to the possibility of a vague tradition of the watch which Pilate set over the sepulchre of Christ, as related in the sixty-fifth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Saint Matthew, and of some of the soldiers who composed that watch confederating with the chief priests and receiving money from them to circulate the report that the disciples came by night and stole the body while they slept,—a report, which we learn from the fifteenth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Saint Matthew continued long and generally current among the Jews,—having led in the first instance to the establishment of a rite among the Mexicans intended to perpetuate the memory of so extraordinary an event, which in process of time degenerated into a mass of superstition. When it is recollected that Saint Luke records, in the forty-third verse of the twenty-third chapter of his Gospel, that Christ, addressing one of the thieves who was crucified along with him, declared to him, "Verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," it must appear extremely singular that the Mexican thieves, named Temacpalitotique, should have considered Quecalcoatle as their patron god, and have carried his image before them, together with the arm of a woman who had died in child-birth, when they went on a predatory expedition to rob houses, as stated by Sahagun, and likewise by Torquemada in the twenty-second chapter of the fourteenth book of his Indian Monarchy, whose accounts exhibit little discrepancy, except that the former writer says, (in the thirty-first chapter of the fourth book of his History of New Spain, in which he gives a more detailed account of the proceedings of the Temacpalitotique,) that it was the image of the sign Ceecatl, *i. e.* 'One Wind,' which they carried before them; without noticing in that place that it was the custom of those robbers to enter the houses which they proposed to plunder by *digging through the walls;* although he alludes, in the eleventh chapter of the tenth book of his History, to robberies committed by Mexican thieves by boring holes through the walls of houses: whilst Torquemada asserts, in the passage cited from his Indian Monarchy, at page 166 of the sixth volume of this work, that it was the image of the sign Ceacatl, *i. e.* 'One Cane,' which the robbers carried before them. Since, however, the signs of the Cane and of the Wind were both dedicated to Quecalcoatle, who was the god of the latter element, (and the name for which in the Mexican language was ehecatl, by syncope 'ecatl,') the apparent contradictions in the accounts of Sahagun and Torquemada may be easily reconciled: and it becomes more important to remark, that to dig through the walls of houses in the night, in order to rob them, was a custom so early resorted to by the Jews, that it is mentioned in the sixteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of the Book of Job: "In the *dark* they *dig through houses* which they had marked for themselves in the daytime; they know not the light." It would appear, from Sahagun's account of the Mexican midwives guarding sword in hand the bodies which they were conveying to the grave from the attack of the soldiers, that these women resembled Amazons: and from other passages of the same author, it is evident that Mexican women not unfrequently emulated the military ardour of their husbands; which reminds us that Josephus declares the same thing in his History of the Jewish War, of the Jewish women, who took care to convince their enemies of later ages that they were of the race of those who had cut off the head of Holofernes*, and driven a nail through the temples of Sisera while he slept; which latter exploit, performed by Jael the wife of Heber, is recorded in the fifth chapter of the Book of Judges in the following poem, which was intended perhaps to inspire similar feelings of patriotism into the breasts of the Jewish women of later times: "Blessed *above women* shall Jael† the wife of Heber the Kenite be; blessed

* Judith was the heroine who achieved this deed, but the artifice which enabled her to kill Holofernes proves that she did not aspire to the fame of Lucretia.

† The verse which immediately precedes that in which Jael receives this emphatic benediction is, "Curse ye Meroz, *said the angel of the Lord,* curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not *to the help of the Lord,* to the help of the Lord *against the mighty.*" It would hence appear that the blessing bestowed upon Jael, which immediately follows, proceeded from the mouth of the angel, who perhaps was Gabriel, since it exactly resembles in form the salutation which that angel is recorded, in the twenty-eighth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke, to have addressed to the Virgin Mary, and that which Elizabeth the mother of John the Baptist is declared in the forty-first verse of the same chapter to have also addressed to her *by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.* It is a singular

shall she be above women in the tent. He asked water, and she gave him milk; she brought forth butter in a lordly dish. She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workmen's hammer; and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples. At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down: at her feet he bowed, he fell: where he bowed, there he fell down dead. The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? why tarry the wheels of his chariots? Her wise ladies answered her, yea, she returned answer to herself, Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needlework, of divers colours of needlework on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil? *So* let all *thine* enemies perish, O Lord: but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might." The song of the prophetess Deborah, and that of Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, who celebrated the destruction of Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea with timbrels and *dances*, in which the women joined,—might have led to the analogous usage in Peru of women celebrating in hymns and dances signal victories obtained over the foe; a remarkable example of which is furnished by Balboa in the third part of his Miscellanea Antarctica, where he describes the solemn entry of the Ynga Yupangui and his army into Cuzco after the great victory obtained over the Chalcas, when women went forth to meet him with songs and dances*, and the ceremony of trampling upon the prisoners† taken in battle was publicly performed in the principal square of that city. Having so frequently referred to the Old Testament in the course of these observations, we may here remark that various superstitious notions of the Mexicans argue a confused acquaintance on their part with some traditions recorded in the New. Such, for instance, as their associating ideas of sin and of temptation with the crowing of a cock, as stated by the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, at page 209 of the sixth volume of this work; which must remind us of what is said in the twenty-sixth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, of Saint Peter being overcome by Satan, and denying Christ thrice before the cock crew once: "Now Peter sat without in the palace: and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee. But *he denied* before them all, saying, I know not what thou sayest. And when he was gone out into the porch, another maid saw him, and said unto them that were there, This fellow was also with Jesus of Nazareth. And *again he denied* with *an oath*, I do not know the man. And after a while came unto him they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art one of them; for thy speech bewrayeth thee. Then began he *to curse* and *to swear*, saying, I know not the man. And immediately the cock crew. And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly." What an argument in favour of religious toleration is inculcated by the moral contained in this chapter of the Gospel of Saint Matthew! which it must be confessed is one of the most instructive of any in the New Testament. And how, it may be demanded, can the successors of Saint Peter, much less the pastors of fallible Churches, having this almost staggering example of human peccability before their eyes, in the person of the chiefest of the apostles,—ever permit themselves to persecute others on account of their religious opinions, be they what they may? or how, we may ask, can it be permitted, that the Society for the Prosecution of Blasphemy should consign even the humblest individuals to a dungeon, for a conscientious avowal of the *reasons* that induce them to dissent from a national or a provincial creed? It is the spirit, however, which dictates such persecutions that is chiefly condemnable; and there can be little doubt, that many of those who at the present day show themselves anxious to fine and imprison some wretched vender of blasphemy, would, if they had lived in the days of Queen Mary, have themselves been too happy to light the faggots and to tie the hapless victim to the stake. Let those who entertain a doubt of this fact peruse the page of history, remembering that although individuals die, and generations pass away, human nature is always the same;—let them turn to the bloody leaf that records the death of the unfortunate schoolmaster who ventured to dispute upon matters of theology with the tyrannical Henry, the purity of whose faith, but not the brutality of his lust, or his inex-

coincidence that the only two women in Scripture upon whom the benediction "blessed above women" is bestowed, should be Jael and the Virgin Mary.

* The existence of the same custom amongst the Jews is further proved from the following passage of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel: "And it came to pass as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of *all* the cities of Israel singing and dancing, to meet King Saul with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music; and the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands."

† Reasons for supposing that the ancient Jews trampled upon the bodies of their living prisoners, as well as upon those left dead on the field of battle, as a mark of triumph, will be found in a subsequent note.

orable cruelty, was typified by the white canopy under which he sat as judge and disputant in the same cause. Let them revert likewise to the fate of the accomplished Miss Askew, and of many other victims who perished in the course of the same sanguinary reign;—and when they come to the name of Sir Thomas More, there let them pause and cease to doubt. These examples of religious persecution pursuing its victims even to the grave are selected from the annals of our own country. But if we turn our eyes to the page of Spanish history, to the records of a people eminently noble-minded and brave, humanity must shudder at the bare recital of the crimes which the Inquisition has perpetrated in the name of Religion; whilst Reason deduces the important truth, *that the opinion of a whole people upon matters of faith, or even of morality, when their minds are preoccupied and their judgements biassed by religious prejudices, should weigh nothing in the scale of philosophy or of humanity,* and that in such a case to maintain that vox populi is *vox Dei,*—approaches as near as possible to blasphemy. Terminating however this digression, we may observe that the following extracts from the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain will furnish abundant proofs that the Mexicans were acquainted with the language which the Jews were accustomed to employ when alluding to the birth of the Messiah; whilst the corollary involved in that supposition opens to the historian a wide field of research. The following passage is taken from the twenty-fourth chapter of Sahagun's History of New Spain: it contains the answer of the parent to the salutations of the Mexican orator, presented to him on the occasion of his daughter's pregnancy being publicly announced: "Be happy and prosperous, you who have come, sent* by our Lord who is everywhere. I may perhaps discourse to you of some things which will impart to you neither joy nor mirth, of some things which will cause you to weep, in this place where our Lord, who is everywhere, has assembled us†. We have just heard rare and precious things, worthy of being highly esteemed, and which we are unworthy‡ to see or hear. How meet indeed would it have been for the old of both sexes, our gray-headed sires§, to have heard them! But they,—how can we bring them back‖, since they are dead, since they are already gone to *the cave*¶ of water? Our Lord has taken them to himself. These were our ancestors, who were a shade and a protection; they resembled those stately trees named the puchotl and avevetl**, beneath whose shade those who then lived sheltered themselves, who not only did not hide their hands and their feet beneath their mantles††, but spread their wings‡‡ carefully to protect their subjects and vassals, and their friends and kindred:—such were

* The notion of men coming in the name of the Lord, and *sent* by the Lord, is quite Scriptural. In the sixth verse of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John we read, "There was a man *sent from God,* whose name was John:" and it says in the twenty-sixth verse of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, "Blessed is he *that cometh in the name of the Lord;*—we have blessed you out of the house of the Lord."

† The notion of people being assembled together in particular places with one accord, by the impulse of the Spirit, was very prevalent amongst the ancient Jews, from whom it passed to the primitive Christians, and from them in process of time to the Methodists and Quakers of our days. The idea has however never been encouraged to any great extent by the established Church of any country; and for the simple reason, that it furnishes too plausible an excuse for persons forsaking the Church and forming religious conventicles, under the pretext of being called by the Holy Spirit to assemble themselves elsewhere.

‡ This affectation of humility savours very strongly of Judaism. The value which the Mexicans attached to eloquent moral precepts, which they compared to chalchiutles and other precious stones, reminds us of the language of Solomon in the first chapter of the Proverbs: "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother; for they shall be an ornament of grace unto thy head, and *chains about thy neck.*"

§ The Jews were enjoined "to rise up before the hoary head:" and we may infer from the reproof of Elephaz to Job,—"What knowest thou that we know not? What understandest thou which is not in us? *With us* are both the gray-headed and very aged men, *much older* than thy father,"—that the Jews attached as much importance to the presence of the old amongst them as the Mexicans did.

‖ David expresses himself, in the twenty-third verse of the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, in similar terms of grief for the death of his son: "But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? *Can I bring him back again?* I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

¶ A pit may metaphorically be denominated 'a cave of water'; and '*to descend into the pit*' was a Hebrew phrase expressive of, to die.

** Nebuchadnezzar is compared to a tree of spreading foliage in the following passage of Daniel's interpretation of that monarch's dream: "The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the heaven had their habitation. It is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong; for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion to the end of the earth."

†† A similar allusion to these habitual signs of sloth occurs in the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of the Proverbs of Solomon, "A slothful man *hideth his hand* in his bosom, and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again."

‡‡ This metaphor frequently occurs in the Old Testament: vide Ruth, chap. ii. ver. 12.; Ps. xvii. ver. 8.; Ps. xxxvi. ver. 7.; Ps. lvii. ver. 1.; Ps. lxi. ver. 4.; Ps. lxiii. ver. 7.; Ps. xci. ver. 4.: and Christ employs it, apostrophizing Jerusalem, in the thirty-seventh verse of the

the Lord N. and the Lady N. Would to God that this event had occurred in their presence and in their lifetime! would that they had heard and known this *marvellous work**, which we hear and understand, and which our Lord is pleased to perform in our presence, who vouchsafes to confer upon us a jewel and a rich feather, which is the infant that our Lord has begun to place within the womb of this young and recently married woman. If they had seen and heard this, doubtless they would have wept with joy†, and would have returned many thanks for so great a favour: but our Lord, who is everywhere, *has so forsaken us in this our poverty*, that there are neither old men amongst us, nor persons who are equal to such an emergency. Who can weep? who can lament? who can worthily admire that which is occurring? There are none but us who now rule and hold public offices, who are as it were boys of little experience and of little worth, who do nothing right, who mar everything, who mismanage everything. Who can reply to you? Who would venture to reply to that which you have uttered, if it were in the presence of your fathers, whom you have named? And do we recall to memory their wisdom and venerable years? They indeed would have returned a fit answer to your speech, and would have marvelled with no small shedding of tears‡ at your discourse. But in the absence of these, we poor persons of inferior understanding must reply to it in a few rude and faltering sentences pronounced without order or regularity§. That which first occurs to me to say is,—that our Lord, who is

twenty-third chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens *under her wings*, and ye would not!"

* In the forty-second verse of the twenty-first chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, Christ refers to the following passage of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, as being prophetical of the advent of the Messiah: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing, *it is marvellous in our eyes*. This is *the day* which the Lord *hath made*; we will *rejoice* and be glad in it." It must be confessed that the language of the Mexican orator wonderfully assimilates itself here to that employed by the Jews when alluding to the birth of the Messiah: and the regret which he expresses at their aged forefathers being unable to be eye-witnesses of an event which would have given them so much joy, reminds us of some analogous expressions in the Song of Simeon, who is recorded, in the second chapter of St. Luke, to have lived *to behold* the day of the Lord; which Abraham is also said, in the fifty-sixth verse of the eighth chapter of St. John, but in a different sense, to have seen, and to have rejoiced at seeing; whilst many kings and prophets are declared, in the seventeenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of St. Matthew, and the twenty-fourth verse of the tenth chapter of St. Luke, to have vainly desired to behold it.

† From this passage, and the interrogation, "Who can weep?" which shortly follows it, it might be inferred that the Mexicans considered it a fit and becoming thing to shed tears on occasions of great joy; which, on the supposition that they were Jews, and acquainted with the history of the Pentateuch, would have been extremely natural; since we read, in the following passage of the forty-fifth chapter of Genesis, that Joseph wept on making himself known to his brethren: "And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck and *wept*, and Benjamin *wept* upon his neck; moreover he kissed all his brethren, and *wept* upon them; and after that his brethren talked with him." The same patriarch is said, in the twenty-ninth verse of the forty-sixth chapter of Genesis, to have wept on his first interview with his father Jacob: "And Joseph made ready his chariot and went up to meet Israel his father to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck and *wept on his neck a good while*." Had Joseph merely *risen up* and kissed his brethren and his father, there would have been no peculiar manifestation of affection in his mode of receiving them; since to *rise up* and to greet a visitor with a kiss on the cheek was a common mode of salutation amongst the Jews, and a ceremonious one amongst the Peruvians, practised by the Ingas on state occasions.

‡ Having already recurred to the early history of the Jews, to show that the custom of shedding tears on occasions of great joy was sanctioned by the example of the patriarch Joseph, we may observe that the same custom prevailed in later times amongst them, an example of which we find in the ninth and fourteenth verses of the eleventh chapter of the Book of Tobit; from which book we also learn the latitude of application given to the terms 'brother' and 'sister' in Hebrew, since Tobias the son of Tobit names his wife Sister in the fourth and seventh verses of the eighth chapter of that book; and Raguel, the father-in-law of Tobias, names his wife Sister in the sixteenth verse of the preceding chapter; whilst Edna styles Tobias, her son-in-law, Brother in the twelfth verse of the tenth chapter; and, to sum up all, the angel Raphael calls Tobias Brother in the second verse of the ninth chapter. This fact is deserving of notice, since it is not likely that mere accident induced the Mexicans to give the same latitude of signification to the terms 'brother' and 'sister' as the Jews did.

§ Moses, in the following passage of the fourth chapter of the Book of Exodus, excuses himself at great length to God for his want of eloquence, urging that as a reason for his not delivering the message which he had commanded him to give to Pharaoh: "And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither *heretofore*, nor *since* thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the Lord? Now therefore go, and *I will be with thy mouth*, and *teach thee* what thou shalt say. And he said, O my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Moses, and he said, Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he can speak well. And also, behold, he cometh forth to meet thee: and when he seeth thee, he will be glad in his heart. And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and *I will be*

everywhere, has *opened the ark and the coffer of his mercies* *, which he alone possesses. Has this happened, peradventure, through our own deserts †, or those of our fathers who have already passed away from the earth, whom our Lord has removed from the face of the earth and put in the place of darkness ‡, which is without windows, and without a crevice for the admission of light? Shall that which they planted, peradventure, bud and bloom like as it were unto an aloe § set deep in the earth, which is the desire which they felt *that their seed should be multiplied* ‖? We

with thy mouth, and *with his mouth,* and *will teach you* what ye shall do. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of God. And thou shalt take this rod in thine hand, wherewith thou shalt do signs." Jeremiah likewise, in the sixth verse of the first chapter of his Prophecies, apologizes, on the score of childhood, for his inability to speak: "Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold I cannot speak, for I am a child." Hence it appears that the Mexicans only followed Hebrew precedent, in laying the stress which they were inclined to do even in their most eloquent orations on their want of eloquence; and it is very deserving of notice that they pretended that this natural defect was remedied in their king by Tezcatlipoca speaking through his mouth and inspiring his utterance,—a favour which was no doubt frequently conferred on the high priest, whose only other alternative, if that had failed him, would have been to address the people in an unknown tongue.

* We may here exclaim with the venerable Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas, "*Loquela tua manifestum te fecit.*" That learned prelate, in thus emphatically declaring his conviction that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, might have formed his judgement from their language, considered under an oratorical and poetical rather than a grammatical and etymological point of view.

† The Scripture declares that if we suppose we have any deserts, we are mistaken; and the Calvinists, who wish to reduce all mankind to their own level, go so far as to affirm that the best of human actions are in their own nature sinful and displeasing to the Deity, till rendered acceptable by his preventing grace; the most generous sacrifice of life for a fellow creature would in their opinion be an act less meritorious in *a Roman,* than *a Jewish priest's* slaying a lamb. If learned men have been found at all times ready to advocate and defend such paradoxes, why should they feel surprised at the ignorant Anabaptists pushing their doctrine somewhat further, and maintaining that actions in themselves, whether good or evil, are *indifferent* in the sight of God,—that faith is everything,—that faith comes by election, grace, and predestination,—and that a man may commit the greatest crimes, and yet be secure of ultimate salvation? It is in vain to argue with persons professing such opinions, because it being a primary article of their creed that reason is useless, if not pernicious, where the agency of faith is required,—there can be no point from which to set out. Locke, however, in his famous argument against syllogisms, wherein he contends with a show of plausibility, that if that mode of reasoning was efficacious princes would have employed them in matters that concerned their crowns and dignity, does not seem to perceive that since no usurper has ever issued an edict commanding a province or city *to believe* the validity of his title,—by parity of reasoning, the doctrine that faith is an act of volition, might equally be set aside.

‡ We learn from the following passage of the tenth chapter of the Book of Job, that the Jews in the earliest ages bestowed the appellation of 'the land of darkness' upon Hades, or the place of departed spirits, which they also, like the Mexicans, named 'the land of forgetfulness'; not quite agreeing with the Greeks, who believed that in order to forget the events of life it was first necessary to drink of the stream of Lethe: "Are not my days few? Cease then, and let me alone, that I may take comfort a little, before I go *whence I shall not return,* even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." It might not at first be imagined that Job is here apostrophizing God, whose exclamation, "*Cease then, and let me alone,*" would appear a little disrespectful to the Deity, except on the supposition that *he* imputed his sufferings and temptation to God rather than to the devil, which he seems plainly to do in the following passage of his seventh chapter: "What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him? and that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him? and that thou shouldest visit him every morning, and *try him every moment?* How long wilt thou *not* depart from me, nor let me alone till I swallow down my spittle? I have sinned; what shall I do unto thee, O thou preserver of men? why hast *thou set me* as a mark *against thee,* so that I am a burden to myself?" It has already been observed at page 99 of the sixth volume of this work, that the Mexicans entertained the belief that their supreme deity Tezcatlipoca, who punished them for their sins, nevertheless occasionally tempted them to sin: and when we read in Scripture of the children of Israel being proved in the wilderness,—and punished by God for their murmuring and disobedience,—a reason may be assigned for the Mexicans investing Tezcatlipoca with two attributes apparently so irreconcilable as that of punishing for, and yet tempting to, sin.

§ The passage "That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth, that our daughters may be as corner-stones *polished after the similitude of a palace,*" occurs in the hundred and forty-fourth Psalm; and children are compared to olive plants in the third verse of the hundred and twenty-eighth Psalm, from which tree the Jews were accustomed to extract oil, as the Mexicans were wine from the aloe. The phrase, "I will make the horn of David to *bud,*" in the seventeenth verse of the hundred and thirty-second Psalm,—which from the sentence immediately following, "I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed," would seem to allude to the Messiah being of the posterity of David,—reminds us that the Mexicans were accustomed to designate posterity by the appellation of "the nails of him from whom they were descended," and that, nails being a substance which grows from the flesh, the Mexican and Hebrew metaphors were somewhat analogous.

‖ It would really appear that the Jews entertained the idle hope that the posterity of Abraham would, like the dust of the earth for number, and the stars of the heaven for multitude, fill the whole earth, and that other nations would be *swept away* to make room for the chosen seed. Hence the presumptuous boast of the prophet Esdras, who thus addresses the Deity, in the sixth chapter of the Third Book of his Prophecies: "All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world *for our sakes.* As for the *other* people which also come of Adam, *Thou* hast said that they are *nothing,* but be like unto *spittle,* and hast likened *the abundance of them* unto a drop that falleth from a vessel." The Mexicans, like the Jews, had a tradition that God had created man in his own image, and that

know not the jewel or garland of flowers with which our Lord has adorned this young woman, because the kindness which our Lord has conferred upon us is hidden in her as it were in a coffer. Perhaps we shall not deserve or be worthy to behold or enjoy it; perhaps it will be like a dream which passes away; or perhaps our Lord will vouchsafe to bring this day of gladness, this marvel to light; perhaps that will come to light with which this young woman is adorned,—the gift which has been conferred upon her, whatever it may be, whether a boy or a girl. Will it, peradventure, be in our power to behold it, or will it pass away like a dream*? Since, however, I think that my prolixity may weary your heads and stomachs, causing you pain, I judge it most advisable to be silent, and that we should pray to God and trust in his mercy. Perhaps we may be accounted worthy that this infant should come to light, or perhaps we shall lose it in the tender bud, should it perchance not come to light or be born in this world. I shall only add that I pray God, who is everywhere, to grant rest to your bones† and your body with all content." The passage which follows is taken from the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; it contains the speech of the Mexican orator to the parents of the newly-married pair: "You are here present, lords and ladies, whose jewels and rich feathers this newly-married couple are, who have been cut from your bowels‡, and from your loins and throats, who are here present, N. and N., who have sprung from your bodies like nails and hair. We have received from our Lord God§ a treasure and a rich gift; for we have learned what is in the coffer and what is shut up in the chest, which is the infant in its mother's womb, which it is not permitted us to see or to behold: perhaps we deserve not that our Lord should declare‖ this matter to us; for those who were worthy of this, our Lord has already removed from the face of the earth, who were the aged and discreet, who have already passed away; and we who are now living, act and speak in a childish manner in his presence, for it is impossible for us to bring them back to this world, for they are not in a place from whence they can return: never more can we expect to see them; we know that they are never again to return; never will they again perform the part of fathers and mothers amongst us, for they have gone for ever,—never will they more return; and we who now live, we enjoy in their stead and in their absence, that which they¶ ought to have enjoyed and heard. But what at this present time may it be our Lord's pleasure to do, since there is no desert in us? Will he, peradventure, realize to us the kindness of which we now dream? We are speaking of a matter very obscure and very doubtful, and we know not what the kindness is which has been vouchsafed to your

his first command to him was to *increase and multiply*, which perhaps might have induced one of their tribes to give the name of Azcaputzalco to a city which they founded in New Spain, which proper name signifies 'the ant-hill', in allusion to the promise of God to Abraham, in the sixteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Genesis: "And I will make thy seed like as *the dust* of the earth; so that if man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered." Some Spanish historians, unwilling to admit that this prophecy has not been literally accomplished, find grounds in it for asserting that all the islands and the whole of the continent of America were peopled by the ten tribes who were carried into captivity by Salmanasar, king of Assyria.

* A similar comparison occurs in the fifth verse of the ninetieth Psalm; "Thou carriest them away as with a flood, they are as a ship." The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus informs us, at page 200 of the sixth volume of this work, that the Mexicans actually painted a stream carrying men away, intending thereby to convey the same idea to the mind.

† A tone of Jewish feeling is here exhibited, the Patriarchs being all extremely solicitous about rest for their bones.

‡ The peculiarity of this figure of speech renders it probable that the Mexicans borrowed it from the Jews, who felt a decided predilection for it, from its being the identical figure made use of by God to signify to Abraham that he should have an heir: "And behold the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir." (Gen. chap. xv. ver. 4.) Isaiah likewise employs it in the nineteenth verse of the forty-eighth chapter of his Prophecies: "Oh that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! Then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea. Thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof." The probability of the above supposition is increased from 'bowels' being associated in the same sentence with 'loins', which was another Hebrew phrase expressive of the same signification.

§ It may be presumed that *Teoyaotlato* was the title of Tezcatlipoca, which Sahagun here and elsewhere translates 'our Lord God'.

‖ The Lord's publishing and the Lord's declaring hidden things to a few chosen persons, was a doctrine strongly insisted upon by the Jews; which, if it did not, might certainly have led to great disorders in the state. Few will feel disposed to deny that if such revelations were tolerated in the present day there would be any want of them, especially if the persons professing to receive them were allowed by their means to acquire reputation, honour, emolument, or even notoriety; or if they opened a path to spiritual ambition, which too many persons are always ready to tread, caring frequently as little about the means as they are over-anxious to attain the end. To the reckless indifference of this class of persons, whom affected zeal for religion has often elevated to high stations, from whence, like Cranmer, they have been hurried to an ignominious end, Shakspeare perhaps intended to allude in the lines—

"To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which *die* for goodness who have liv'd for crime.

¶ The anxiety of the patriarchs to behold the day of the Lord is alluded to by Christ in the New Testament.

precious jewel, to your rich feather, who is our grand-daughter and your daughter. Would to God that in our time, and in our presence*, it may be permitted us to enjoy the light *and the morning of that day* † which our Lord *will create* when she shall *bring forth!* God grant that we may see and know what thing ‡ it is that our Lord will bestow upon us!" The following passage is taken from the thirty-fourth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain: it contains the congratulations which the Mexican lords and rich merchants were accustomed to address to each other on the birth of an eldest son, the occasion of which is thus described by Sahagun: "As soon as it became known that the lady N. had been safely delivered, her friends and kindred residing in the neighbouring towns immediately proceeded to pay a visit to the infant, the mother, and her relations; and the first thing which they did on such an occasion was to speak to the new-born infant, whom the mother uncovered § to receive the salutation, that it might be seen by him who saluted it. Should it be the son of a person of great distinction, the descendant of some illustrious house, and of noble birth, the speaker, if he were a man, and an old man of authority, thus addressed him: 'O my grandson and lord, highly esteemed, very dear and much-valued personage! O precious gem, emerald, sapphire, rich feather, hair and nail of lofty sires! welcome hast thou come, welcome hast thou arrived; thou hast been formed in the highest place, where reside the two supreme gods, which is above the *nine* heavens; they have fashioned thee like a golden bead ‖; they have pierced thee like a rich and highly polished jewel, the Great Lord and the Great Lady, and together with them our son ¶ Quetzalcoatl. Alas! that thou shouldest have been sent into

* Simeon, in the thirtieth verse of the second chapter of Saint Luke, returns thanks to God, for having seen the day of the Lord.

† "The coming of the day of the Lord" is an expression made use of in the Old Testament, to signify the birth of the Messiah, in which sense it is obviously to be understood in the twenty-fourth verse of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm, where David exclaims, "This is the day which the Lord *hath made*." The same event is signified in the New Testament by the words "The *day-spring* from on high hath visited us." Whoever will take the trouble of comparing the language of Zacharias, in the seventy-eighth verse of the first chapter of Saint Luke, with the terms employed by the Mexican orator in the salutation which it was customary for the Mexican princes and nobles to receive from their relations on the birth of their children, (referring at the same time to analogous terms and phrases which occur in the Old Testament where the coming of the Messiah is the subject alluded to,) will perceive what strong reasons there are for supposing that the speeches which Sahagun has preserved to us merely as specimens of Mexican eloquence, related (at least in some of their most remarkable passages,) to the expectation in which the Mexicans indulged of the coming of a future Messiah,—some account of which will be found at page 413 of the sixth volume of this work.

‡ "A holy thing" was the term which the angel Gabriel applied to the Messiah whilst still in his mother's womb, as we learn from the thirty-fifth verse of the first chapter of St. Luke: "Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."

§ It is plain that the same custom prevailed amongst the Jews, since both ancient and modern paintings of the Madonna and her son represent her uncovering the infant in the manner described by Sahagun. The evidence of this fact is of the same kind as that required by the Church to establish the authenticity of the miracles alleged to have been performed by particular saints previous to their receiving the honours of canonization,—which is constant and unvarying tradition, from the age in which the miracles were supposed to have happened, to that in which the question of enrolling the deceased in the order of the saints occurred.

‖ The Mexicans sometimes made necklaces and bracelets of clay beads gilt, which had all the appearance of real gold. It deserves to be noticed that the Hebrew prophets were extremely fond of borrowing a simile from *earthen vessels and potter's clay:* the former they employed as types of the judgments which they denounced in the name of God against the Jews; and the latter they recurred to, to prove that man is fashioned by the hands of the Deity, as clay by those of the potter. The representations of potters' vessels in the Codex Borgianus might possibly have alluded to the parable of the pot in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Prophecies of Ezekiel, and to the denunciation of "Woe to *the bloody city*," in the sixth verse of the same chapter.

¶ Some obscure traces of the doctrine of the Trinity seem here to occur; which, however, the introduction of the name of the Great Lady immediately after that of the Great Lord serves only to render more doubtful. In the absence of certainty we may be permitted to suppose that the Mexicans might have considered the sex of Tlaloc not so decidedly masculine as that of Tezcatlipoca, from the many physical causes which are *engendered* in the clouds and atmospheric air which encompass the earth, over which that deity was imagined to preside. When, therefore, Tezcatlipoca and Tlaloc were mentioned together, the Mexicans might have named the one 'the great lady' in contradistinction to the other, whom they believed to be the First Cause who ruled over the heavens. It is however by no means clear that the epithet of 'great lord and great lady' was not an appellation bestowed by the Mexicans upon Tezcatlipoca, in order to denote that he was the sole cause of all created things; which after all involves no more real contradiction in its meaning than the verse,

"Ζευς ἀρσην γενετο, Ζευς ἀμβροτος ἑπλετο νυμφη,"

in the Orphic Hymn to Jupiter. The Mexicans styled Tezcatlipoca, Ometecutli; which word, compounded of *ome* 'two,' and *tecutli* 'lord,' signifies 'the two lords;' or, if *ome* be understood adverbially, like τρις in τρισμεγιστος, (a title given to the Egyptian Hermes,) it means simply 'the Most High,' by which appellation the Deity is frequently designated in Scripture. In the former sense it may be supposed

this world, a place of trouble, anguish, and tribulation; a place of extreme hardship and extreme affliction, where misery and sorrow bear the rule and triumph! Alas! that thou hast come into this world not to enjoy thyself and to be content, but to be tormented and afflicted in bone * and in flesh! Thou wilt have to labour and to toil, and to suffer weariness;—for this thou hast been sent into the world †. Well we know that thou hast been adorned and fashioned with gifts *before the creation* ‡, to the intent that thou shouldest be esteemed, and honoured, and loved. Many are the days, my lord, that thou hast been desired, and not only days *but years*, during which length of time thy vassals and servants, and those *of thy kingdom*, have wept and sighed for thee. Perhaps, my lord, the city and state will deserve to enjoy thee for some space of time; perhaps they will behold and reverence thy face for some days or years, and will possess thee as it were lent; perhaps thou hast been sent to bear the republic in thine arms §, and to guard and knit together the kingdom of Him who is everywhere; perhaps thou, lord, wilt take upon thyself the office which our lords, princes, senators, and kings, who ruled, and governed, and *conquered* this kingdom for our Lord ‖, have relinquished. Thou, lord, hast to prepare thyself for the task of bearing upon thy shoulders and back the city and state, and thou hast to endure the labour and fatigue of the burthen, and to be he who has to sustain it; thou wilt have to be a shade and a protection, and the whole kingdom and state will be under thy rule and shade ¶. O most serene lord and highly esteemed personage! shall we perhaps be worthy, shall we perhaps deserve to possess thee as lent for the period of a day? will the city, state, and kingdom, deserve to enjoy thee, or will it perhaps not? Peradventure, little as you are, your Father **, He who created you, will come for you:—will this peradventure be his will? will the kingdom peradventure remain solitary? will it peradventure remain in darkness? will it peradventure remain a desert ††? Although our Lord so ordain it, O my most precious lord and highly esteemed personage! welcome hast thou come, welcome hast thou arrived; repose and rest thyself, since thou hast come so desired.'—The orator next directed his discourse to the lady lately delivered, and spoke to her in the following terms: 'O lady, who art dear to me as my daughter or grand-daughter, I am solicitous to be informed of your health; you have endured a long and severe trial; you have rivalled, you have imitated your mother the goddess Cioacatlquilahtli ‡‡. Many thanks have we now to return to our Lord because he has vouchsafed

to allude to his standing in the double relation of father and mother to all mankind; which notion was familiar to the ancients, as we learn from the derivation of the proper name Jupiter. Topiltzin was an epithet which the Mexicans bestowed upon Quecalcoatle, the literal translation of which is, 'our son'.

* "To be tormented in bone and in flesh" was a Hebrew phrase, as we learn from the devil's speech to God in the second chapter of the Book of Job, "And Satan answered the Lord, and said, Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth thine hand now and *touch his bone* and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face."

† Vide the 17th, 18th, and 19th verses of the third chapter of the Book of Genesis, where God declares to Adam that man was to live by the sweat of his brow until he returned to the earth from which he was taken.

‡ The Mexicans resembled the Jews in believing in an ideal creation of the human species before their material creation. The former they supposed took place before the creation of the world, the latter in their mother's womb. Their doctrine of predestination and of original sin probably laid the foundation of all the abuses of the Tonalametl, or Mexican Calendar.

§ This figure of speech occurs in the following passage of the eleventh chapter of the Book of Numbers, where Moses upbraids God for having committed the Jews to his charge: "And Moses said unto the Lord, Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest *the burden* of all this people upon me? Have I *conceived* all this people? have I *begotten* them? that thou shouldest say unto me, *Carry them in thy bosom* (as a nursing-father beareth a sucking child) unto the land which thou swearest unto their fathers."

‖ The Mexicans styled themselves emphatically God's peculiar people, and arrogated to themselves a superiority over all other nations. They resembled the Jews, likewise, in pleading a divine commission to exterminate those who were so impious as to resist their arms; and this they called *conquering the kingdom for the Lord.* Acosta declares that the Ingas availed themselves of the same plea, and pretended that other nations ought to obey them *because they were of a peculiar family, and theirs was a religion which God himself had revealed.* The words which that author employs will be found in the note subjoined to page 128 of the sixth volume of this work.

¶ This was a favourite Jewish simile.

** "Abba," which signifies "Father," was a name which the Jews frequently gave to God, although it certainly was not the perusal of the Hebrew annals that called forth from a philosopher of antiquity the reflection, that when men cease to look upon the Deity in the light of a father, they begin to consider him as a tyrant.

†† This comparison frequently occurs in the Old Testament.

‡‡ The Mexicans named Eve, Cioacatlquilahtli: and the meaning of this passage is, that in the same manner as Eve, (by whose transgression women became liable to death in childbirth,) herself bore children in safety, so the lady whom the orator is congratulating had been safely delivered of a son.

to send us this precious gem, this rich quetzatl which has come to light, the image, hair and nail, of our lords who are dead, who have long since been no more. The stock and scion of our lords, consuls, and kings, has budded, has bloomed; the thorn of the aloe* and the odoriferous cane, which our lords and departed kings, who were valiant and renowned, planted deep in the earth, has sprung up, has appeared;—from you, lady, our son† Quetzalcoatl has received a precious gem, from you he has obtained a rich feather. May our Lord be praised, since he has happily preserved you from danger, and from the battle which you fought with death at the time of delivery! Perhaps the days of the infant to which you have just given birth will outnumber yours; perhaps it will be the will of our Lord that he shall live, or perhaps he will die the first: perhaps, tender as he is, the Lord of the universe will break into atoms this precious gem, this chain of costly jewels; perhaps He who made him will come and take him from us unto himself; perhaps He will pass him momentarily before the eyes of his kingdom and state, and deprive us of him, turning us into mockery on account of our sins‡, because we are unworthy of enjoying him. O let the will of our Lord be done! let him do what seemeth good unto him; in him let us place all our hope. I am apprehensive, lady, lest I should fatigue and weary you; I should be sorry to cause you any indisposition, pain, or uneasiness, since you are still an invalid: I wish you long life and prosperity, since you are a lady highly to be esteemed. I have ventured to pronounce in your presence this brief address, consisting of a few rude and broken sentences, uttered with hesitation and in faltering accents, in order to salute you and wish you joy. Be happy and prosperous, highly esteemed lady!'—On this the orator addressed himself to the old men and women who had taken charge of the infant, expressing himself in the following terms: 'Lords and ladies who are here present, and have consented to take charge of our grandson, who is our precious stone and our rich feather, which has lately displayed itself and come to light, who is a jewel and a chain of golden beads, the hair and nail of his departed sires; the child will for some days stand in need of your care and attention; use your utmost endeavours to serve him; remember that it is an important duty which has devolved upon you. Who, think you, has confided this task to you? None other, certainly, but our Lord, who is everywhere: you he permits to see, and to touch, and to enjoy him, as it were *a great festival* and *a great marvel*§, whom with tears and sighs those who have departed from this world *desired* to behold, and our Lord took them to himself, so that they could neither see nor enjoy him,—and he is

* "There will I make the horn of David to bud" is a metaphor which, occurring in the seventeenth verse of the hundred and thirty-second Psalm, might have led to the adoption, in the Mexican language, of the phrase "the thorn of the aloe shall spring up," to denote the birth of a desired son.

† The epithet which the Mexicans bestowed upon Quecalcoatle, which signified 'our son,' was Topiltzin. From the words of the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus, at page 177 of the sixth volume of this work, it would appear that they placed it sometimes before and at other times after that proper name.

‡ The notion of God mocking men on account of their sins was familiar to the Jews, as many passages of Scripture might be adduced to show. It is not however the less surprising that Job, in the twenty-third verse of his ninth chapter, should accuse God of mocking at the misfortunes of the *innocent*,—for that is the only interpretation which can be put upon the words "If the scourge slay suddenly, he will *laugh at* the trial of *the innocent*." It must be confessed that David spoke more advisedly with his lips, where he says (in the fourth verse of the second Psalm), in allusion to the *heathen*, "He that sitteth in the heavens *shall laugh*; the Lord shall have them in derision:" and in the thirteenth verse of the thirty-seventh Psalm, in allusion to the wicked, "The Lord *shall laugh at him*; for he seeth that his day is coming:" and in the eighth verse of the fifty-ninth Psalm, again in allusion to the heathen, "But thou, O Lord, *shalt laugh* at them; thou shalt have *all* the heathen *in derision*." The satisfaction, however, which David appears to express at the calamities of the heathen, can only be satisfactorily explained by supposing that he shared the feelings so finely described by Lucretius in the opening passage of his second Book.

"Suave, mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
E terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem," &c.

§ The advent of the Messiah is thus alluded to in the hundred and eighteenth Psalm: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner. This is the Lord's doing; it is *marvellous* in our eyes. This is the *day* which the Lord hath *made;* we will *rejoice* and be glad in it." When we couple the words of this Psalm with what is said in another passage of Scripture, of many kings who would have rejoiced to see the day of the Messiah, but who could not; and compare the language of David with that of the Mexican orator,—it is impossible to refrain from thinking that the birth of the Messiah might be here alluded to by the latter as a thing within the compass of probability. The Jews have long accustomed themselves to expect the birth of the Messiah; and that expectation has given rise, in some parts of Africa, to the absurd practice of presenting a virgin to the Lord as a *fit person* to become the mother of the Messiah. It may easily be supposed that the Mexicans might have carried Jewish absurdity to its highest pitch; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the former, to know what peculiar notions they might have entertained respecting the coming of the Messiah.

the hair and the nail of his said forefathers*; and we now behold him, and our Lord accomplishes in our presence *this miracle*†, and the day of rejoicing‡ which they desired but did not behold: you enjoy the precious stone and the rich feather which the ancients desired, which is your happiness and your renown, and the costly ornament and the chain§ of large and round sapphires and of fine chalchiutles, smooth as pebbles, and of gems of other descriptions, very green and of polished lustre: you enjoy likewise a handful of feathers‖ admirably sorted and of faultless hue: you are accounted the parents of this child¶; enjoy him, then, and be this precious stone your wealth, this handful of rich feathers, which is as it were a gem cut from its most noble sires, whose nails and hair he is; account yourselves the parents of such a son; take care to watch and to pray by night for his growth; importune** our Lord with your tears; call devoutly upon our Lord God, who is everywhere, who does whatsoever seemeth good unto him, and turns us into jest. What if our Lord should send upon us eclipses†† and thunder? what if he should come to take us‡‡? What if our Lord by whom we live should visit us with sorrow and with tribulations? Although we are unworthy, let us hope for that of which we now dream; which is, that our grandson may live: let us expect that which may happen tomorrow or the next day; and what may be the will of Him who created him, whose he is: we shall know shortly, and before the lapse of any great length of time, what may be his pleasure concerning him. Our highly esteemed and dearly beloved lady and daughter is likewise here present, who endured great suffering and a severe battle with death, and obtained a victory over death, although she is still very weak; take care that her health receives no shock, since this is the particular duty of your office. O my lords and sons, I desire your happiness, and that you may live long!'—After this, the orator directed his discourse to the father of the infant, and thus addressed him: 'O my lord and grandson§§, excellent and esteemed personage! perhaps I shall be troublesome

* The Messiah was to be of the tribe of Judah and of the seed of David.

† 'El milagro' is the term employed by Sahagun; which is only applicable to a *miraculous conception;* and, occurring where it does, is very deserving of notice.

‡ 'Fiesta' is here translated 'day of rejoicing,' because festivals may in a peculiar sense be considered holidays. It is metaphorically introduced in this passage, and seems to have been borrowed from the Psalms, where such a metaphor is of frequent occurrence.

§ Children are likened in the Old Testament to chains and ornaments of jewels worn round their parents' necks; and a virtuous wife is compared to rubies. Jeremiah likewise, in the fourth chapter of his Lamentations, sums up his description of the Jewish Nazarites by likening their body to rubies, and the smoothness of their skin to sapphires. This description of persons appears to have been highly in request at Jerusalem, and their avocations in all probability nearly resembled those of the Eastern Faquirs.

‖ If we were not acquainted with the historical fact, that the Phœnicians made costly manufactures of feathers, that mode of imitating the rich hues of natural objects would appear to have been an art peculiar to the New World. It was carried to such perfection amongst the Mexicans, that Spanish authors when describing it seem at a loss for words to express their admiration of their skill and ingenuity.

¶ Joseph was the reputed father of Christ, as we learn from the forty-first verse of the second chapter of St. Luke; and the Virgin Mary, in the forty-eighth verse of the same chapter, styles Joseph his father: "And his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold *thy father* and I have sought thee sorrowing."

** The New Testament enjoins importunity in prayer, and its utility is enforced by a parable.

†† The prophet Joel and several of the other Hebrew prophets caused the Jews to entertain the most absurd apprehensions of eclipses, by declaring that that sign would precede the destruction of the world. The Mexicans and Peruvians likewise considered eclipses very ominous, which is the reason why they are so frequently represented in the Mexican paintings.

‡‡ The declaration in the New Testament, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one *shall be taken* and the other left," may throw some light on this obscure passage. It is not undeserving of notice, that to grind meal appears to have been a task which devolved upon the women both among the Jews and the Mexicans.

§§ The argument which is employed in the New Testament to prove that the Messiah could not be David's son, because he calls him *Lord* in the following passage of the hundred and tenth Psalm, "The Lord said unto *my Lord,* Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," would not have been as conclusive with the Mexicans as with the Jews; since amongst the former people the phrase "*my son and lord*" was so common, that it would naturally have appeared to them—if pronounced by one of their ancient kings in reference to a *distant* descendant, whom ancient oracles had foretold should sit upon his throne, whose advent had been long expected, and whose reign was to realize the greatest advantages to his subjects, combined with the most dazzling glory,—a very suitable expression. Christ's reply to the Pharisees, in the forty-fifth verse of the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew, must however be considered conclusive against the Unitarians; whilst the answer of the Pharisees to him proves that the Jews understood the prophecy of David to refer to the coming of *a temporal Messiah,* and furnishes a strong argument against the reading of the Hebrew Bible, where it differs from the Septuagint, in the sixth verse of the ninth chapter of Isaiah; since if the true reading of Isaiah's prophecy had been, (as translated in our English version of the Bible,) "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and *the government shall be upon his shoulders;* and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting *Father,* the Prince of Peace,"—it would be absurd to suppose that the Pharisees would have made the reply which they did to Christ, especially in the presence of so great a multitude, some of whom must have recollected that prophecy of Isaiah; nor would Christ have failed to confute

to you, and interrupt your occupations with these few words with which I wish to salute you. I am aware, Sir, that you are the throne and the chair back *, and that you are the flute of our Lord who is everywhere, who is named

them by quoting the words of the same prophecy, instead of referring to the obscure language of David, in the hundred and tenth Psalm, the true meaning of which it is clear that the Jews had till then never rightly comprehended, as Basnage himself is obliged to admit in the following passage of the Introduction to his History of the Jews: "We have afterwards examined the different means which the Jewish Church had to know the Messiah, either by tradition or the explaining of divers types which were received by the doctors at the time that Christ appeared, and which the Jews have since forgot. These means had been more effectual if *the divinity* of the Messiah had been a constant tenet among the Jews, as some learned men have endeavoured to prove. As their arguments have a great show of reason, we have thought them worth mentioning; but, notwithstanding it is *our interest* to be of their opinion, which besides strongly concludes against the *Antitrinitarians,* yet we could not be induced to *father upon the Jews* a tenet which they *never* received, and thereby make their incredulity, which is but too deplorable, more criminal than really it is." The words of David in the hundred and tenth Psalm are further remarkable, from the indication which they afford that the ceremony of trampling on their enemies, (by which act the Ingas recognised during their lifetime the heir apparent to their throne,) was either borrowed from the usages of the ancient Jews, or founded on the address of God to the Messiah, who bade him sit upon his throne until the act of making his enemies his footstool should *complete* his investiture in the kingdom, as is more fully explained by Saint Paul in the following passage of the tenth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews: "But this man, after he had offered *one sacrifice* for sins, for ever sat down on the *right hand* of God; from henceforth *expecting* till his enemies be made *his footstool.*" It is very deserving of notice that the fifth verse of the hundred and tenth Psalm, "The Lord at *thy right hand* shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath,"—connected as it is with the verse immediately preceding, "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, *Thou* art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," and alluding, as it might be supposed to do from the words of St. Paul, to the Lord's slaying the enemies of the Messiah,—might have led the Jews to maintain that the left hand of God would be the place of the Messiah, which they would have been the more inclined to do, since, not believing in the Trinity, they would have had no *middle place,* as Christians have, for God the Father; and the left hand of their temporal Messiah, the son of David, might have appeared to them not a sufficiently honourable place for him. The Mexicans, as we have already observed, had a tradition that Huitzilopuchtli was seated on *the left hand* of Tezcatlipoca; the meaning of which, from the explanation given by Sahagun, in the forty-second chapter of his History of New Spain, of the Mexican proverb, "A *mi siniestra* y debajo de mi sobaco te pondré"—would appear to be, that Tezcatlipoca had assigned the place of honour next to himself to Huitzilopuchtli, who, there are some grounds for supposing, was the deity worshiped in Cholula under the name of Quecalcoatle, and who on this supposition would have been the son of the above supreme god of the Mexicans. Our reasons for supposing that the Ingas might have borrowed the ceremony of trampling their enemy under foot from the Jews, are, First, that the Mexicans appear to have borrowed from the Hebrews the more barbarous custom of hanging up the heads of their enemies in the sun, in the manner described at page 312 of the sixth volume of this work, which is there supposed to have originated in the Lord's command to Moses in the fourth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Take *all the heads* of the people and hang them up *before the Lord against the sun,* that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel," and which, from what is related of Judas Maccabeus, in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees, appears to have been practised by the Jews of later ages: "Now when the battle was done, returning again with joy, they knew that Nicanor lay dead in his harness. Then they made a great shout and a noise, praising the Almighty in their own language. And Judas, who was ever the chief defender of the citizens both in body and mind, and who continued his love toward his countrymen all his life, commanded to strike off Nicanor's head, and his hand with his shoulder, and bring them to Jerusalem. So when he was there, and had called them of his nation together, and *set the priests before the altar,* he sent for them that were of the tower. And showed them vile Nicanor's head, and the hand of that blasphemer, which with proud brags he had stretched out against the holy temple of the Almighty. And when he had cut out the tongue of that ungodly Nicanor, he commanded that they should give it by pieces unto the fowls, *and hang up* the reward of his madness *before the temple.* So every man praised toward the heaven the glorious Lord, saying, Blessed be he that kept his own place undefiled. *He hanged also Nicanor's head upon the tower,* an evident and manifest *sign* unto all of the help of the Lord." Secondly, because that custom would have been likely to have been instituted, by the Jews of later ages, as a sign of the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the third verse of the forty-seventh Psalm, "He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations *under our feet.*" And thirdly, because we read in the following passage of the tenth chapter of the Book of Joshua, that that ancient leader caused his captains *to trample on the necks* of his principal prisoners in the presence of the rest of the troops, with the intention, as it would appear, of infusing into the minds of the Hebrew soldiers courage to enable them to massacre the women and children of those nations which refused to become their voluntary slaves,—a deed which would have daunted the fiercest soldier of Pyrrhus' camp: "And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter, till they were consumed, that the rest which remained of them entered into fenced cities. And all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel. Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring out those five kings unto me out of the cave. And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, and the king of Eglon. And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for *all* the men of Israel,

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* It appears from the portraits of the Mexican kings, which Diego Duran has inserted in his History of Mexico, that their throne was a chair with a very high back covered with finely woven mats, upon which a tiger's skin was sometimes spread for a cushion.

Night and Wind *. 'Your occupation, my lord, which is most grave and important, is the seat of judicature and the government of the state, in which your ancestors,—whose load, after they had relinquished it, you took upon your

and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, *Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings.* And they came near, and *put their feet upon the necks of them.* And Joshua said unto them, Fear not, nor be dismayed; be strong and of good courage: for *thus* shall the Lord do to all your enemies against whom ye fight. And *afterward* Joshua smote them, and slew them, and *hanged* them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, and laid great stones in the cave's mouth, which remain *until this very day.*" The Peruvian ceremony of trampling upon the enemy in token of triumph is noticed in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of Balboa's Miscellanea Antarctica; and the account there given receives corroboration from a valuable History of Peru preserved in MS. in the library of the Escurial, which further proves that it was a mark of honour permitted to him who was destined to succeed the reigning Inga: "Con mucha guarda y seguridad dejava este rey Ynga Yupangui las provincias y naciones que con sus victoriosas hazañas avia sujetado á su ymperio, y tan bien ordenado todo que podemos compararlo con qualquiera capitan de los antiguos que mas nombre tienen entre Griegos y Romanos; y dejando las espaldas seguras, muy cargados de reputacion, despojos y prisioneros se volvieron à el Cuzco, porque ya el invierno les era impedimento para pasar adelante con sus acostumbradas victorias, y fue recibido en su imperial ciudad con mucha fiesta y aparato hasta alli no visto igual; porque antes que Ynga Yupangui llegase à el Cuzco diò el mismo la orden que se avia de guardar en su entrada y triunfo, y por aquella se fueron guiando sin exceder un punto de ella: entraron lo primero, los mas valientes capitanes en Curicaucha, haciendo con sus armas y libreas una vistosa reseña: tras ellos entraron muchos de los soldados de menos nombre, que llevavan atados inumerable numero de prisioneros: tras estos entraron las mugeres y hijas de aquellos, endechando a su modo su calamidad y desventura, porque asi les era mandado lo hiciesen: entravan luego la gente comun, cargados todos con una no vista cantidad de despojos, con las armas de los enemigos arrastrando por tierra: à estos seguia un esquadron de lanzeros con las lanzas en alto, y en la punta de cada lanza una cabeza de un enemigo hincada con sus cabellos sueltos y desmelenados: luego entrava otro esquadron de la nobleza de el ymperio, asi de los que avian ydo à la guerra, como de los que avian quedado gobernando la republica, y entre ellos traian en unas andas de oro al Emperador Ynga Yupangui, con aquel rostro austero y ojos de tigre cruel con que matava y espantava el mundo: trahia para el tal espectaculo puestas las actuales insinias de Emperador: seguiase luego la retaguardia en que venian hombres de cuenta en algunas quadrillas de gente suelta, haciendo un millon de movimientos con los cuerpos y piernas, representando en aquello el ardor y coraje con que peleaban con sus enemigos. Con la orden dicha dieron una vuelta à la ancha y desocupada plaza, y luego mandaron á todos los prisioneros que se pusiesen tendidos sobre la tierra, los rostros en el suelo, y siendo Ynga Yupangui el

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* The Mexicans bestowed the epithet of Yoalliehecatl, which signifies 'night and wind', upon Tezcatlipoca, thereby to denote the subtlety and obscurity of the divine essence: they believed likewise that their kings were more immediately under his controul and influence; that he prompted their actions and inspired their councils; that they were his vicegerents upon earth; and that he elevated them to the regal dignity from *the lowest station*[1], if he judged them worthy of ranking above their fellow men, and again displaced them if they acted in a manner to forfeit his favour. The Mexican monarchs were consecrated to the regal office by crowning and anointing, as was customary amongst the Jews; and, like David and Solomon, they addressed public admonitory discourses to the people soon after their coronation: nor is it less deserving of notice, that if they failed in their duties, they were themselves anathematized by the high priest, as were Saul and David by Samuel and the prophet Nathan. It was usual also for their subjects to offer them presents,—a custom that existed amongst the Jews, as we learn from the following passage of the tenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel: "But the children of Belial said, How shall this man serve us? and they despised him and *brought him no presents.*" It may be proper to observe that Saul is the king here alluded to. When the Mexican kings appeared in public they leaned, for greater state, upon the arm of a principal noble of their court; and on solemn occasions, such as was the reception of Cortes by Montezuma, feudatory princes were required to attend for that express purpose. The existence of a similar custom amongst the Jews may be inferred from the mention which is made, in the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Kings, of the king's appointing the lord on whose *hand he leaned* to have charge of the gate. Montezuma was on such occasions preceded by officers bearing short gilt rods, who held them up as a sign to the people to prostrate themselves on the approach of their sovereign. To a like custom Ezekiel may allude, in the eleventh verse of the nineteenth chapter of his Prophecies, where he speaks of "rods for the sceptres *of them that bare rule;*" whilst the words of David, in the fourth verse of the sixtieth Psalm, "Thou hast given a *banner* to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth," render it not improbable that the Mexican festival of Panquetzaliztli (or *the holding up of banners,*) might have originated in the superstitious practices of the ancient Jews. In addition to this list of analogies we must observe that the Mexican kings were accustomed, as if in imitation of Solomon, to celebrate the dedication of temples and new altars with the sacrifice of an infinite number of victims, smearing them with their blood. The Indian historian Tezozomoc further remarks, that they took that opportunity of making a display of their riches to strangers, whom they invited for the special purpose to their Court, and afterwards dismissed with rich presents. This latter trait of policy reminds us of the above-mentioned monarch's gallantry towards the Queen of Sheba. Other analogies might doubtless be pointed out in addition to those here enumerated; and if Samuel's book on *the Constitution of the Jewish Monarchy,* of which he makes express mention in the twenty-fifth verse of the tenth chapter of his First Book, had been preserved, it is impossible to say where they would have ended.

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[1] The Old Testament declares that Saul was originally a keeper of asses, and that David was elected king over Israel from the sheep-cot.

shoulders *,—suffered intolerable labour: they have left it in your hands; you are now he on whom has devolved the duty of ruling this city, state, and kingdom, in the name of our Lord †. You, O lord, are at present he who rules and

primero, *pasaron por encima de ellos*, poniendoles el pie sobre los pescuezos, sin que el prisionero osase alzar ni menear la cabeza, *y al tiempo que asi ivan pasando*, cantavan un verso que en nuestra lengua quiere decir *Mis enemigos piso*: todo esto se hazia delante de la estatua y ymage de el Sol, rogandole se tuviese por servido de tal echo, y les diese siempre semejantes victorias: con estas oraciones y ceremonias concluian las fiestas triumfales, y el dia siguiente se comenzavan grandes bailes y borracheras, en prosecucion de lo qual yva cada uno decantando las proezas que su rey avia hecho, y luego las de sus capitanes y caudillos, y ultimamente las suyas propias, añidiendo en las unas y las otras, infinitas mentiras y fabulas." "Volveremos á hablar de Ynga Yupangue que estaba victorioso, el cual despues de haber muerto á Usco Vilca, mandó tomar sus vestiduras é insignias que en la guerra trahia, asi de oro y plata y joyas que sobre él trahia, como de ropas de plumas, plumages y armas y arreos de su persona, y metiendose en unos andas se partió para do su padre Viracocha Ynga estaba, llevando consigo á sus amigos, los tres que con él habian quedado, como ya la historia os lo há contado, Vicaguizao, Apomaita y Quiliccachiurco Guaranga, y dos mil hombres de guerra que guardaban su persona, donde llegado que fué adonde su padre estaba, le hizo el acatamiento que á su Señor y padre debia, y asi mismo le puso delante las ynsignias armas y vestidos del Changa Usco Vilca que él habia ya vencido y muerto, y rogole que se las pisase aquellas ynsignias del enemigo que habia vencido, *y asi mismo le rogó que le pisase ciertos capitanes de Usco Vilca que presos él alli llevaba con sigo, haciendose los echar por tierra*, porque es de saber que tenian una usanza estos Señores, que cuando algun capitan y capitanes venian victoriosos de la guerra, trahian las ynsignias y ornamentos de los tales Señores que en la guerra mataban y prendian; y como entrasen los tales capitanes por la ciudad del Cuzco victoriosos, trahian delante de si las insignias y prisioneros, é poniendolas delante de sus Señores, y los Señores viendo el tal despojo é ynsignias y prisioneros delante de si, *levantase el tal Señor é pisavalo, é daba un paso por encima de los tales prisioneros;* y esto hacian los tales Señores en señal de que recibian los tales que lo trahian triunfo y favor del Señor, y era aceptado en servicio el trabajo que asi habian pasado en sujetar y vencer los tales enemigos: y asi mismo el Señor á quien era pedido que pisase las tales cosas y prisioneros, recibia y habia haciendo aquella posesion y señorio de las tales tierras que asi eran ganadas y vasallos que en ellas vivian. Y al fin de aquesto queriendo tener Ynga Yupangui todo respeto á su padre, aunque no le habia querido dar favor, le trujo delante todas las cosas que haveis oido, para que su padre de él reciviese aquel servicio y aprendiese la posesion de los tales enemigos para sus vasallos sujetados por capitan suyo, el cual como viese las tales ynsignias delante de si, y los capitanes que asi le trahia presos en señal de su victoria, y que le pedia que se los pisase como tal su Señor y padre; en esta sazon tenia consigo el Viracocha Ynga un principal del Usco Vilca paraque con él concertase de la manera que se le habia de dar y las condiciones que con él queria poner, y como hasta aquella ora no hubiese dado orden, teniase él consigo, y no haviendo él sabido lo que le habia pasado con el Usco Vilca, Ynga Yupangue no tubo por cierto ser aquello que el Ynga Yupangue trahia delante del de Usco Vilca, y que él le hubiese muerto y desbaratado, y como él no estubiese satisfecho de lo que veia, mandó que pareciese alli delante de él aquel principal que con él estaba, el cual se llamaba Guaman Guaraca, que es el que Usco Vilca embiaba para hacer los conciertos como ya habeis oido, y como cosa que tenia por sueño pregunto el Viracocha Ynga al Guaman Guaraca, dime tu conoces estos vestidos y ynsignias que sean de tu Señor Usco Vilca? y como los viese el Guaman Guaraca y conociese y viese los capitanes de su Señor echados por tierra, puso los ojos en el suelo, y comenzó á llorar, y echose alli en tierra con ellos, y como esto viese Viracocha Ynga que era verdad que hubiese havido vitoria de sus enemigos Ynga Yupangue su hijo, tomó gran pesar y embidia de ello por gran odio que le tenia, como ya os hé contado; todo lo cual conocio en él Ynga Yupangue su hijo: tomó gran pesar, y no teniendo respeto á aquello sino á que era su padre y Señor, tornole á rogar Ynga Yupangue que se lo pisase como su Señor y padre, á lo cual respondió Viracocha Ynga que lo mandase meter en cierto aposento, *y que lo pisase primero su hijo Ynga Urco, que era el hijo que él mas queria, en quien él pensaba dejar despues de sus dias su estado*, y lugar de su persona, como ya hemos contado: á lo cual respondió Ynga Yupangue que á él como á su padre rogaba que se lo pisase, que él no habia ganado vitoria para que se lo pisasen semejantes mugeres como eran Ynga Urco y los demas sus hermanos; que se lo pisase él como persona, á quien él tenia por Señor é su padre, sino que se iria: y estando en esto, hizo llamar Viracocha Ynga un Señor de los que consigo tenia, y hablandole á solas dijo que sacase secretamente la gente de guerra que consigo tenia, é que la llevase á cierta quebrada de monte y paja alta donde estubiese secretamente, y que tan de mientras que él iba, que entretendria con palabras á Ynga Yupangue en cierto aposento, mientras él emboscase alli la gente, y que dentro de el aposento si él pudiese, á manos le mataria, y que si de alli se escapase que le matase él en la quebrada del monte por do havia de tornar á bolver el Ynga Yupangue; y esto concertado saliose aquel Señor á hacer lo que le mandaba Viracocha Ynga. Viracocha Ynga bolviose á Ynga Yupangue, é comenzole á hablar por buenas palabras y á mostrarle rostro alegre, ya que le pareció que habria hecho aquel capitan suyo lo que le habia mandado. Levantose el Viracocha Ynga y rogó á Ynga Yupangue que metiese aquellas cosas que llevaba de Usco Vilca dentro del aposento do antes le havia rogado que las mandase meter, para que las pisase su hijo Ynga Urco y que luego se las pisase él. Tornole á responder Ynga Yupangue que las pisase él si quisiere, y sino que se iria como ya le havia dicho: y viendo Viracocha Ynga que no podia acabar con él que las pisase Ynga Urco, pensando de le matar dentro del aposento, dijo que lo mandase meter dentro del aposento, y que estando ellos solos lo pisaria delante de el: y estando en esta porfia llegaronse á Ynga Yupangue sus tres buenos amigos, y sospechando la traicion que Viracocha Ynga queria hacer, no consentieron que Ynga Yupangue

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* This metaphor is frequently employed in the Old Testament; but it may be sufficient in this place to quote the famous prophecy of Isaiah, "For unto us a son is born, unto us a child is given; *and the government shall be upon his shoulders*," &c. &c.

† All the Jewish kings, from the age of Saul and David to the Babylonian captivity, ruled in the name of the Lord, or at least professed to their subjects to do so: they were however mere tools in the hands of the priests, who ruled both king and people with the iron rod of a theocratic despotism.

governs and occupies the throne and the cushion where God is honoured *. With faltering language and a few ill-pronounced words, I come to salute you; or rather I come to trip and to stumble and to fall down in your presence,

entrase en el aposento." The latter extract, which is here inserted in corroboration of Balboa's account of the Peruvian ceremony of trampling upon the bodies of their captive enemies, is taken from the ninth chapter of the inedited History of the Ingas of Peru by Juan de Betanzos, who dedicated his work to Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first Viceroy of Peru.—We shall in a future note cite a passage from the Psalms, which affords some indication that the ancient Jews were accustomed to scalp as well as to circumcise the dead bodies of their enemies; an example of which is recorded in the twenty-seventh verse of the eighteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel, where, strange to say, a princess's dowry is the matter treated of. The Peruvians therefore, in insulting and trampling upon the bodies of their fallen foes, only imitated the manners of the ancient Jews. The Greeks on the contrary honoured those who fell in battle, and did not deny them the rites of sepulture; nor is there an action in the life of Alexander which more justly entitles that hero to praise, than his treatment of the wife and daughters of Darius,—who in Joshua's camp, and under the enactments of the Old Law, would, in all probability, have had to lament servitude and captivity amongst the least of the misfortunes to which greatness could have been reduced by the sudden stroke of adversity.

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* Ezekiel, in the twenty-eighth chapter of his Prophecies, upbraids the prince of Tyre for boasting that *he sat in the seat of God;* and contrasts the idolatrous state into which that city had fallen with its former righteous state, when it was as it were the *cherub of God.* It would really appear from this chapter of Ezekiel that the Jews and the Tyrians were originally *of the same religion,* and worshiped the same deity; or that the Tyrians, when they received the rite of circumcision from the Jews, entered into a covenant with God, which they for a long time kept, until in process of time their sacrifices of animals and devoted victims to the Deity, steeling their hearts both against religion and humanity, terminated in results such as those described at page 489 of the sixth volume of this work. The following passage from Bryant's Observations, which though long will be found extremely interesting, contains an admission highly favourable to *the origin* which we are inclined to assign to the human sacrifices customary among the Phœnicians: "These nations had certainly a notion of a federal and an *expiatory* sacrifice. It was derived to them by tradition; and, though *originally* founded in truth, yet being by degrees darkened and misapplied, it gave rise to *the worst of profanations,* and was the source of the basest and most unnatural cruelty. I have shown at large, that human victims were very common among the Phœnicians: and Philo-Byblius tells us from Sanchoniatho, that in some of these sacrifices there was *a particular mystery:* κατεσφαττοντο δε οἱ διδομενοι μυστικως 'they, who were devoted for this purpose, were offered mystically;' that is, under a mystical representation. And he proceeds to inform us, that it was in consequence of an example which had been set this people by the god Kronus, who in a time of distress offered up his only son to his father Ouranus. There is something in the account very extraordinary, which, I think, deserves our particular notice. Part of the passage I have mentioned before. "[1] Εθος ἠν τοις παλαιοις ἐν ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις των κινδυνων, ἀντι της παντων φθορας, το ἠγαπημενον των τεκνων τους κρατουντας ἡ πολεως ἡ ἐθνους, ἐις σφαγην ἐπιδιδοναι, λυτρον τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι. Κατεσφαττοντο δε οἱ διδομενοι μυστικως.——Κρονος τοινυν, ὁν οἱ Φοινικες Ιλ προσαγορευουσι, βασιλευων της χωρας, και ὑστερον μετα την του βιου τελευτην ἐις τον του Κρονου ἀστερα καθιερωθεις, ἐξ ἐπιχωριας νυμφης, Ανωβρετ λεγομενης, υἱον ἐχων μονογενη, ὁν δια τουτο Ιεουδ ἐκαλουν (του μονογενους οὑτως ἐτι και νυν καλουμενου παρα τοις Φοινιξι) κινδυνων ἐκ πολεμου μεγιστων κατειληφοτων την χωραν, βασιλικῳ κοσμησας σχηματι τον υἱον, βωμον τε κατασκευασαμενος, κατεθυσεν." It is told with some variation in another place. "Λοιμου δε γενεμενου, και φθορας, τον ἑαυτου μονογενη υἱον Κρονος Ουρανῳ πατρι ὁλοκαρποι." I have shown, that the most approved sacrifices among the Phœnicians, were those of men: yet even among these they made a difference; and some were in greater repute than others. Many times they offered human victims indiscriminately, and without choice. At other times they selected their own children, and the most beloved of their children; which was supposed to be a most acceptable offering. But the greatest refinement in these cruel rites was, when the prince of the country, or a chief person in any city, brought an only son to the altar; and there slaughtered him by way of *atonement,* to avert any evil from the people. This last was properly the *mystical sacrifice.* We are informed by the same author, that this custom was instituted in consequence of *an example* exhibited by Kronus, who is said to have been a god, and likewise a king of the country. It appears that this deity was by the Phœnicians called Il[2]: and in other places he is spoken of as a principal god; though in this passage he is mentioned only as a king, who after his death was deified, and instated in the planet which afterwards bore his name. He had by the nymph Anobret an only son, who for that reason was called Ieoud, which in the Phœnician language expresses that circumstance. This son in a time of great danger, either from war or pestilence, Kronus is said to have arrayed in a royal vesture, and to have led him thus habited to an altar which he had constructed, and there sacrificed him for the public weal. Such is the history, as we receive it through the hands of the Greek historian[3]; in which, as it here stands, I cannot see anything mysterious.

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[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. x. pag. 40; lib. iv. cap. xvi. pag. 142; lib. i. cap. x. pag. 30.

[2] In Eusebius, instead of Il, the reading is Israel: the name Il by some copyist having been taken for an abbreviation of the former word, which is often in MSS. written with a circumflex, ῖλ. "Utrobique in Eusebii editis, pro Ιλ legitur Ισραηλ; quasi vox illa esset hujus compendium. Verùm Ιλον, τον και Κρονον, Ilum, qui Saturnus dictus est, Cœli filium fuisse ex Sanchoniathone non semel docuit Philo." Marsham. Can. Chron. pag. 79.

[3] Sanchoniatho cannot possibly be so ancient a writer as he is represented, if his translator has transmitted to us the real and genuine sentiments of his author. He has a remark upon the Grecian writers which, though very just, if applied to later times, yet was by no means true in the age when he is supposed to have lived: Οἱ δε Ἑλληνες εὐφυϊᾳ παντας ὑπερβαλλομενοι τα μεν πρωτα πλειστα ἐξιδιωσαντο, και τοις προκοσμημασι ποικιλως ἐξετραγῳδησαν, ταις τε των μυθων ἡδοναις θελγειν ἐπινοουντες παντοιως ἐποικιλλον. Ενθεν Ἡσιοδος κ. τ. λ. Euseb.

wishing to cheer and to gladden your heart and your countenance *, and your feet and hands: since it hath seemed good unto Him, since our compassionate God, who is everywhere and by whom we live, has been so merciful

If there be no more meant, than that a king of the country sacrificed his son, and that the people afterwards copied his example, it is an instance of a cruel precedent too blindly followed:—but it contains in it nothing of a mystery. When a fact is supposed to have a mystical reference, there should be something more than a bare imitation. Whatever may have been alluded to under this typical representation, it was I believe but imperfectly understood by the Phœnicians, and is derived to us still more obscurely, by being transmitted through a secondary channel. The story is not uniformly told, and is besides deeply enveloped in fable. Indeed, the whole of what is left us from Sanchoniatho is a mixture of Egyptian and Canaanitish mythology, together with that of Arabia, Chaldea, and other Oriental nations: all which is blended together in a very confused and inconsistent manner, and embarrassed with a contradictory theogony. There may be observed in it some faint traces of the dispersion of mankind, and of the first peopling the countries above mentioned: to which are annexed the names of the first founders of the families who made settlements in these parts. But the whole is so mixed, that it is difficult to sift out the truth. Kronus is said to be the same as Il, or Ilus; and is represented as above Adodus[1], the king of the gods, and Demaroos, who was interpreted Jupiter: nay, he was superior even to Astarte, the great empress of heaven: yet is afterwards degraded to a petty prince of Canaan, who reigned at Byblus; and who is said to have built him an house, and to have walled it round for his security. These circumstances are inconsistent. Kronus was *originally* esteemed the supreme deity, as is manifest from his being called Il and Ilus. Il was the *same name* as the El *of the Hebrews;* and, according to St. Jerome, was one of the ten names of God. 'Phœnicibus Il, qui Hebræis El, quod est unum de decem nominibus Dei'.[2] Damascius in the life of Isidorus, as it occurs in Photius, mentions that Kronus was worshiped by people of those parts *under the name of El.* Φοινικες και Συροι τον Κρονον Ηλ, και Βηλ, και Βολαθην ἐπονομαζουσι. Now El was the name of the supreme deity; and was admitted as such originally among all the nations of the East. They who applied this name to the sun[3], still looked up to that object of their adoration, as the chief being and lord of all things. Kronus I have before shown to have been a transposition from Con-orus, 'the prince of light'; which was properly a title of the Deity. El was the same as Elioun, the 'Ηλιος of the Greeks, who is termed by Sanchoniatho 'the most high': Ελιουν, ὁ καλουμενος ὑψιστος. He had no one superior nor antecedent to himself; as may be proved from the same author: αὐχμων δε γενομενων, τας χειρας ὀρεγειν ἐς οὐρανους προς τον 'Ηλιον· τουτον γαρ, φησι, θεον ἐνομιζον μονον, Οὐρανου Κυριον, Βεελσαμην καλουντες. Kronus, therefore, could not, according to the principles of the very people appealed to, have sacrificed his son to his father: for he was the chief and original deity, and had no one above him to whom he could make such offering. Ouranus, to whom he is erroneously thought to have exhibited this sacrifice, is the same as El and Elioun; being another title of the same person. It is a transposition of Ain Aur, or Our, 'the fountain of light'; which the Greeks rendered Our-ain, and thence constituted Ouranus and Ouranie. Ouranus was taken by them for the vast expanse of the heavens; but was originally no other than the orb of day, from whence all light is derived: under which symbol God was worshiped in the first dawning of idolatry; till the reality became obscured by the semblance, and was in the end totally lost under repeated representations: every attribute and every title being personated. Anobret, by whom Kronus is said to have had a son, and who is introduced as a feminine, is by Bochart supposed to signify 'one conceived by grace'. It may be so: yet I cannot help thinking, that it is the same as Ouranus; and however it may have been by the Greeks differently construed, and represented as the name of a woman, yet it is reducible to the same elements as the former; and is from the same radix, though differently modified. I take it to have been originally Ain Ober; and as Melech Ober[4] signifies 'the prince of light', Ouc Ober 'the lord of light', I imagine Ain Ober to be 'the fountain of light', framed by a like analogy, and made an emblem of the divine emanation. I have been obliged to take these pains, in order to determine *who the deity was* whom the Phœnicians are supposed to have copied in this particular: and at the same time to show, that nothing could have preceded for them to imitate; but that what they did was a type and representation of something to come. It is the only instance of any sacrifice in the Gentile world which is said to be *mystical,* and it is attended with circumstances which are very extraordinary. Kronus, we find, was *the same as El* and Elioun: and he is termed 'Ὑψιστος and 'Ὑψουρανιος. He is moreover said to have had *the Elohim for his coadjutors;* Συμμαχοι 'Ιλου του Κρονου 'Ελωειμ ἐπεκληθησαν[5]. He had no father to make any offering to: for he was the father of all, and termed Κυριος Οὐρανου by the confession of the author by whom the account is given. *These sacrifices* therefore had no reference to any thing past, as I have before mentioned; but alluded to a great event, to be accomplished afterwards. They were

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lib. i. cap. x. pag. 39. Could these be the observations of a writer contemporary with Semiramis, and prior to the war of Troy, as Sanchoniatho is supposed to have been? or rather, has the character here given of the Grecians the least resemblance to that people at so early a season? The strictures are certainly the remarks of a much later historian.

[1] Ασταρτη ἡ μεγιστη, και Ζευς Δημαροος, και Αδωδος βασιλευς Θεων, 'βασιλευον της χωρας Κρονου γνωμῃ.

[2] Hieron. Epist 136. ad Marcellum.

[3] Servius in Virg. Æneid. lib. i. de Belo Phœnice: "Omnes in istis partibus Solem colunt, qui istorum linguâ Hel dicitur."—See Vossius de Idolat. vol. i. lib. ii. cap. iv.

[4] Many instances occur of the word אור being rendered at different times and by different authors, Aur, Aver, Aber, Ober. Hence Melech Ober of Hesychius, of which I have before treated.

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. pag. 37.

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* "To gladden the countenance" was a Hebrew expression, as many passages of Scripture might be adduced to show.

as to send into this world a precious stone and a rich feather, which is your image, your blood, your hair, and your nails, and a fragment cut from yourself. O my lord, your image and your likeness has indeed been born; you have budded, you have bloomed. May our Lord be praised for this! *He* has been born and has come into existence in this world;—he has *descended*, and he has been *sent* from the place of the supreme Gods, whose habitation is above the nine heavens, to bear in his arms the *blameless* people of our Lord, whose deserts entitle them to this *. Perhaps he will live and grow up; perhaps he will enjoy long life †, and will serve our Lord for a length of time, and will be known by his whole people, kingdom, and state; perhaps the state will deserve to enjoy him, and will shelter itself beneath his shade, and beneath his protection. O most compassionate lord and dearly beloved son, highly esteemed personage, I shall, perhaps, if I address you at greater length, occasion weariness to your head and stomach, and shall interrupt and divert you from your labours, for the good of the state. I desire that you may live many years in the exercise of the duties of your royal station. With these few words I have saluted and offered my congratulations to your royal person, O my grandson, who art a person highly to be esteemed."—The following passage is taken from the fifteenth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain: it contains the address of some Mexican noble to the Mexican people, exhorting them to attend to the admonitions which the king of Mexico had given to them in his public oration, delivered immediately after his coronation. (The oration of the king will be found in the preceding chapter of the same book, which throws much light on the manners, customs, and laws of the Mexicans.) "Hearken attentively, ye who are present, both men and women; your lord and king has addressed you in person; he has promulgated in your presence doctrines which are profitable and highly to be prized; he has scattered chalchuitles and sapphires before you ‡, rare gems and highly worthy of being esteemed, which lords and persons of great authority are wont to treasure up in their breasts, who maintain nations by their counsels and their laws: he has uncovered in your presence his chests and coffers in which he keeps his riches, wherein are stored up the treasures of great princes destined for the correction and instruction of their subjects. And since you have heard and witnessed what he has said and done, there can be no excuse for any of you, as many as are here present, failing to retain a sense of the obligation which your king has conferred upon you in personally addressing you, and you will accordingly be bound to keep the precepts which you have heard. Although it so happens that there are many senators and wise and eloquent persons present who might have addressed you on his behalf,—for they possess the privilege of speaking to the people and pro-

instituted probably in consequence of *a prophetic tradition*, which, I imagine, had been preserved in *the family of Esau*, and transmitted through *his* posterity to *the people of Canaan*. The account is, to be sure, mixed with much extraneous matter; and has been dressed up, and adapted to the Grecian taste. But let us make some allowance for the colouring, and divest it, as far as we can, of fable; and we may possibly arrive at the truth, which is concealed beneath. The mystical sacrifice of the Phœnicians had these requisites, that a prince was to offer it, and his only son was to be the victim: and as I have shown that this could not relate to any thing prior, let us consider what is said upon the subject as future, and attend to the consequence. For if the sacrifice of the Phœnicians was a type of another to come, the nature of this last will be known from the representation by which it was prefigured. According to this, El, the supreme Deity, whose associates were the Elohim, was in process of time to have a son, ἀγαπητον 'well beloved', μονογενη 'his only begotten': who was to be conceived, as some render it, of 'grace', but according to my interpretation, of 'the fountain of light'. He was to be called Jeoud[1], whatever that name may relate to; and to be offered up as *a sacrifice* to his father, λυτρον, by way of satisfaction and redemption, τιμωροις δαιμοσι, to atone for the sins of others, and avert the just vengeance of God; ἀντι της παντων φθορας[2], to prevent universal corruption, and at the same time general ruin. And it is further remarkable, he was to make this grand sacrifice, βασιλικῳ σχηματι κεκοσμημενος, invested with the emblems of royalty. These surely are very strong expressions, and the whole is an aggregate of circumstances highly significant, which cannot be the result of chance. All that I have requested to be allowed me in the process of this recital, is this simple supposition, that this mystical sacrifice was a type of something to come: how truly it corresponds to that, which I imagine it alludes to, I submit to the reader's judgement. I think, it must necessarily be esteemed a most wonderful piece of history[3]."

* Well might the reader here exclaim with Las Casas, *Loquela tua manifestum te fecit.*

† Isaiah, in the tenth verse of the fifty-third chapter of his Prophecies, says of the Messiah, "He shall *see his seed*, he shall *prolong his days*:" to which predictions the Jews refer to prove that the Messiah was to be a temporal prince, who would leave behind him heirs to a throne which he himself would long triumphantly and gloriously fill.

‡ To "cast pearls before swine" was a Hebrew proverb, which implied a mode of expression similar to that employed by the Mexicans.

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[1] Supposed by some to be the same as Jehid. Gen. xxii. 1.

[2] Δουναι την ψυχην λυτρον ἀντι πολλων. Unum pro multis dabitur caput.

[3] See Porph. de Abstinen. lib. ii. pag. 225.—Vossius de Idol. vol. i. lib. i. cap. xviii. pag. 142, 143. Vol. i. lib. ii. cap. ii. pag. 322, 325.

mulgating to them the laws made by the king,—your lord and king has on the present occasion himself addressed you, on account of the lively concern which his heart feels at your customs and your manner of living. And be assured and doubt not that he is our true father and our true mother; the mother who bore you and the father who begot you is not so truly your father and mother as he, doubtless: he who gives you a light *, and instructions how to live and how to conduct yourself, is your true father; and not he who never conferred such a benefit upon you. You have at length become acquainted with your true father and your true mother †, whom you must in future obey and love ‡, and whom you must account your riches and your prosperity: here you behold him; he himself has addressed you, although you are a poor vassal and a person of mean consideration in the state, and he is your king and lord; before you he has uncovered and poured forth the treasures of his doctrine, which is more to be prized than golden beads and rich feathers, or than chalchiutles and rare and costly sapphires: And thou, who hast a father and a mother, who art noble and illustrious, or who art the descendant of a race distinguished in arms, or art the son of some rich man, and hast been born and bred up in luxuries,—dost thou reject the advice and admonition which thy father and thy mother give thee? Behold the king himself present, whose words thou shouldst receive and store up in thine heart §, and whose instructions thou art bound to keep by thee as a mirror, whom it is thy duty to obey: but if thou wilt not obey him, whom then wilt thou obey? who must appear? for whose coming dost thou reserve thy obedience? But shouldst thou peradventure reject his instructions,—act as it seemeth good unto thee, since thou wilt certainly meet with thy deserts; it is quite evident that thou art a lost and ruined character; thou hast an evil destiny, and wilt not go unpunished; since the wrath of God is upon thee ‖, it is impossible that some great calamity should not speedily overtake thee or be now on the way; perhaps some shocking fate, or some hardship or severe chastisement from our Lord God is coming upon thee; perhaps thou hast deserved to become blind or lame ¶ before the time, or that thy flesh should rot away ** with some disease; or perhaps thou wilt wander about poor and miserable, in a state of filth and destitution, and wilt behold thyself and envy thy former state ††. Let me know now, therefore, what it is that thy heart desires. Dost thou wish that the Lord our God should come and speak to thee in a human form ‡‡, and with the

* This was a Hebrew phrase, as we learn from the sixteenth verse of the eighth chapter of the Book of Esther; "The Jews had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour."

† The king of Mexico is here recognised in the twofold character of father and mother of his people, in which sense the Mexicans might have bestowed the epithet of father and mother upon Tezcatlipoca.

‡ Garcia says that the Mexicans were acquainted with the Decalogue, and obeyed most of its precepts. There certainly appears to be an allusion here to the fifth commandment.

§ The Virgin Mary is said in the fifty-first verse of the second chapter of St. Luke, to have kept the sayings of her son *in her heart*.

‖ The notion of the wrath of God falling upon the wicked, and a speedy divine judgement overtaking them on account of their sins, was very common amongst the ancient Jews, and would have been extremely salutary if they had known what *constituted* crime, and how to distinguish it from a mere breach of the ceremonial law, such as was the act of *healing* on the sabbath-day.

¶ These are the identical judgements denounced against the Jews, in case of disobedience, in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy.

** The fifth chapter of Numbers denounces a similar judgement against the woman who was convicted of adultery, by drinking the bitter water in the trial of jealousy. It is extremely singular that the Indians of New Granada, when suspicious of the chastity of their wives, should have resorted to the expedient of determining their innocence by compelling them to take a considerable dose of tomate or Indian pepper, under the full persuasion that if they were innocent they would escape unhurt; but that if they were guilty, effects similar to those described in the twenty-seventh verse of the fifth chapter of Numbers would inevitably follow. Simon records this cruel Indian superstition in the following passage of the eighth chapter of the fourth book of his inedited Noticias Historiales: "No reparaban mucho algunos Yndios, quando se casaban, en hallar á sus esposas donzellas, no obstante *la ley* que havia acerca de esto; antes algunos quando conocian no havia llegado hombre á ellas, las tenian por disgraciadas y sin ventura, pues no la havian tenido en que hombres se les aficionasen. Y con este pensamiento las abhorrecian como á mugeres desdichadas. Si bien es verdad, que sentian mucho despues el adulterio; y asi á la que sentian sospechosa de esto, le hacian comer á priesa *mucho agi*, con que se abrasaban las entrañas, y con la misma le decian *que confessara su delito*; lo que hacian muchas veces con la fuerza del tormento, y aun lo que no havian hecho. Dabanles en confessando *agua*, con que mitigaban el ardor del pimiento, y sentenciabanlas á muerte, como lo disponia la ley, y á el adultero. Otras no confesaban, y quedaban purgadas con el tormento del indicio, y les hacian grandes fiestas." Another custom, no less cruel than the preceding, prevailed among the Indians of New Granada: women who gave birth to twins put one of them immediately to death, from a notion that their birth could only have been in consequence of a violation of that Mosaic law to which Clemens Alexandrinus alludes in the passage, *ὁ Μωσης ἀπαγει των ἐγκυων τους ἀνδρας*.

†† This appears the only sense in which the words *y te desearas* can be understood.

‡‡ The Mexicans believed that Tezcatlipoca was a spirit, and that when he appeared to mortals they only saw and conversed with his shade. The Jews reconciled in the same manner the passage in the Old Testament "No man hath seen God," with the many other

words of a man *? would thy heart peradventure be then content? O most presumptuous man, what wouldst thou? whom dost thou account thyself? whom dost thou take thyself to be? who art thou? We here display, we here bring forth to public view, as it were from a chest or a coffer, we here throw and scatter before thee golden beads, rich feathers, and fine and very rare jewels, such as it is not customary to give nor even to name, which are stored up amongst the treasures of great princes, and which they alone keep and possess. O hapless man! has thy lord and king, that great and cherished lord and much-loved prince, been elected and sent for thee alone? and do we scatter and pour forth for thee alone the treasures which he keeps stored up in his breast? dost thou think, wretch! that the affairs in which he occupies himself are few? dost thou know how weighty a task it is to rule? dost thou know how great is the labour of governing a state? Doubtless thou knowest not, and dost not consider. There is not a day nor a night of this world that he omits to weep and to sigh for thee, and for other worthless persons like thee; this lord and king, whom thou here beholdest, night and day falls on his knees and arms, praying and groaning for thee before God †, in order to know how he shall conduct himself in ruling over thee, and bearing thee in his arms ‡ during the days of his life, and to learn the number of the years which may remain to him of life §, that he may bear thee in his arms, and guide thee *in the straight way*, and to know what God purposes to do with thee, and what has been determined in heaven and in hell concerning thee; or whether peradventure thou art *forsaken* and an *outcast* ‖: dost thou peradventure feel apprehension on account of the calamitous and fearful things that are to come ¶, which the ancients

passages in Scripture in which persons are declared to *have seen him:* for example, with the assertion of Amos, in the seventh chapter of his Prophecies, "And behold the Lord *stood* upon a wall made by a plumb-line, with a plumb-line in his hand."

* This was considered a mark of extreme condescension by the Hebrew prophets, who did not scruple to put words to that effect into the mouth of God, when he showed himself weary of *their* complaints.

† The Mexican kings appear to have recollected the words of David in the seventeenth verse of the fifty-first Psalm, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise;" and to have imitated the example of the same king, in getting up at midnight to pray; who thus commemorates his midnight vigils in the sixty-second verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm, "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee because of thy righteous judgements." The reverential posture in which they prayed appears likewise to have been borrowed from the Jews, whose ancestor Abraham is twice declared to have fallen *upon his face* before God, in the seventeenth chapter of Genesis; and whose leader Joshua lay so long in that position, as to receive a sharp rebuke from the Lord, as he himself informs us in the tenth verse of the seventh chapter of his Book: "And the Lord said unto Joshua, *Get thee up*, wherefore liest thou *thus* upon thy face?" Moses and Aaron are also recorded in the twenty-second verse of the sixteenth chapter of Numbers to have fallen upon their faces before the Lord, and prayed: "And they fell upon their faces and said, O God, *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, shall *one* man sin and wilt thou be wroth with *all* the congregation?" The name here applied to God corresponds exactly in signification with the epithets Tonacatecutli, Ypalnemchualoni, and Pachacamac, which the Mexicans and Peruvians bestowed upon their supreme deity.

‡ This metaphorical expression occurs in the following passage of the first chapter of Deuteronomy: "The Lord your God which goeth before you, he shall *fight* for you, according to all that he did for you in Egypt before your eyes, and in the wilderness, where thou hast seen that the Lord thy God *bore thee as a man doth bear his son*, in all the way that ye went, until ye came unto this place."

§ It is evident from the language of David in the ninth verse of the seventy-fourth Psalm, that the Jews believed that God revealed to his elect the knowledge of times and periods: the Psalmist complaining there that God had forsaken his people, exclaims, "We see not *our signs;* there is no more *any* prophet, neither is there among us any *that knoweth how long*." In the preceding verse of the same Psalm, he notices in the following terms the profaneness of the heathen: "They said in their hearts, Let us destroy them (the Jews) together; they have burnt up *all the synagogues* of God in the land." We may be permitted to observe, that the Septuagint translation of the last passage, *Ειπαν ἐν τῃ καρδια αὐτων ἡ συγγενεια αὐτων ἐπι τοαυτο, Δευτε καταπαυσωμεν τας ἑορτας Κυριου ἀπο της γης*, which substitutes, 'let us put an end to *their festivals*' for the words 'they have burnt up the synagogues', exhibits a preferable reading,—for the simple reason that the Jews in the age of David had no synagogues to burn. This, Basnage himself admits in the following passage of the preface to his History of the Jews: "The institution of synagogues is not older than the Maccabees; for we read nowhere that they were burnt, or demolished, or profaned, during the persecution under Antiochus. I confess that it is very *wonderful* that God, who had enjoined the religious observation of the Sabbaths, had not likewise provided means to have them celebrated, by ordering in every city some places of public worship, and Levites at the head of every congregation, to read and explain the Law; but if all that we have said of the novelty of synagogues is seriously examined, it will easily appear that those who maintain it are not mistaken."

‖ This passage is very remarkable, because a principal threat which God held out to the Jews was, that they should be forsaken and outcasts, if they disregarded the covenant which he had made with Abraham, and disobeyed the precepts of the Mosaic law. It deserves to be noticed, that not a syllable is said in the *Old Testament* about the future repeal of the Mosaic law, or the *possible* abrogation of God's covenant with Abraham; nor is there anywhere an allusion to dispersion becoming the punishment of the Jews, on account *of their putting to death the Messiah:* the stress, therefore, which Christians lay upon the standing miracle of the Jewish dispersion, must to a Mahometan or Jew appear quite idle.

¶ The coming of tribulations caused the same alarm to the ancient Jews, as we are given to understand in the New Testament.

and those who have gone before us beheld not, but feared? dost thou heed or take account *of eclipses of the sun, of earthquakes, tempests at sea,* or *the bursting asunder of mountains*?* hast thou peradventure any foreboding of the distress which will be felt *when the various tribulations come* with *commotion* on every side; so that *looking on every side for help, no favour will be found?* wilt thou peradventure foresee, and is it thy duty to calculate, when war shall arise, and the enemy shall come to conquer this kingdom, state, and city, in which thou livest? is it thy duty to think with fear and with trembling, whether peradventure the city shall be destroyed and levelled with the ground, and of the great trouble and affliction that shall befall us when the ruin and destruction which overtakes cities, states, and kingdoms, shall be beheld, and all shall suddenly *be left in darkness,* and all shall be destroyed? or shall peradventure the time arrive when they will make us all slaves, and we shall be employed in the meanest services, which are to draw stones and *timber* †, or to attend upon the sick; famine will perhaps afflict us, which causes such mortality amongst the common people as to destroy a city and turn it into a *wilderness.* Grave cares belong likewise to the military department of the state, in devising the means to repell the foe, and to ensure the safety of the city and state; for wars and battles in which much blood is shed, and many lives lost, are things which never come to an end. These are the cares in which those who rule and govern, occupy, toil, and afflict themselves, by night and by day: and thou who art here present, hast no other care than for thyself alone; and thy rulers bear thee on their shoulders and in their arms. Great, certainly, are the toils of kings, princes, and commanders; take heed therefore, now that our lord addresses thee and exhorts thee to thy duties and to a right course of life, that thou dost not secretly despise nor undervalue him; thou shouldest on the contrary esteem him the more for deigning to speak to thee in person, and to look upon thee; and our Lord God inspires words into him, and thou shouldest prize what he has said, and account thyself unworthy to hear his words, and thou oughtest to preserve them within thee like *gold within a garment,* keep them as a knapsack ‡ (por mochila), as long as thou livest in this world, and take care not to lose them; put them within thine heart, for they will be life and consolation to thee as long as thou livest: thou hast received a great favour,—never perhaps didst thou receive one like unto it; neither thy father nor thy mother has conferred so great a favour upon thee, and

* These were the very signs of which the Jews entertained so much irrational dread, and which the Mexicans noted down in their paintings. It is a good sign of the present times, that the prejudices which sheltered themselves under this head of the Gorgon, are fast wearing away, and that Truth has already half unsheathed her scymitar.

† It is evident that the Jews considered this the most degrading kind of servitude, since it was that which fell to the lot of their Nethinims or hereditary bondsmen, who, from the manner in which they are mentioned in the second verse of the ninth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, appear to have occupied the same place in the Jewish state, as the Helots among the Spartans: and yet we are told by Mr. Wilberforce that the slave-trade is unlawful, because it is forbidden in Scripture. How much better it would be to have recurred to the Rights of Man, whether written by Payne or Volney, for arguments against the slave-trade, than to employ casuistry to put a stop to it, when the meaning of Scripture is as plain as in the following passage of the ninth chapter of Joshua! "And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you, when ye dwell among us? Now therefore ye are *cursed,* and there shall *none of you be freed from being bondsmen,* and hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the house of my God." It appears from the twenty-first chapter of the Second Book of Samuel that the Hebrew Nethinims, who were otherwise named the Gibeonites, were treated with extreme cruelty by Saul, and the Jewish nobility in his reign. This chapter (the Septuagint reading of which varies very much from the Hebrew) is further remarkable from the example which it affords of men being *hung up in the sun* before the Lord, as *devoted victims* to him: these men were seven grandsons of Saul, nephews by marriage to David; if indeed five of them were not his own stepsons. The expressions ἐκλεκτους Κυριου, and ἐξηλιασαν αὐτους ἐν τῳ ὀρει ἐναντι Κυριου, leave no doubt of the nature of the human sacrifice permitted and sanctioned by David.

‡ It was usual for the Mexicans to fasten cargoes to their backs by a bandage which passed round their foreheads, and which thus allowed them to have their hands at full liberty. Many representations occur in the Mexican paintings, of merchants carrying their goods in this manner: we shall however only refer to one in the sixtieth page of the Borgian MS., observing at the same time that the ancient Jewish phylacteries were fastened by a bandage round the forehead, and that there does appear to be an allusion in the admonition, '*Keep them as a knapsack,*' to the manner in which these phylacteries (doubtless the most precious burthen that a Jew could bear, since they contained some portion of the written word of God,) were worn and bound to their foreheads. We may here observe, that three kinds of phylacteries were in use among the Jews, one of which was fastened to the head, the second to the arm, and the third was fixed in the door-posts of their houses. Their primitive use was as memorials; but the secondary purpose for which they were worn, was as an amulet to drive away devils, and as an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace, denoting to all that the Jews were God's chosen people. The early Christians imitated the Jews in wearing phylacteries; but the custom having been denounced by several of the Fathers, and condemned by more than one Council of the Church, they abandoned them for beads, which served equally well to remind them of the proper season for prayer,—the principal use, according to the Rabbis, of the unjustly lauded, and, in process of time, unduly vituperated phylacteries.

never mayest thou expect to receive such another. To conclude what I have to say,—I wish all who are here present happiness and prosperity, which is my principal reason for having addressed these few words to you for your benefit, and for the service of our king and lord. God grant you, my sons, abundant tranquillity!" Amongst the many judgments with which God threatened to visit the Jews on account of their sins, the destruction of their city and temple, and their own subjugation to a foreign yoke, were always considered by them the most terrible; which, having for ages been the theme of the denunciation of their prophets, twice actually took place; first by the Babylonians, and lastly by the Romans. It cannot however be denied that even if they had not been foretold by prophetic inspiration, these events might not easily have been foreseen; since it was quite improbable that the Jews,—whose state, so small in extent, so incapable from its own resources of maintaining large armies, and situated so exactly in an angle between the vast monarchies of Assyria and Egypt, whose laws and institutions the Hebrew populace were perpetually *reviling*,—should have ever remained unmolested by their formidable neighbours, whose mutual jealousies, and the policy of Tyre, (which naturally looked to the adjoining land of Canaan for supplies independent of Egypt and Assyria,) were its best safeguard; although not likely to be a perpetual cause of Jewish independence, since those states were not exempt, nor could ever have been supposed to be exempt, from the common fate of empires, which are not doomed to be eternal. We have had therefore events foretold by the Hebrew prophets, which in themselves were extremely probable, and which *accordingly* afterwards came to pass. The destruction of the city of Jerusalem and the Temple, it need scarcely be observed, forms a memorable epoch in Jewish history; and, although it might not at first appear probable, that if a Jewish colony had founded, at a subsequent period, a city and temple in any other part of the globe, they would have been likely to believe, on the strength of ancient prophecies, that that city was likewise devoted by God to destruction,—still, when we consider the excess of Jewish fanaticism, this supposition is by no means inadmissible: and indeed the signs* which the Mexicans pretend preceded the conquest of their city by the Spaniards, so nearly resembling those declared by Josephus to have occurred at the destruction of Jerusalem, render it extremely probable that this was the case: whilst it is difficult to avoid assimilating the famous prophecy of Quecalcoatle concerning the destruction of the temple of Cholula, (which was speedily to follow his departure from that city,) and the mention of the coming of tribulations in the passage referred to in the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain,—to the prophetic denunciations of Christ against the city of Jerusalem and the Temple, as recorded in the following passage of the twenty-first chapter of the Gospel of Saint Luke: "And as some spake of the temple, how it was adorned with *goodly stones* and gifts, he said, As for these things which ye behold, the days will come in the which there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? and what *sign* will there be when these things come to pass? And he said, Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and the time draweth near: go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not by and by. Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and *great earthquakes* shall be in divers places, and *famines*, and pestilences; and fearful sights and *great signs* shall there be from heaven."—"And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in *Judæa* flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the *midst* of it *depart out*; and let not *them that are in the countries* enter thereinto. For *these* be the days of vengeance, that *all* things which are *written* may be fulfilled†. But woe unto them *that are with child*, and to them that give suck, in those days‡! for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into *all* nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be ful-

* The Mexicans resembled the Jews in believing that every great event must necessarily be preceded by its particular sign. This notion, which even the disciples seem to have imbibed, probably originated in the Hebrew doctrine of types.

† This advice of Christ, supposing it to have been acted upon by the Jews when they beheld Jerusalem devastated by the Roman arms, would itself have led to an immediate abandonment of their native soil, and to a voluntary national dispersion. This supposition, however, involves too great an improbability to be even for a moment admissible. It is however exceedingly deserving of remark, that there is no necessity for supposing that Christ's recommendation might not have been quite in accordance with the feelings and prejudices of the Jews of that age, who, in acting agreeably to it, would still have only followed the impulse of their own blind superstition. They are indeed the most likely people in the world to have been suddenly led away by a divine panic, and, yielding to the artifices of two such priests as Quecalcoatle and Totec, to have plunged into a real, to avoid an imaginary evil.

‡ The Tultecas seem to have had a tradition of this denunciation, and to have adopted in consequence the singular precautionary measure of separating themselves from their wives during the long period which their flight lasted.

filled. And there shall be *signs in the sun*, and *in the moon*, and *in the stars**; and *upon the earth distress of nations*, with *perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring;* men's hearts failing them for fear, and *for looking after*† those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man *coming in a cloud* with power and great glory. And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh. And he spake to them a parable; Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they now shoot forth, ye see and know of your own selves that summer is now nigh at hand. So likewise ye, when *ye see* these things come to pass, know *ye* that the kingdom of God is *nigh* at hand. Verily I say unto you, *This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled.* Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away." The calamities which the Jews suffered, as well during the siege of their city as after it was taken by the Romans, were undoubtedly great; yet Josephus is forced to admit that their own obstinacy, and the hatred which they manifested on all occasions for the religion of the Romans, had converted a generous foe into an implacable enemy. It does not, however, follow that history can present no parallel to the picture drawn by Josephus of Jewish suffering: since, without reverting to the fate of Tyre, Carthage, or of other cities, which, after sustaining long and memorable sieges, have been taken by storm and devoted by the conquerors to fire and the sword,—the following description, by Peter Martyr, of the final overthrow of the city of Mexico by the Spaniards, after a sanguinary and protracted siege of *seventy days* duration, carried on *by water* as well as by land, renders it extremely questionable whether the destruction of that city was not accompanied with as many evils calculated to afflict humanity, as that of Jerusalem. This description is contained in the eighth chapter of the above-mentioned author's fifth Ocean Decade, to which we have prefixed the English translation of the most material portion of it from the third volume of Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages:

" Of the casting our men out of the Laky City, Tenustitan, or by what means, after so great an overthrow, through the aid of the bordering enemies of the Tenustitans, they began to gather strength again, hath been sufficiently spoken: let us now therefore at one cast pass over to the neighbourhood of the lake, omitting mean actions. In a city of 8000 houses (but consisting of immeasurable suburbs, reaching eight leagues from Tascalteca,) called Tazcuco, Cortes with a mighty army settled his abode. The Tazcucane citizens, taught by the example of their neighbours, durst not deny him, lest they should be made a prey. Cortes had left shipwrights in Tascalteca, to make thirteen brigantines (as we mentioned before), while he by warring subdued the bordering enemies round about. As soon as he first settled his army in Tazcuco he commanded the joints of the brigantines to be brought, which were carried board by board, or piece by piece, upon the shoulders of the Tascaltecas and Guazuzingi; neither did they unwillingly undertake that labour and pains, so cruel is their hatred against the Tenustitans, that they account all travail and pains whatsoever delightful directed to the destruction of the Tenustitans. *Behold a thing not easy for the people of Rome to have done when their estate most flourished.* From Tazcuco to the lake runneth a small river, each bank whereof is fenced with houses standing together in a row, with orchards lying between them. In the mean season, while the joints of the brigantines were set together, and while the oars and all the flags were making, he commanded a trench to be cut from Tazcuco to the lake, for the space of three Italian miles, and four fathoms deep somewhere, most strongly fortified with their bulwarks, which might receive a river to carry the brigantines to the lake. And within the space of fifty days, with eight thousand continual pioneers of the men of that province, he finished the work. But when the trenches were ended, and the brigantines framed and set together, he burned and destroyed many cities both on the land and standing upon the lakes, whereby he was molested when he fled away: so that the Tenustitans durst not now peep out, nor join battle with our men in open field. The thirteen brigantines being launched in the lake by that admirable work of cutting of a trench, the Tenustitans saw their present ruin and destruction; yet forced by necessity they took courage. Understanding of the coming of the brigantines into the lake,

* The interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis informs us, (at page 150 of the sixth volume of this work,) that the Mexicans believed that the star Sitlal-choloha *smoked* some few years before the arrival of the Spaniards amongst them. So singular a belief probably originated in that prophecy of Joel to which Christ himself refers in the twenty-fifth verse of the twenty-first chapter of St. Luke.

† The Mexicans were extremely superstitious about all celestial phænomena; they were apprehensive of eclipses, and feared lest the moon should be darkened and the sun should be turned into blood. It deserves to be remarked that the same unreasonable fears prevailed amongst the Jews, whom they closely resembled, both in expecting the coming of great tribulations, and in believing that they would be preceded by signs in the heavens above and in the earth beneath. The typical ordinances of the Mosaic law appear to have led the Jews into the amazing absurdity of supposing that every great event *must* have its preceding sign.

a huge multitude of boats in an instant of time, with armed warriors, came speedily rowing to the brigantines; they say, that in a trice there were five thousand present, which also the citizens reported after the victory obtained. The boats coming towards them, by force of the ordnance planted in the prows and sides of the brigantines, were dispersed even as little clouds by fierce winds; so wandering and rowing in the open sea of the lake, they shrewdly molested and vexed the city with the brigantines. In a few days' space Cortes took away from the city their fresh river water, their conduits being torn asunder by Christopher Olit: and that no provision of victual might be brought from any place to them that were besieged, he compassed the city with three armies; with one from Tazcuco, by Astapalappa, which he destroyed utterly, because it was more mighty than the rest, and at that time the ancient seat of Mutezuma's brother. Cortes himself had the command thereof, with more than threescore thousand warriors, as they say; far many more than he desired, both for the hope of booty and liberty, came now flocking to him from all the provinces; so that Cortes himself kept the bridge which came from Astapalappa to the princely city, whereof mention was made before, and fighting by little and little, the enemy withdrawing themselves, by strong hand, and by force of the ordnance, and the horse before, and by the help and favour of the brigantines on the sides, he got the bridge as far as the castle, whereof we speak in the meeting of the king Muteczuma with our men, where we described that castle to be fortified with two towers, abutting upon two bridges which are joined upon the arches thereof. In that place Cortes pitched his camp, and by that means possessed the entrance of either bridge. On the contrary he commanded other camps to be placed for defence of another great bridge on the north, over which he gave the charge to Gonsalus Sandovalus, a soldier to execute justice, which the Spaniard called Alguazil: and over the third army, encamped on another side of the city, he committed the charge to Petrus Alvaradus. They say that those three armies consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers. So the miserable city, compassed on every side with enemies, endured extreme want of all things; and was no less wasted and consumed through the ambition of a few (whose greedy desire of sovereignty drew the unhappy people to that misery), than it was afflicted by the enemy. The people might easily have been persuaded to subject their neck unto our yoke, but that the king's sister's son, who usurped the kingdom, and the pride of his nobles withstood it. For seventy days together, both before and behind, it was continually vexed and molested with incursions and assaults. Within the streets of the city itself our men returning to the camp toward the evening, they write, that five hundred and sometimes a thousand were slain at every encounter: the more cruel the slaughter was, so much the more plentifully and daintily the Guazuzingi, Tascaltecanes, and the rest of the auxiliary provincials supped, who used to bury their enemies which fell in battle in their bellies; neither durst Cortes forbid it. They say but few of our men always were slain. Therefore both by the sword and famine the greater part of the citizens was consumed: our men, for the most part entering the city fighting, found heaps of dead men in the streets, who, as they said, died of hunger and thirst. They destroyed many of those excellent buildings when they thrust the enemies out. Cortes was once circumvented and surprised by the enemy upon one of the bridges, but was preserved by a certain familiar friend of his, called Franciscus Olea, who brandishing his sword against the enemy, cut off both his hands at one blow who pressed upon his master Cortes, having taken him; but with the unhappy destiny of the preserver, who (after he had given him his horse) was slain."

"De disjectis ex lacunari Tenustitana civitate nostris, quove pacto cum finitimorum Tenustitanis inimicorum auxiliis incœperint coalescere à tanta strage, dictum satis. Uno jactu ad lacunæ viciniam, mediis actibus prætermissis, transiliamus. In civitate millium domorum octo, sed quæ suburbiis constat immensis, ad lacunam usque protentis à Tascalteca leucas octodecim, nomine Tazcuco, cum exercitu numeroso pedem fixit Cortesius. Non ausi sunt cives Tazcucani detrectare, ne darentur in prædam exemplo vicinorum edocti. In Tascalteca construendarum navium magistros reliquerat Cortesius, qui dum ipse belligerendo circumvicina hostilia premeret, bergantinos, uti mentionem fecimus, componeret terdecim. Ubi primum in Tazcuco sedem exercitui dedit, afferri jussit bergantinorum composituras, quæ Tascaltecanorum et Guazuzingorum humeris tabulatim allatæ sunt, neque laborem illum inviti sumpserunt: atrox adeo est in Tenustitanos odium, ut pro deliciis habeant quoscunque labores ad Tenustitanorum perniciem directos. En rem *Romano populo*, quando illustrius res illorum vigebant, non facilem. Ex Tazcuco labitur in lacunam fluvius non ingens, cujus utraque ripa domibus, hortis interjacentibus, perpetuis fulta est. Interea dum bergantinorum construeretur compago, dum et remi et amplustre universum componerentur, fossam duci jussit ex Tazcuco ad lacunam spacio milliarium Italorum trium, staturarumque virilium quatuor profundam alicubi, suis lateralibus aggeribus munitissimam, in qua stagnare fluvius posset, ad bergantinorum devectum ad lacunam: quinquaginta dierum intervallo cum fossoribus perpetuis octo millibus provincialibus perfecit opus. Sed dum

utrumque unà et naves et fossa formarentur, plærasque civitates, tum terrestres, tum lacunares, à quibus fuerat aufugiens infestatus, delevit, et combussit: neque jam Tenustitani audebant prodire, ut aperto marte contenderent cum nostris. Terdecim bergantinis per admirandum opus illud deductæ fossæ in lacunam projectis, Tenustitani suam videre præsentaneam perniciem, ex necessitate tamen animos sumpserunt. Intellecto bergantinorum in lacunam accessu, parvo temporis intervallo convolavit ad bergantinos cum armatis bellatoribus ingens multitudo cymbarum, aiunt affuisse illico quinque millia, ex relatu civium, post habitam victoriam: accedentes cymbæ vi tormentorum quæ in proris et spondis bergantinorum erant locata, dispergebantur, veluti ab atrocibus ventis nubeculæ. Ita jam vagantibus, aperto lacunæ campo, bergantinis civitatem acriter infestarunt. Paucorum dierum spacio abstulit illi civitati Cortesius dulces aquas fluviales, aquæ ductibus discerptis per Christophorum de Olit, et ne ab ulla parte comeatus ullus ad obsessos duci quiret, tribus exercitibus civitatem circumsepsit: à Tazcuco uno, per Astapalappam, quam labefactavit ad unguem, eo quod esset cæteris potentior, et Muteczumæ fratris eo tempore regis antiqua sedes: huic ipse Cortesius præfuit cum sexaginta millibus bellatorum amplius, ut ipsi aiunt: ex omnibus namque jam provinciis multo plures quam ipse peteret, tum spe prædæ, tum libertatis, confluebant: pontem illum, de quo supra facta est mentio, ex Astapalappa directum ad civitatem regiam, occupavit Cortesius. Et paulatim pugnando retractis hostibus, tum lacertorum viribus, tum equorum ac tormentorum impetu à fronte, et à lateribus cum bergantinorum favore pontem adeptus est ad castellum usque, de quo diximus in occursu Muteczumæ regis cum nostris, ubi castellum illud descripsimus turribus duabus fultum, duos pontes amplectens, qui sub illius fornicibus junguntur. In eo loco castra posuit Cortesius et utriusque pontis fauces ea via possidebat. E contra locari jussit alia castra in tutelam alterius magni pontis à septentrione, cui præfecit Gonsalum Sandovalum justitiæ exequendæ militem, quem dicit Hispanus alguazilum. Exercitui tertio ad latus aliud civitatis posito præfecit Petrum Alvaradum. Aiunt tres illos exercitus *centum viginti millium* constare bellatoribus. Ita undique vallata hostibus misera civitas, laborat extrema egestate rerum omnium: nec minus paucorum ambitione conteritur (quorum aviditas imperii traxit ad eam calamitatem infelicem populum) quàm ab hostibus torqueatur. Subjiceret nostro jugo colla populus facili suasu, ni regis nepos ex sorore usurpator imperii et ipsius procerum elatio animorum obstaret. *Septuaginta* continuis diebus est ab omnibus lateribus à tergo et à fronte infestata. Intra civitatis ipsius vias, redeuntibus nostris ad vesperam in castra, quingentos, *mille interdum*, et eo amplius, scribunt quoque congressu fuisse interemptos: quo strages erat crudelior, eo magis copiose ac opipare cœnabant Guazuzingi et Tascaltecani cæterique provinciales auxiliarii, qui soliti sunt hostes in prœlio cadentes intra suos ventres sepelire: nec vetare *ausus fuisset* Cortesius. E nostris paucos aiunt semper periisse. Ergo tum gladio, tum rerum penuria consumpta est civium pars major: mortuorum acervos plerumque in viis nostri civitatem pugnando ingredientes, reperiebant, quos fame sitique dicebant exhalasse animas. Ex egregiis domibus multas diruerunt passim, quando hostes detrudebant. Fuit semel Cortesius in uno pontium ab hostibus circumventus et captus, à familiare quodam suo, nomine Francisco Olea, qui ense vibrato in hostes ambas abscidit uno ictu gladii ejus manus, qui herum Cortesium præhensum premebat, servatus est: sed iniquo servatoris fato, qui occubuit equo præbito. Renunciatum est jam tandem nostris, quanam in parte cum necessariis et principibus lateret rex. Re cognita, Cortesius cum bergantinis, cymbarum classiculam ab exploratoribus patefactam, qua rex vagabatur in quibusdam abditis lacunæ angulis, adoritur capitque omnes. In Cortesii potestatem adductus rex, pugione, quo erat Cortesius accinctus, contacto ait, en ferrum quo me potes et debes jugulare, quod in me fuit peregi, exosum et molestum mihi jam erit vivere. Solatus est eum Cortesius, quod magnanimo regi conveniat, ipsum fecisse, dixit. Secum tamen eum duxit in continentem, subque fida custodia servandum suis tradidit. His actis debellata civitate tanta, fereque discerpto illius populo, nationes omnes illas Cæsareo subdidit jugo. Ad me venerunt duo viri ex his quos fidalgos dicit Hispania, qui fuerunt rerum omnium non exigua pars, tum in percurrendis provinciarum arcanis, tum in omnibus certaminibus, nomine Diecus Ordasius unus, Benevides alter. Aiunt ad suum arbitrium *creasse Cortesium in Tenustitana regem*, è regio sanguine ortum, jussisseque ibi pedem figere, quo civitas populi frequentia denudata sub regis umbra resarciatur, aliter enim deserta penitus et inculta tanta moles permansisset. Ipse vero statuit per nuncios novas alias terras perquirere, impatiens ocii. Erant in prospectu ad austrum alti montes, quid trans illos jaceat vestigari jubet: mare aliud ad eorum montium australia jacere latera, renunciatum est, uti scripsi in decadibus de mari australi ex Dariene à Vasco Nuñez patefacto. Sex illic esse civitates, quarum minorem aiunt esse Valledoleto nostro celebri municipio multo majorem: quarum una dicitur Teph, Mechuacan alia, Guaxaca tertia, quarta Fuesco, Tequantepech quinta, sextæ non dant nomen: scribitur in epistola particulari extra volumen rerum Tenustitanarum,

in mari australi intellexisse non distare ab illo littore insulas aromatum et auri ac gemmarum altrices. Quæ vero in lacunis et lacunarum marginibus urbes jacent, his nominibus nuncupantur: Saltucar, Tenauica, Tenustitan, Scapuzalco, Tacuba, Chapultepech, Culuacan duplex, Guichilobusco, Suchimilco, Quitagua, Astapalappa, Mesechiche, Coluacan, Tezcuco. E duobus iis Benevides de recenti rediit è sociis duarum navium à Cortesio missarum unus. In illis vehunt à Cortesio missa dona quæ preciosiora elegantioraque multo esse aiunt, quam advecta et à sua Cæsarea Majestate *asportata*, quo anno ex Hispania profecta est ad Belgas, à *tua Beatitudine conspecta:* circiter ducentum millium ducatorum precio æstimant opes illas, sed nondum ad nos venerunt illæ naves. In insulis Cassiteridibus, dictis à Portugalensibus earum dominis, *de los Azores*, fixere pedem, ne ad Gallorum pyratarum manus deveniant, uti anno superiore altera ex Hispaniola et Cuba veniens cum auri pondere duorum et septuaginta millium ducatorum, librarum autem octuncialium unionum preciosorum sexcentarum, et cum duobus millibus rubis saccari, est rubus ab Hispanis dictus *arroba*, quinque ac viginti librarum sextuncialium. Multa præterea particulariter multi ferebant: quæ omnia in prædam pyraticam ierunt. Missa est armata classis quæ duas illas ex Cassiteridibus tuto adducat. Quo tempore hoc scribo nondum sunt advectæ. Trahebant illæ naves, uti Benevides inquit, tres tygres à parvulis educatas in singulis caveis, proceribus tignis compactis, in una navium duas, in altera tertiam: in ea qua duæ ferebantur ex concussu navis à tempestatibus, è cavearum una parumper discussa est, ita ut tygridi iter fecerit ad exitum. Non minus rabida transilivit per navim noctu evadens tygris, ac si nunquam hominem quemquam conspexisset: furit utrobique, septem viros labefecit, raptavit uni lacertum, crus alteri, alii humeros, duos peremit, ex navis malo unum fugientem insiliens præhendit: semimortuus à sociis adjutus non periit: cum hastis, ensibus, et omnis generis telorum quicunque inerant accurrunt, multis vulneribus confectam in mare desilire coegerunt: sociam, ne idem accideret, in ipsa cavea trucidarunt. Alterius navis tertiam ait Benevides adduci. Est in illorum montium nemoribus tygrium et leonum ferorumque animalium aliorum multitudo. Quibus alantur cibis interrogatus, cervis ait, capreolis, damis, leporibusque ac cuniculis, multisque aliis mitibus animalibus, quæ ibi nutriuntur. Navium illarum permansere custodes duo viri è ducibus bellorum in illis terris: Alfonsus Avila et Antonius Quignonus: hi partem regi donatam à populo ferunt præbendam: Cortesii vero partem curat Ioannes Ribera, ipsius Cortesii secretarius, et laborum omnium comes ab initio: ex nostri regii senatus Indici consilio Cæsar Cortesio Novæ Hispaniæ ab eo ita nuncupatæ gubernationem comprobavit. Diecus vero Velazquez à magistratu Cubæ aut est abdicatus aut circiter, quia non rite fecisse in mittendis contra Cortesium copiis, prohibente Hispaniolæ senatu, decretum est. De recenti allatum est Gallorum pyratarum visas fuisse in oceano pererrantes naves quindecim, sub spe habendarum et istarum navium, uti aliam apprehenderunt. Sed in Affricam fuisse tempestatibus transportatas, summersasque plærasque.

Note XXXVII. Page 351.

Amongst the most remarkable passages of Scripture which admit of a double interpretation, and which may be understood either in an historical or prophetical sense, may be reckoned the famous prediction of Isaiah, referred to by Saint Matthew in the twenty-third verse of the first chapter of his Gospel, as precisely that upon which hangs all the law and the prophets: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign: Behold, *a virgin shall conceive* and bear a son, and shall call his name *Emmanuel*: butter and honey *shall be eat*, that he may know *to refuse the evil* and choose the good; for *before* the child *shall know* to refuse the evil, the land that thou *abhorrest* shall be forsaken of *both* her kings." It is scarcely necessary to remark that this passage is understood *prophetically* to allude to the coming of the Messiah, to his being born of a virgin, and to the sceptre's not departing from Judah till Shiloh came*.

* Christ's speech to the Pharisees, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," might induce some persons to doubt whether he acknowledged Cæsar or Herod to be king of the Jews, were it not that the prophecy of Jacob, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, *nor a lawgiver from between his feet*, until Shiloh come," required that Herod (who was not of the tribe of Judah, *nor even descended from Jacob*) should be a king, at least in name,—although it may at the same time be asked, What attributes of sovereignty belonged to the Jews in the age of Christ, whose state was styled a tetrarchy, and *not a monarchy*, by the Romans, whose ruler was not even allowed to have his own image and superscription inscribed on the coin of the realm, and whose *tribunals of justice* did not possess the power of life and death, as we learn from the reply of the Jews to Pontius Pilate, the Roman *governor*, in the thirty-first verse of the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John: "Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him and judge him according to *your* law: the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful *for us* to put any man to death."

Its *historical* signification is however so obvious, that the Jews maintain that it *can* only be interpreted in an historical sense, contending, with much show of fair reasoning, that since Ahaz king of Judah had been commanded by God to ask a sign from him of his *speedy* deliverance from the invading armies of the two kings, Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, it would be absurd to suppose that the sign given would be posterior by seven hundred and forty years to the event which it was intended to *foreshow,* and therefore that the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz, whom the prophetess bore to the prophet Isaiah, must have been the sign promised by the Lord to Ahaz, and so declared to be in the following passage of the eighth chapter of Isaiah, whose apology, except on this supposition, it would be difficult to plead, for so ostentatiously recording that a virgin prophetess had borne him a son. "Moreover, *the Lord said unto me,* Take thee a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz. And I took unto me *faithful witnesses to record;* Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare a son. Then *said the Lord to me,* Call *his* name Maher-shalal-hash-baz. For *before* the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father, and My mother, the riches *of Damascus* and the spoil *of Samaria* shall be taken away before the king of Assyria." The *leading* event of this prophecy was accordingly fulfilled to the letter. But if more were required to prove that the prophecy of Isaiah related to the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz, it would be found in the *literal* accomplishment of all the *other* events included in the same prediction; since, before it was possible for the child to know good from evil, Rezin king of Syria *had* raised the siege of Jerusalem, Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria *had* carried off the riches of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, after having been stripped of a considerable portion of his territory of Samaria by the Assyrians, *was* assassinated by Hoshea his successor on the throne, in the fourth year of the reign of Ahaz king of Judah, exactly twenty years after the commencement of the reign of Jotham, the father of Ahaz, whom the latter succeeded on the throne. These important historical facts are recorded in the following passages of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the Second Book of Kings, in the latter of which we recognise the Mexican style of salutation employed by kings towards each other when the inferior in dignity solicited the favour or deprecated the displeasure of him who filled the more powerful throne. "In the two-and-fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah, Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned twenty years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, *all the land of Naphtali,* and carried them captive to Assyria. And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, *and slew him,* and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah." "Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day. So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, *I am thy servant and thy son:* come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and *took it,* and carried the people of it captive to Kir, *and slew Rezin.*"—Having noticed the direct evidence in favour of what may be termed the *historical* accomplishment of Isaiah's prophecy, we come to the collateral proofs that that prophecy ought to be understood in an historical sense, than which none could possibly be more conclusive; since God having declared to Ahaz, in the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Isaiah, that he would give *him* a sign, and that the sign should be *a virgin's conceiving a son,* who was to be named Emmanuel, we are informed by Isaiah himself, in the very next chapter, that he and *his children* were for *signs* and wonders in Israel: "Behold, I and the children whom *the Lord hath given me* are for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion." The youngest of his children, it should be remarked, was Maher-shalal-hash-baz, whom the prophetess had borne to him, and whose name, signifying in Hebrew, 'in making speed to the spoil he hasteneth the prey,' plainly alluded to the fulfilment of the prediction, that before he should be able to pronounce the word Father or Mother the riches of Damascus and Samaria would become the spoil of the king of Assyria. The name of the other child was Shear-jashub, whose name, meaning 'the remnant shall return,' was likewise typical, and intended to show that he would be a sign of the return of the remnant

of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, as foretold in the thirteenth verse of the sixth chapter of Isaiah. The Septuagint translation of the prophecy of Isaiah, which materially differs from the corresponding passage in the Hebrew Bible, increases also the difficulty of understanding that prediction in its usual acceptation, or otherwise than as referring to the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz; since immediately after the declaration, "ἰδου, ἡ παρθενος ἐν γαστρι ληψεται και τεξεται υἱον," "behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son," comes the injunction of God, "και καλεσεις το ὀνομα ἀυτου Ἐμμανουηλ," "and *you* shall call his name Emmanuel;" which could neither have referred to the Virgin Mary nor to the Jews in the age of Christ, but was evidently an intimation from Isaiah to Ahaz (who here speaks in the name of God, as was usual with the Jewish prophets,) concerning his son Mahar-shalal-hash-baz, who, if he be not named in Scripture Emmanuel,—except perhaps in a solitary instance in the eighth verse of the eighth chapter of Isaiah, where the prophet may be supposed prospectively to address his son, when pronouncing against the Jews the evils which they would suffer from the Assyrian invasion,—might still have been *commonly* so named by his countrymen, although it is not so recorded in the Old Testament. Those, at least, who may choose to object to this supposition, as not having the perfect warrant of Scripture, will do well to recollect that Christ is nowhere named Emmanuel in the New Testament, although St. Matthew declares, in the twenty-third verse of the first chapter of his Gospel, that that appellation was to be one of the *signs* of the future Messiah; and it is therefore absolutely necessary for Christians to believe that he was *commonly* so named by the Jews, although it is not so recorded in the Gospels, since otherwise the prophecies would not appear to have been fulfilled. A most important variation in the Greek and Hebrew reading of Isaiah's celebrated prophecy occurs in that portion of it which is translated in the English version of the Bible, "For before the child *shall know* to refuse *the evil* and choose *the good*, the land that thou *abhorrest* shall be forsaken of both *her* kings," but which is rendered in the Septuagint, "Διοτι πριν γνωναι το παιδιον ἀγαθον ἡ κακον, ἀπειθει πονηρια, ἐκλεξασθαι το ἀγαθον· και καταλειφθησεται ἡ γη ἡν συ φοβῃ, ἀπο προσωπου των δυο βασιλεων." This variation has greatly perplexed many learned men; but without inquiring into the reasons of it, we shall merely observe, that if the advent of the Messiah was here foretold, and the child alluded to was Christ, the prediction that he should remain, at least for some short period after his birth, ignorant of moral good and evil, appears very strange, and scarcely reconcileable with the notion of his being the Son of God and coequal with the Deity. We shall only further remark, that the substitution of *abhorrest* for the corresponding Greek term φοβῃ, 'fearest,' and the insertion of the pronoun possessive *her* before the word "kings," make a great change in the meaning and the application of this prophecy, which simply signified that before Maher-shalal-hash-baz should be old enough to know right from wrong, or to pronounce the word Father or Mother, the land of Judah, for which *Ahaz* its king *feared*, should be forsaken by Pekah and Rezin, the two invading kings of Syria and Israel. Upon the grammatical construction of the sentence ἡ γη ἡν συ φοβῃ, which supposes an ellipsis of the preposition δια before ἡν, it is unnecessary to offer any remarks; but it may be proper to observe, that the motive which appears to have actuated those who so completely changed the obviously correct reading of the Greek text of the Septuagint, was, that the prophecy of Jacob, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come," should seem to have been *present* to the mind of Isaiah when he uttered his later prediction, since *the land* which God is said in Scripture to have *abhorred* for its iniquities, was that which, by an onomatopœia of the nature of *lucus a non lucendo*, was named the Holy Land; and that the words "both *her* kings" might seem to allude to the two royal houses of Judah and Samaria, whose kings forsook their dominions and followed in the train of a compulsory captivity the wretched bands of their own countrymen ages *before* the Christian æra: but even if it be admitted that in the two last-cited instances of variation between the Greek and Hebrew reading of the concluding portion of Isaiah's prophecy, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," &c., the Hebrew exhibits the correct reading, other difficulties will have to be encountered, other apparent contradictions to be reconciled, before either the Greek or Hebrew reading of this famous prophecy will harmonize with ALL the events presupposed to be comprised in its declared accomplishment in the age of Christ. The magnitude of the difficulties alluded to being duly considered, the further remark,—that the prophecy, "Butter and honey shall he eat, *that* he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good," can scarcely be supposed to refer to the Messiah, because inapplicable to the second person of the Trinity,—will appear needless, it being obvious that that prediction must refer to Maher-shalal-hash-baz; and *consequently* that its accomplishment is nowhere mentioned in the New Testament. But still it might be argued, even on other grounds, that this obscure prediction is more likely to have related to Maher-shalal-hash-baz than to the Messiah, *and to the age of Isaiah than the Christian æra*; for if we ascribe no greater

efficacy to butter and honey than that of being a very nutritious diet, and one calculated to promote the growth of an infant, and so to hasten the development of its *reasoning* faculties,—which every physician admits depends in a great measure on the health and constitution of the child,—it may be presumed that to feed the infant with butter and honey was the means resorted to by the parents of Maher-shalal-hash-baz to attain that desirable end, and *therefore* that it was foretold that he, whilst a child, should eat butter and honey; but that the accomplishment of the prophecy was not of *sufficient importance* to be particularly recorded in Scripture, which it certainly would have been if to eat butter and honey during infancy had been one of the *signs* prophesied by Isaiah of the future Messiah, who, on the supposition that he was born without the use of reason, would have wanted that sign of an incarnate deity, which the Mexicans claim for Quecalcoatle, and the people of Thibet for the Grand Lama. The Septuagint version of this remarkable passage,—the text of which, where the prophecies relating to the Messiah are concerned, is declared by Eusebius to be so much less corrupt than that of the Hebrew Bible, for the simple reason that the Jews and schismatic Christians of the early ages found it easier to interpolate* the Hebrew than the Greek copies of Scripture, because the former language was so little known,—admits another very probable explanation, rendering much more intelligible the application of the prophecy, "Butter and honey shall he eat," which proceeds on the supposition, that in the same manner as Isaiah is recorded, in the second verse of the twentieth chapter of his Prophecies, to have loosed the sackcloth from off *his loins* and walked naked, as *a sign* upon Egypt and Ethiopia,—indicating that the people of those two states would be stripped by the Assyrians, not only of their wealth, but even of those garments which decency absolutely required they should wear,—so he might have caused his infant son Maher-shalal-hash-baz to eat butter and honey as a sign of the great depopulation which before he should attain the age of reason would befall the land of Syria and Samaria, in consequence of a considerable portion of their respective territories being spoiled by Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and of the abundance of butter and milk which would be found in the waste pastures. The passage of Isaiah which, reasoning by analogy, favours this conclusion, is the following: "In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the *feet;* and it shall also consume the beard. And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow and two sheep; and it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give, that *he* shall eat butter; *for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the land.* And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place shall be, where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings, it shall even be for briars and thorns. With arrows and with bows shall men come thither; because all the land shall become briars and thorns. And on all hills that shall be digged with the mattock † there shall not come thither

* The variations in the reading of the Greek and Hebrew Bible occur in the most important passages of Scripture; and whilst the testimony of Eusebius, the authority of the primitive church, and the passages quoted literally in the New Testament from the Septuagint which are nowhere to be found in the Hebrew Bible, are quite conclusive in favour of the authenticity of the former version, our surprise is produced in no small degree by finding that it is in the Hebrew Bible chiefly that any passages occur which invest the Messiah with a divine character, or allude to his being the Son of God; and that Protestant writers, such as Basnage, who set up the Hebrew Bible against the version of the Scriptures authorized, until the period of the Reformation, by the Church of Rome, should still maintain that the Jews at no period of their history expected the coming of a Divine Messiah; as if that fact alone would not make those passages extremely suspicious, and serve fully to confirm what Eusebius says of the Hebrew Bible being extremely corrupt in his age,—for that is the meaning of the phrase ἀτοπιαν employed by that author,—although he does not explain what motive could have induced the Jews, who he supposes corrupted the Hebrew text from hatred to Christianity, to insert in it whole passages favourable to the particular tenets of Christians which nowhere occur in the Septuagint; one example of which out of many we shall quote here, from the twelfth verse of the second Psalm, where, for the Septuagint reading δραξασθε παιδειας, which signifies simply 'grasp instruction,' is substituted in the Hebrew Bible '*kiss the Son,*' in allusion to the doctrine of the Trinity. We have already observed that the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint are in open collision in the ninth chapter of Isaiah, which chapter, if the events narrated in the preceding one be duly considered, would in the latter version seem solely to refer to the evils which God averted from Ahaz and brought upon the Israelites, and to the birth of Hezekiah, who succeeded Ahaz on the throne of Judah.

† The Mexicans were accustomed to use a wooden hand-spade or mattock in the cultivation of their fields, which instrument was sometimes pointed with flint or an extremely hard stone of the colour of jet. Yxtlilxochitl says their ancestors were acquainted with iron; and Oviedo in quoting in the second part of his unpublished History of America a passage of Don Antonio de Mendoza's narrative, published at Venice, leaves it doubtful whether that first viceroy of Mexico did not believe that the ancestors of the Mexicans wore iron as well as gold armour. If the latter part of the assertion should give a colouring of improbability to the whole story, it will be proper to recollect that gilt copper would exactly resemble gold, and that the viceroy of Mexico only relates the traditions of the people of some of the provinces of New Spain respecting the origin of the Mexicans. It cannot be doubted, that the manufacture of copper had been

the fears of briars and thorns; but it shall be *for the sending forth of oxen and for the treading of lesser cattle.*" We must here remark, that the Septuagint reading of the fifteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Isaiah substitutes the particle πριν for the word denoting in the corresponding Hebrew passage the final cause, which is usually expressed in Greek by the particle ινα, so that "βουτυρον και μελι φαγεται πριν γνωναι αὐτον ἡ προελεσθαι πονηρα, ἐκλεξασθαι το ἀγαθον" may be translated, "Butter and honey shall he eat *before* he knows how to exercise his judgment about evil things so as to choose the good:" although some persons may entertain doubts whether there is not an omission of ἡ rather than an

carried to great perfection both in Peru and Mexico, where it perhaps might have superseded the use of iron, on account of its greater ductility, and the difficulty of separating the former metal from its ore. The Peruvians were accustomed to gild copper, and had likewise the art of giving it an extremely hard temper. A gilt copper axe is in my possession which was discovered not long ago in a tomb in Peru, the gilding of which can scarcely be said to be at all injured by time. The Indians of New Spain were likewise acquainted with tin, as we are informed by Yxtlilxochitl, who says that tin money in the form of a cross was current in some of the provinces, although the general currency consisted of the nuts of the cacao, a shrub which grew only in a few provinces, and the culture of which required extreme care. They also employed gold dust in tubes, and cotton mantles, as a medium of exchange; and Ulloa informs us, at page 380 of his Noticias Americanas, that the ancient Peruvians used scales to weigh gold and silver, which was a Hebrew custom, as we learn from the twelfth verse of the eleventh chapter of Zechariah, and from other passages of Scripture. He adds, that these scales are still occasionally found in the Peruvian tombs, and gives the following description of them. "En las piezas de antiguedad se encuentran balanzas pequeñas, cuyos platos son de plata, y lo mismo la barretilla por donde se suspende; e aquellos no son llanos, sino rematando en punta al modo *de conos al reves.* Estas por el tamaño parece que les servian para pesar cosa de oro ó plata, porque para las de otro volumen no son suficientes."—Having made mention of the skill of the Peruvians in improving the qualities of native copper, and giving it an extremely hard temper by a process which a celebrated French chemist, who analysed a copper axe that had been brought from Peru, considers a great secret, we may observe that from the mention which is made, in the twenty-seventh verse of the eighth chapter of Ezra, of vessels of fine copper *precious as gold,* it would appear that the Jews at a very early period of their history were acquainted with various kinds of copper, and perhaps excelled in the manufacture of that metal; since it is probable that from the age of Bezaleel and Aholiab to that of the destruction of Jerusalem, they never wanted cunning men "to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and *in cutting of stones,*" or, as the Mexicans would have expressed themselves, were *never without some great Tultecas.* It has been observed with truth, that in those arts which the Greeks termed βαναυσοι, (or *vile,*) the Jews excelled, but science they ever disregarded; to which cause may be ascribed the loss of the philosophical works of Solomon, of which the Bible makes express mention. The proficiency which the Mexicans, Peruvians, and other Indian tribes had attained in the art of working in metals, cutting and setting of gems, as well as in fabricating all kinds of cloth, does appear to furnish a strong argument in favour of the Jews having colonized America, and transplanted thither the arts which they held in the greatest esteem. A passage in one of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament warrants the supposition that a furnace and tube or blow-pipe applied to the mouth were used by the Hebrew as well as the Mexican goldsmiths in the operations of their art. We subjoin the following extract from Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, because it contains a curious disquisition upon the nature of the metal to which the Jews gave the name of חשמל, which is translated in the Septuagint ἠλεκτρον, which has been supposed by some to be Corinthian brass, but which is generally thought to have been copper alloyed with silver or gold, such as was once common amongst the Peruvians:—"חשמל occurs Ezek. i. 4, 27, and fem. חשמלה occurs Ezek. viii. 2. The LXX rendered it throughout ἠλεκτρον, as Theodotion also does in Ezek. viii. 2. Now ἠλεκτρον signifies, 1. amber. 2. a mixed metal of gold and silver, whether natural or factitious. 3. crystal. From the LXX version of Ezek. i. 4, *Και εν τῳ μεσῳ αὐτου ὡς ὁρασις ἠλεκτρου ἐν μεσῳ του πυρος,* 'And in the midst of it (the whirlwind) as the appearance of *electrum* in the midst of the fire,' it appears that those translators by ἠλεκτρον could not mean either amber or crystal; the former of which grows dim as soon as it feels the fire, and shortly dissolves into a resinous or pitchy substance; the latter is scarcely ever put into a fire, and if it were, could hardly contract anything from it but soot and dimness: it remains then that by ἠλεκτρον in Ezekiel, the LXX meant the mixed metal above mentioned, which is much celebrated by the ancients for its beautiful lustre, and which, when exposed to the fire, does, like other metals, grow more bright and shining. And by rendering חשמל ἠλεκτρον, the LXX appear to have come very near its true meaning; for as Ezekiel prophesied among the Chaldeans[1], after King Jehoiachin's captivity, so here, as in other instances, he seems to have used a Chaldee word; and considered as such, חשמל may be derived from נחש 'copper' (dropping the initial נ), and Chald. מלל 'gold, as it comes from the mine,' and so denote either a metal mixed of copper and gold, such as the æs pyropum mentioned in the ancient Greek and Roman writers, and thus called from its fiery colour, and the noted æs corinthium 'corinthian brass'; or else חשמל may signify χαλκος χρυσοειδης 'a fine kind of copper', such as Aristotle in Mirab. says was in colour and appearance not distinguishable from gold, and of which it is probable the cups of Darius, mentioned by the same author, and *the two vessels of fine copper,* ('yellow or shining brass', in the margin,) precious as gold, of which we read Ezra viii. 27, were made. See more on this subject in the learned Bochart, vol. iii. 871, &c. to whom I am indebted for the explanation of this word. Scheuchzer, who of the various interpretations of חשמל prefers that last mentioned, adds, that this kind of fine copper is still known in the East Indies by the name of Suassa, that it is used for making rings and cups for great men, and composed of equal parts of gold and of the reddest copper. Comp. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 490."

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[1] See Ezek. i. 2. Prideaux Connect. vol. i. anno 594, p. 74, and anno 484, p. 89, 1st edit. 8vo.

ellipsis of ὡστε before the verb ἐκλεξασθαι. The sixth verse of the eighth chapter of Isaiah,—where that prophet, speaking of the Jews, declares, "Forasmuch as this people refuseth *the waters of Shiloah* that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son,"—has induced some of the Rabbis to contend, in opposition to the sentiments of Christian writers, that by "the refusal of the waters of Shiloah" is meant the refusal of Shiloh by the Jews: they pretend that the Messiah is here typically alluded to, and endeavour to gloss over the absurdity of the supposition, by referring to the metaphor of the "waters of the river," an expression used in the next verse, by which is signified the king of Assyria; and they quote various passages from the New Testament, where Christ is named "a river of water," in confirmation of their opinion. It is an old and equally true remark, that the Rabbis never scruple, when it suits their purpose, to attempt to find proofs of the inspiration of the Old in the New Testament, to appeal to the authority of the latter book; and they cunningly pretend that from it may be collected the vulgar notions which their countrymen entertained in early ages respecting the coming of the Messiah, whilst they blasphemously assert that the evangelists incorporated those notions into the four Gospels, and bestowed upon them the common appellation of The History of Christ.—Having pointed out at sufficient length the discrepancies between the Greek and Hebrew reading of Isaiah's prophecy, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," &c., we may be permitted to observe, in reference to the sign itself, that it was the very reverse of that given to king Hezekiah, which from its nature must have been known to all mankind, since all mankind must have been conscious of the sun having gone ten degrees backward on the dial of Ahaz; and none could have known that a virgin had conceived, except indeed the virgin herself, which, if faith be the evidence of things not seen, cannot be said to have been an outward and visible sign; although this does not render it less surprising that the sign itself of a virgin having conceived should have been known throughout the continent of America, and have been interwoven with as many legendary fables as the imagination of the Polynesian islanders would be likely to invent if the missionaries should relax their exertions for the short period of half a century. It may be proper however to adduce proof of a fact which to some will appear almost incredible, or even unworthy of serious attention: Oviedo, in the eleventh chapter of the fourth book of an inedited portion of his History of the Indies, thus notices the existence of a tradition amongst the people of Nicaragua, of a virgin having conceived, which, if the probable derivation of the proper name Bilahe from Bacab be taken into consideration, would seem to be allied to the famous tradition current in Yucatan, and noticed at page 161 of the sixth volume of this work. "Como he dicho en aquestas diversidades de lenguas que ay en esta governacion, de necesidad demas de diferir en los vocablos, asi en los ritos ay diferencias. En Matriaca llaman á Dios Tipotan, y dicen que ubo un hombre e una muger del qual todos los mortales ubieron principio, que al hombre llaman Nembrita, e á la muger Nenguitamali: á Dios llaman los de Nicaragua Thomathoyo que quiere decir gran Dios, *e dicen que aquel tubo un hijo que estubo aca abajo*, e le llaman *Teot Bilahe*: á los angeles pequeños, quiere decir, que se llaman Tamachaz e Tarazcazcati, e Tamacaztobal son los principales angeles del cielo: ansi lo dicen estos Indios, e dicen que el angel es criatura del cielo, *e que vuelan e tienen alas*, e otras muchas vanidades dicen, *que nunca se acavarian de escrivir, si del todo se dijese lo que ellos platican, e por lo menos son conformes*. Que esta gente barbarisima e indocta sea idolatra, no me maravillo, pues que *los Iudios* hizieron aquel *bezerro de oro* en memoria de Apis dios de los Egipcios: que tengan los Indios idolos e ymagines de piedra, e de palo, e de barro, las quales yo he visto, tampoco me maravillo, pues se escrive, que Pedro Motheo fue el primero que hizo ymagines de hombres de barro. Los Hebreos tomaron *á Baal* por su dios, e hizieron con el *pleytesia* de lo tener *siempre por dios*, e olvidaron á Dios verdadero su Señor, que los havia librado de sus enemigos, como ingratos desconocidos. Asi mismo sabemos que los Iudios adoraron el sol, e la luna, e estrellas como la Sagrada Escriptura mas largamente lo acuerda con otros sus errores; e pues aquellos, á quien *tantos favores*, e tan señaladas mercedes hizo, *tales fueron*, no me parece que estotros Indios bestiales son tan dignos de culpa, ni dejo de creer, *que los unos e los otros dejan de ser dignos de la eterna condenacion*." The learned Abbe Gilii declares in the following passage of the second chapter of the third volume of his Saggio di Storia Americana, that the Maipuris, an Indian tribe dwelling on the banks of the Oronoco, believed that the virgin Tapanimarru had borne a son to their god Purrunaminari; and he also asserts that the Salivas, another tribe, believed that their god Purru had had a son, and affirmed that that son descended from heaven to overcome the devil, who in the form of a serpent persecuted the Indians of the Oronoco. "Dicono i Maipuri, che Purrunaminari facesse l'uomo, e ne raccontano la maniera, come dipoi soggiugneremo. Gli attribuiscono un figlio nomato Sisiri; e sentendo da me nominare Gesucristo figliuolo vero di Dio, per la similitudine del nome pareva loro quel desso. Sisiri, dicon essi, fù figlio di una donna immortale chiamata Tapanimarru, la qual era bellissima, e vergine. Invogliossene Purrunaminari; e questo

solo desiderio senza che neppur la toccasse, fu bastevole a fare che divenisse madre di Sisiri. In questo racconto vi si veggono delle verita, che non han bisogno a chiosarsi della mia penna. I Salivi sono un' antica nazione, e stette fra loro il Gumilla. Or questi conobbero l'Esser supremo sotto il nome di Puru. Il figlio di lui (ecco ciò, che ne dicono) infestando le Orinochesi contrade un serpente, venne giù dal cielo per amazzarlo. L'uccise in fatti; e allora, contenti già gli Orinochesi, disse Puru al demonio: vanne maledetto all' inferno: tu non rientrerai mai più nella mia casa. Quì pure appariscono tracce più che chiare della Cristiana religione." The above account of the immaculate conception of Sisiri by the virgin Tapanimarru deserves to be compared with the Mexican tradition of the Virgin of Tula having conceived a son by the breath of the god Tonacatecutli: whilst the story of his triumph over the serpent would seem to refer to God's malediction against the serpent, in the fifteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis; or to the Jewish expectation that the Messiah would slay the dragon of the sea; either of which events may be alluded to in the ninety-sixth page of the Lesser Vatican MS., as we have already observed in the note subjoined to page 108 of the sixth volume of this work. The belief of the Salivas, that the son of their supreme deity had descended from heaven to rid the earth of a serpent, is noticed by Gumilla in the following passage of the sixth chapter of his Orinoco Illustrado. "Pero yà que ellos no saben de su origen, la nacion Saliva y Achagua se le ha buscado y averiguado à su necio modo y no sin propriedad. Dicen los Salivas, que el Puru (de quien despues hablaremos) embiò à su hijo desde el cielo *à matar una serpiente horrible,* que destruia y devoraba las gentes del Orinoco y que realmente el hijo del Puru venciò y matò à la serpiente con gran jubilo y alegria de todas aquellas naciones, y que entonces Puru dixo al demonio: vete al infierno, maldito, que no entraràs en *mi casa* jamàs: note el curioso en esta tradicion una confusa idea *de la redempcion del genero humano.* Y añaden que aquel consuelo les durò poco, porque luego que se pudriò la serpiente, se formaron en sus entrañas unos gusanos tremendos, y que de cada gusano salio finalmente un Indio Caribe con su muger; y que como la culebra ò serpiente fuè tan sangrienta enemiga de todas aquellas naciones, por esso los Caribes, hijos de ella eran bravos, inhumanos, y crueles." We shall merely observe in reference to the passage last quoted, that the speech of the son of Puru to the devil, '*vete al infierno,*' &c. resembles that which the natives of Quauhtemallan believed that their incarnate god Exbalanquen addressed to the king of hell, after having descended thither and vanquished him; and that the latter fable seems to be connected with the tradition contained in one of the Apocryphal Gospels, of the Messiah having descended into hell and compelled the devil to do him homage; which event, there is every reason to suppose, forms the subject of the painting contained in the seventy-third page of the Codex Borgianus. Gumilla again notices, in the first chapter of the second volume of his History, the Indian tradition of the son of Puru having killed a formidable serpent; "Los Salivas dicen que el Puru hizo todo lo bueno: que Puru vive en el cielo: que el hijo de Puru matò aquella serpiente que destruia las gentes:" and he immediately afterwards adds, "*estas son sombras y vestigios borrados de la verdad.*" Simon, in the third chapter of his inedited History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdom of New Granada, to which the Spaniards gave the name of El Dorado*, from the reported riches of the Cacique of Bogota, states the remarkable fact, that Indians who died from the bite of a serpent were buried with crosses over their graves. This highly esteemed historian expresses himself in the following terms: "Tambien hallamos, como dejo escrito el Adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada en un quaderno de su propria mano, que ponian cruces sobre los sepulcros de los que havian muerto picados de vivoras ù otras culebras y serpientes; aunque no saben decir el principio que tuvo el poner esta señal à los difuntos mas que à los de otras muertes, para diferenciar los unos de los otros. Hallandose tambien esta misma figura de la santa cruz *bien hecha*† y formada con un almagre tan fuerte que la antiguedad ni las aguas lo han podido borrar, en algunas peñas altas, que las hallaron hechas quando entraron los Españoles, de que *yo he visto* algunas cerca de los pueblos de Boza y Suacha. Los Yndios Pijaos y algunos del distrito de Tunja, han tenido figuras en sus santuarios con tres cabezas humanas, ó con tres rostros en solo un cuerpo, que dicen ser *tres personas con solo un corazon:* de todo lo qual, aunque enbuelto y deslustrado con *mil fàbulas* y obscuridades, parece salen las centellas dichas." Since we learn from Echevarria that the Mexicans bestowed the epithet of *tlahueliloc*, or the devil, upon the *serpent*, and Moses declares, in the twenty-first chapter of the Book of Numbers, that the Israelites who were bitten by the fiery serpents recovered when they looked upon the

* The kingdom of El Dorado, like that of Prester John, has been erased from all modern maps of geography as a fabulous region; yet there can be no doubt that the former was a province of New Granada, and that the latter was the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia.

† That is to say, not decorated with the fantastical ornaments which M. Dupaix complains of as disfiguring the cross which he discovered in the temple of Palenque; nor on the other hand a cross of the Greek form. Vide p. 481 of the sixth volume of this work.

image of the *brazen serpent,* which was typical of the Messiah, whose sign was the cross,—there is some reason for supposing that Simon was right, in conjecturing that amongst the other proofs of the Gospel having been preached in ancient times in New Granada, might be reckoned the custom of placing crosses upon the graves of persons who had died from the bite of serpents. That learned author explains himself more fully upon this subject in the following passage of the eleventh chapter of the same History, where, after giving a particular description of the person of the saint to whom the Indians gave the *three* names Sadiguia-sonada, Moxe, and Sugunzua, he proceeds to notice his doctrines: "Dioles tambien á entender que las almas eran immortales, y que iban á recibir premio ó pena segun habian vivido en esta vida, quando salian de los cuerpos, los quales habian de resucitar y tener otra vida, aunque entendian habian de tener necesidad en ella de comidas* como en esta, y á esto atinaba el ponerselas en los sepulcros. Estas y *otras muchas cosas* en orden á *los articulos de la fé, y sus preceptos,* hallamos en rastros, fue declarando este predicador por *todos* los pueblos que pasaba; de los quales unos se fueron acordando y conservando unas cosas y otros otras, que no ha sido poco despues de tantos años y comunicacion tan larga y ordinaria que con ellos tenia el demonio, no se les acabasen de desarraygar estas luces, sino que se hayan conservado algunas, para que por ellas se haya facilitado mas el crecimiento que han tenido con la predicacion del evangelio, que amaneció entre ellos con la venida de los Españoles, los quales entre otras centellas y rastros que hallaron de esto en esta provincia, fue, cabezas humanas *tres en un cuerpo* en una estatua de un idolo en un pueblo de Boyaca, que declaraban los Indios tenerle figurado asi, porque representaba una cosa que eran tres personas *con un corazon y una voluntad,* como se lo habia dicho á sus mayores el Sugunzua, que pasó por estas tierras." The fact of the Indians of the populous district of Tunja placing in the sanctuaries of their temples a human figure with three heads upon one body, as an emblem of the Trinity, is in itself extremely curious, and, resting upon the testimony of so respectable a historian as Simon, is so entitled to credit, that to attempt to account for it becomes a much more reasonable task than to question its truth: we may therefore observe, that in the same manner as St. Patrick is declared to have converted the Irish by a shamrock, the three leaves of which upon the same stalk explained to them the doctrine of the Trinity, so Sugunzua, the holy preacher, who instructed the Indians of New Granada in many articles of the Christian faith, and taught them that the figure with three heads was three persons with one heart and *one will,* might have intended *that* to be but a *type* which in the course of ages became an object of idolatry. It must be confessed that this conjecture presupposes an admission which Protestants have never found any difficulty in making, when transubstantiation was the doctrine which they called in the aid of reason to impugn. Were it necessary, however, that the testimony of Simon should be received with distrust, the following extract from the third chapter of Calancha's Chronicle of the Order of St. Augustin in Peru, in which mention is made of the image named Tangatanga, would serve fully to corroborate his relation, because the similarity of the facts related tend mutually to confirm each other. "En toda la comarca de Potosi i Chuquisaca, ciudad de la Plata donde yo naci, ni en su provincia de los Charcas, no è allado huella ni señal, si bien ay tradicion que predicaron estos dos la ley de Cristo, i la unidad de la esencia divina en trinidad de personas, como por *informaciones autenticas,* se provò en Chuquisaca, averiguando el principio de aquella gran estatua, que de sus contornos venian á adorar llamada Tangatanga, que *decian sus antiguos quipos* i tradiciones, *era un Dios i tres Personas,* i que adoravan *tres en uno, i uno en tres.* Esto entre *muchos* lo alega el maestro Maluenda i el Padre Acosta, i dice, que en *otros* territorios tenian tres estatuas del Sol, que se intitulavan Apuinti, Churiinti, Intihuaoque, que quiere decir *el Padre i Señor Sol, el Hijo Sol,* el ayre ó espiritu *Hermano Sol.* Y de la mesma manera nombravan las tres estatuas del *Chuquiilla,* dios que decian era el que governava en la region del ayre; i aunque en los Indios vino á ser idolatria *atribuir al Sol* esta trinidad de personas, confesandole una sola naturaleza, su principio fue predicarles estos santos la Trinidad que en nuestro Dios confesamos: i el demonio les persuadió que avia Padre Sol, Hijo Sol, i ayre ó Espiritu Sol; con que dejando el misterio que muchos creian, les mudo la adoracion, bajando á una criatura la immensidad del Criador, *i á fuerça de tres Soles les abrasó el anima, i los cegó con tanta luz,* pero predicoseles esta verdad por estos santos, i lo contenido en los demas misterios i ley; i que la predicasen alli fue forçoso, pues para pasar á Sicasica i á Chuquiago, viniendo de los Chiriguanaes, era el paso por la pro-

* This curious notion might have originated in the tradition of Christ having eaten broiled fish and honeycomb after the resurrection, as recorded by Saint Luke in the forty-second verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of his Gospel; and of what he likewise said of not tasting wine till he should drink it new in his Father's kingdom.

vincia de los Charcas, i no avian de dejar aquellas provincias intermedias, los que nó dejaron quebrada, montaña ni aspereça, que no pretendiesen convertir."

The last author whose testimony we shall adduce in proof of the fact that the tradition of a virgin conceiving a son was general throughout the continent of America, is Clavigero, who, in the twenty-fourth chapter of the first volume of his valuable History of California, gives the following account of the religious opinions of the people of that peninsula. " Quanto alla religione, la quale è uno de' più essenziali articoli nella Storia delle nazioni, poco ne possiamo dire, perchè quasi niente ve n'era presso i Californiesi. Siccome essi non avevano tempj, nè altari, nè simulacri, nè sacerdoti, nè sacrifizi, così non vi s'è ritrovata veruna traccia d' idolatria, o di culto esterno della Divinità. Avevano pure qualche idea d' un essere supremo, Creator del Mondo, ma oscurata, e confusa, come avviene ad altri popoli rozzi con mille spropositi, sciocchezze, e fanciullaggini. Noi diremo qui dei loro Dogmi, e della loro superstizione ciò, che dopo fatte diligenti ricerche ne deposero alcuni gravi e dotti missionarj. I Pericui dicevano, che nel Cielo abitava un gran Signore, appellato nella lor lingua Niparaja: ch' egli avea fatto il Cielo, la Terra, ed il Mare, e poteva fare tutto quanto volesse. Questo Signore, dicevano, ha moglie chiamata Anajicojondi, e sebbene non abbia mai usato d' essa, perchè non ha corpo, tuttavia ne ha avuti tre figliuoli. Un di questi detto Quajaip fu fatto da Anajicojondi ne' monti d' Acaragui, *il qual era vero uomo, e visse gran tempo tra i nostri Antenati per addottrinarli.* Egli era poderoso, ed avea gran gente sotto di sè; perchè ogni volta che voleva, andava sotterra, e ne cavava degli uomini; *ma questi ingrati, non curando tanti benefizj da lui ricevuti, congiurarono contra di lui, e l'uccisero, e nel dargli la morte gli traffissero il capo con un cerchio di spine.* Così esponevano que' barbari la loro credenza. Vi aggiugnevano, che *nel Cielo,* il quale era assai più popolato della Terra, *vi fu già una guerra stupenda;* perchè un gran personaggio di quel paese appellato Tuparàn da alcuni, e da altri Bac, *congiurò con tutti i suoi contro al Supremo Signore Niparaja;* ma restando costui vincitore nella guerra, dopo d' aver tolte a Tuparàn le pitaje, e tutte quelle altre frutta deliziose, che aveva, *lo cacciò del Cielo con tutti i suoi seguaci,* e lo racchiuse in una spelonca vicina al mare: e che allora *creò Niparaja le balene* *, per farvi la guardia, e non lasciar giammai uscire Tuparàn della spelonca. Dicevano inoltre, che Niparaja non voleva la guerra, e per lo contrario Tuparàn la voleva; imperocchè quegli uomini, ch' erano uccisi a frecciate non andavano in cielo, ma erano confinati nella spelonca di Tuparàn. †Da tal dottrina nacquero nel paese de' Pericui due sette, o fazioni opposte non meno ne' lor sentimenti, che ne' loro costumi. I seguaci di Niparaja erano per lo più uomini gravi, circospetti, e docili alla ragione: onde non fu malagevole a' Missionarj di persuader loro le verità evangeliche, prevalendosi anche de' loro stessi dogmi. Coloro poi, che aderivano a Tuparàn, erano bugiardi, ingannatori, inquieti, e ostinati ne' loro errori. Essi predicavano, che le stelle, le quali al dir loro sono *di metallo,* erano state create da un Nume appellato Purutabui, e la Luna da un altro detto Cucunumic. I Guaicuri, nazione, come abbiamo già detto, divisa in varie branche di dialetto diverso, dicevano, che *verso settentrione* v' era uno Spirito principale appellato Gua*mongo,* il quale mandava alla Terra le malattie, e che anticamente vi avea spedito un altro Spirito appellato Gujiaqui *a visitar la terra a nome d'esso lui:* che nel suo viaggio per quella penisola vi andò seminando delle pitaje, e accomodando i luoghi da far la pesca sino ad un gran sasso, che avvi nella costa orientale presso ad un porto, appellato dagli Spaguoli Puerto escondido, o sia Porto nascosto, ove si fermò per qualche tempo: che esso era servito da *altri Spiriti inferiori,* i quali ogni dì gli portavano buone pitaje, e pesce da mangiare, intanto ch' egli s' occupava nel fare con que' capelli, che gli presentavano i divoti di lui, le cappe, di cui in appresso ragioneremo, per uso de' Dottori, o Ciarlatani Californiesi: che da quel luogo partì Gujiaqui continuando la visita della penisola, la quale finita *ritornò nel paese settentrionale, ond' era uscito.* Asserivano anche i Dottori Guaicuri, che il sole, la luna, ed altri astri apparentemente più grandi, erano veri uomini, e donne, le quali ogni giorno nel tramontare cadevano nel mare, e che ne uscivano a nuoto nel levarsi: che le stelle erano foconi fatti nel Cielo dallo Spirito Visitatore, e riaccesi dopo d' essere stati spenti nelle acque del Mare‡. I Cochimi dicevano, che nel Cielo abitava un gran Signore, il cui nome nella lor lingua vuol dire, Colui *che vive: ch' egli senza concorso di veruna femmina ebbe un figliuolo,* che aveva due nomi, uno de' quali significa, il Veloce, e l' altro vale, La per-

* The rabbis declare that the whale is a fish extremely docile to the commands of the Deity.

† Questo dogma de' Pericui era diametralmente opposto a quello de' Messicani, di cui abbiamo fatta menzione nel lib. vi. della Storia del Messico; poichè costoro dicevano, che tutti quelli, ch' erano uccisi nella guerra, andavano alla casa del Sole.

‡ I Guaicuri perchè non aveano voce propria nella lor lingua per significare il Cielo, si servivano di questa Notù, che vuol dire, Su, o nell' alto.

fezione, o termine dell' argilla: che oltre ad essi v' era un altro personaggio appellato, *Colui che fa de' Signori. A tutti e tre davano il titolo de Signore;* ma interrogati *quanti Signori vi erano,* rispondevano, *che un solo,* il quale *creò il cielo, la terra, le piante, gli animali, l'uomo, e la donna.* Dicevano di più, che Colui che vive, avendo creati certi esseri, che non si vedono, *costoro congiurarono contro a lui, e si dichiararono anche nemici degli uomini:* che questi Spiriti da loro detti Bugiardi, e Ingannatori, *pigliavano gli uomini quando morivano, e gli mettevano sotto terra, acciocchè non vedessero il Signore che vive.** Que' Cochimi, che vi sono di là da' gr. 30, facevano menzione *d'un uomo,* che ne' tempi antichi *era venuto dal Cielo per far bene agli uomini,* e però l'appellavano *Tamà ambei ucambi tevivichi,* cioè *l' Uomo venuto dal Cielo;* ma non sapevano dire in qual maniera fosse stato benemerito degli uomini; nè gli davano verun culto. Celebravano bensì una festa, che appellavano *dell' Uomo venuto dal Cielo;* ma essa in vece di contenere alcun atto religioso, tutta riducevasi a prender diletto pranzando, e ballando. Alcuni giorni prima della festa, erano premurosamente incaricate le donne di cercar per tutto quelle cose, che servivano loro per cibo, per regalarne, come essi dicevano quel Nume, che dovea venire a visitarli, e tutta questa provvisione si guardava in un frascato a tal fine costrutto. Venuto il giorno prefisso alla festa sceglievano un giovane, che dovesse fare il personaggio di quel Nume, e segretamente lo vestivano di pelli dopo d' averlo tinto tutto di varj colori, acciocchè non fosse conosciuto. Costui si nascondeva dietro a qualche monte vicino al sopraccennato frascato, nel qual entravano gli uomini ad aspettarlo, tenendosene intanto le donne, e i ragazzi lontano, benchè a vista del frascato, e del monte. Il giovane travestito, quando era ormai tempo di farsi vedere, compariva su la cima del monte, e quindi scendeva correndo velocissimamente sino al frascato, nel quale era ricevuto con gran giubilo da tutti. Quivi mangiavano allegramente a spese delle povere donne, le quali non essendo mai consapevoli del segreto, restavano fermamente persuase, ch'era vero ciò, che fingevano i furbi loro mariti. Finito il pranzo ritornava per la medesima via, e spariva il Nume preteso. Di sì fatta furberia, e per lo stesso fine, si prevalevano que' Cochimi nell'Anniversario de' loro Morti. Fingevano essi, che i loro Morti, i quali risedevano ne' paesi settentrionali, venivano ogni anno a far loro una visita. Convenutisi gli uomini quanto al giorno di tal visita, obbligavano le donne, anche con minacce di malattie, a cercare nel bosco, e nella campagna una gran copia di viveri, da poter regalarne i loro morti. Nel giorno prefisso per l' Anniversario gli uomini radunati in un frascato si mangiavano tutta quella provvisione, mentrechè le donne, e i ragazzi tenutisi in un luogo da essi lontano piagnevano dirottamente la morte de' loro parenti, pel cui pranzo aveano tanto stentato. Erano gli uomini sì gelosi di tenere occulto alle donne quel misterio, che avendolo un giovane rivelato a sua madre, fu immediatamente dallo stesso suo padre messo a morte. Non può fare a meno di non recar maraviglia a chi legge questi racconti, il ritrovare ne' dogmi de' barbari Californiesi *tante tracce, quantunque alterate, delle verità cristiane.* Potrebbe pur sospettarsi, ch' essi avessero avuta già qualche istruzione da alcuni Cristiani ivi capitati; mentre in que' cinquant' anni, che precedettero l'entrata de' Gesuiti nella California, vi erano approdati moltissimi bastimenti del Messico, ed alcuni d'altri paesi; ma nessuno mai, per quanto si sa, vi si fermò tanto tempo, quanto bisognava per imparare alcuna di quelle difficilissime lingue, e gli stessi Californiesi interrogati su l' origine della loro dottrina *affermavano costantemente d'averla avuta da loro antenati.* Oltracciò se qualche Cristiano avesse loro insegnati i misterj della Trinità, e dell' Incarnazione, non avrebbe senz' altro trascurato d' istruirgli della necessità del battesimo; *ma d'esso non si trovò nè traccia, nè notizia alcuna in tutta quella penisola.* Io come Storico mi contento di raccontare *i fatti certi,* lasciando ad altri la libertà di far delle congetture."

Note XXXVIII. Page 243.

It has been supposed that the figure of the tree, in the third page of the MS. of Boturini, has some connexion with the unmeaning tradition, preserved by Torquemada, of the Aztecas having been terrified at the commencement of their migration by a tree, under which they were eating, suddenly cracking in the middle. Due attention, however, being paid to all the circumstances recorded of that migration, and its wonderful similarity to the pilgrimage of the children of Israel from Egypt, we cannot but associate the figure of that tree in the Mexican painting with the history of the *first* miracle which God is said to have wrought in favour of the Israelites *immediately after their passage through*

* The name of the '*living God*' is frequently bestowed upon the Deity in Scripture.

the Red Sea, which consisted in Moses *throwing a tree* into the bitter waters of Marah, by which they became sweet. It is thus described in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus: "And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called Marah. And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And he cried unto the Lord; and the Lord shewed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet: *there he made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there he proved them,* and said, If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in his sight, and wilt give ear to his commandments, and keep all his statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee." The hands grasping the trunk of the tree, and the *falling position* of the upper portion of its branches, symbolical perhaps of the act of throwing or casting, are very remarkable in the above-mentioned painting; as also, the ark resting upon the ground, as if to denote that the Aztecas halted *at the place of the tree,* as the Israelites did at the waters of Marah; the penitence of the Aztecas, which is well expressed by the attitude of humiliation in which they are represented as weeping before Huitzilopuchtli, may be merely a Mexican tradition of the children of Israel *having sinned at the waters of Marah,* which event became famous in Scripture; while the two figures apart from the rest may signify the covenant which God *then* made with Moses and the children of Israel, which doubtless rendered that place very memorable in the recollection of their posterity. An obscure tradition, in the sixth verse of the eighty-fourth Psalm, of God overflowing the valley of Baca,—which event appears again to be alluded to by David in the thirty-fifth verse of the hundred and seventh Psalm, and to which Isaiah may also refer in the eighteenth verse of the forty-first chapter of his Prophecies,—might have induced the Mexicans to feign the history of Huitzilopuchtli overflowing the valley of Cohuatepec, that it might serve as a temporary habitation to their ancestors, when proceeding on their pilgrimage from Aztlan.

Note XXXIX. Page 531.

The Spanish clergy who first proceeded to the New World were extremely desirous to discover the fulfilment of prophecy in the history of the Mexicans; nor did some of them scruple to affirm that they had discovered the beast mentioned in the Revelations, in that remote quarter of the globe. Although the *number* of the beast is that which, in the present day, is chiefly regarded, still its figure, in the sixteenth century, claimed public attention; and pious enthusiasts, like the Rev. Edward Irving, easily persuaded themselves, from the shape of the Mexican lake, that Mexico must be the beast spoken of in the Prophecies, since nothing in their opinion could be *more clear* than that a beast *must* mean a *state* or *city,* and Mexico being situated on the shores of two lakes, viz. the Lake of Mexico properly so designated, and the sweet water lake, or the Lake of Chalco; and these two lakes forming, by their close approximation, one, and presenting in their shape *a mysterious* combination of the *seven* component parts of an animal, viz. a head, a body, a tail, with four legs caused by tributary streams which flowed into the lake, whilst the *sign* of the beast was sufficiently indicated by the *licentious manners* of the Mexicans,—nothing appeared wanting to the fulfilment of Prophecy and to the perfect manifestation of the type, except that the Church should have the honour of crushing this sanguinary monster, whose head was adorned with *a triple crown**, and out of whose mouth proceeded *blasphemies.* There is something so novel in the idea of Mexico being the beast mentioned in the Revelations, that the engraving of the Mexican lake, at the conclusion of the fourth volume of the present work, has been inserted for the gratification of the inquisitive reader: it is taken from the Giro del Mondo of the Italian author Gemelli Carreri, who, it may be proper to add, introduced that map of the Mexican lake into the volume of his travels, less with a view of promoting the science of geography than of illustrating *the signs of the beast.*

* The cities of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tacuba, formed the triple crown; they were built on the shores of the Mexican lake, and were the capitals of the confederate states of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tlacopan. Cortes, who was the conqueror of these cities, introduced three crowns, surmounting the effigy of a city intended to represent Mexico, in the quarterings of his arms. Gomara has prefixed to his History of the Conquest of Mexico, which he dedicated to Don Martin Cortes (the son of the General), a plate containing the representation of his father's arms.

Note XL. Page 291.

The discovery of negroes by the first Spaniards who visited America is a clear proof that that continent had been colonized from Africa: and if the editor of the folio edition of the Bibliotheca of Pinelo, published at Madrid in the year 1737, is not alluding to the language of the imported African slaves, where he says that the Galabine language common in Guinea is spoken by the Caribs of the West Indies, that fact would be very deserving of attention.

Note XLI. Page 402.

The Mexicans named Eve, *Cihuacohuatl*, which proper name is compounded of *cihua* 'a woman,' and *cohuatl*, or *coatl*, 'a serpent,' and signifies, according to Sahagun, '*the serpent woman*,' in allusion to the famous history of *her* temptation by the serpent. It is singular that Clemens Alexandrinus should assign the *same* signification to the proper name Eve; and since the passage in which his definition of the Hebrew term occurs is curious, and proves that the Mexican custom of braiding the hair with serpents on their religious festivals might have originated in Asia Minor or the bordering region of Palestine, where the votaries of Bacchus were very numerous, we shall here insert it from the second chapter of his Exhortation to the Gentiles. "Διονυσον Μαινολην ὀργιαζουσι Βακχοι, ὠμοφαγιᾳ την ἱερομανιαν ἀγοντες, και τελισκουσι τας κρεωνομιας των φονων ἀνεστεμμενοι τοις ὀφεσιν, ἐπολολυζοντες Εὐαν· Εὐαν ἐκεινην, δι' ἡν ἡ πλανη παρηκολουθησε. και σημειον ὀργιων βακχικων ὀφις ἐστι τετελεσμενος· αὐτικα γουν κατα την ἀκριβη των Ἑβραιων φωνην, το ὀνομα το Εὐια δασυνομενον, ἐρμηνευεται ὀφις ἡ θηλεια." "The Bacchantes celebrate the orgies of Bacchus Mænoles, by devouring raw flesh when they act the sacred madness; and they go through the ceremony of distributing the flesh of the victims, *crowned with serpents*, and reiterating shouts of Eua, *that Eua* by whom came transgression: the symbol of the orgies of Bacchus is a consecrated* serpent, and indeed, if we pay attention to the strict sense of the Hebrew, *the name Euia aspirated*, signifies a *female serpent*." It hence appears that the two proper names Cihuacohuatl and Eve have exactly the same meaning; and Suchiquecal, or Xochiquetzal (the other epithet which the Mexicans bestowed on Cihuacohuatl), compounded of *xochitl* 'a flower,' and *quetzalli*, 'a handful of green feathers,' and signifying a handful of flowers, or *the act of gathering flowers*, was an equally applicable name for her who sinned by *plucking* the forbidden fruit or *flowers*, according to the tradition of the Mexicans, who named her, after she became repentant, Yxnextli, which signifies 'eyes blind with ashes,' in allusion to the abundance of tears which she shed, and likewise Totzin, or '*our mother*,' from her being the common mother of mankind. The reasons that induced Plutarch to believe that the ancient Jews worshiped Bacchus under the name of Jehovah, will be found in the fourth book of his Convivial Dialogues, wherein he philosophizes in the style of Lord Bacon; and although but a fragment has been preserved of the discourse which he entitled "Τις ὁ παρα Ἰουδαιοις θεος," we may rest assured that that enlightened philosopher, who lived in an age when the Jews were a people *well known to the Romans*, had some grounds for maintaining such an opinion: let us assume, for the sake of argument, that he might have beheld the Jews immoderately addicted in his day to the celebration of the orgies of Bacchus; which, if it had been the fact, there would have been certainly nothing strange in their borrowing one superstitious rite from the Romans, who had sunk into all the grossest idolatries of the land of Canaan. Another reason has forcibly struck us for thinking it very probable that the Mexicans borrowed the custom of twining their hair with serpents, and of introducing the representation of the feathered serpent so frequently into their mythological paintings, from the Jews; and that is, that the *Seraphim*, which are constantly associated in Scripture with the Cherubim, were believed by some of the rabbis to be angelical beings with bodies resembling bright and shining serpents; and it deserves to be remarked, that the Hebrew term *seraph* signifies a *shining serpent*. The authors of the Universal History† have not scrupled to suppose that the devil coun-

* This is not the exact meaning of τετελεσμενος, nor will the phrase 'initiated', which, referring to a person, would be very suitable, express it.

† Universal History, vol. i. p. 62.

terfeited the shechinah, or *divine presence,* by assuming the form of a Seraph or radiant serpent, and so tempted Eve; and they even venture to defend that rather odd opinion, by referring to a passage in Tertullian, where that ancient Father declares that Eve gave attention to the serpent as *to the Son of God.* It is a fact also deserving of observation, that a ruler or governor of the people is named in the Hebrew Scriptures a *serpent,* and is compared to a poisonous asp, whence perhaps the derivation of the Greek term *βασιλισκος* for a serpent; and the Mexicans might have placed the figure of a serpent on the heads of their principal priests in their paintings, merely as *an appropriate symbol* of sacerdotal dignity and authority. To this opinion we are the rather inclined, because Josephus, describing, in the eleventh chapter of the third book of his Jewish Antiquities, the dress of the Hebrew priests, says that they wore a girdle "variè ita contexta, ut videatur *pellis esse viperea.*" The testimony of Josephus, who was a *Levite,* may be here relied upon; and it is reasonable to suppose that the viper girdle might have led in process of time to the fashion of wearing viper locks.

Note XLII. Page 208.

The following passage occurs in the eighteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus: "But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea; and the children of Israel *went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt.*" The metaphorical expression *harnessed,* which is that which is found in the Hebrew text, is very descriptive of the manner in which the children of Israel fled from Egypt, when, after having *found favour* in the eyes of the Egyptians, they borrowed from them their jewels of gold and jewels of silver, and secretly set out on their pilgrimage, carrying all their goods with them in their knapsacks, harnessed as it were to their backs. We have already had occasion to observe that the Tultecas recorded in their paintings the traditions which they had preserved of their ancestors' flight from Egypt; nor is it unlikely that the subject of the valuable painting preserved in the Royal library at Dresden is a legendary history of the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt, since we there behold a nation with *Jewish features* proceeding on a migration *with their knapsacks literally harnessed to their backs,* their apparel *fringed* like that of the ancient Jews, and *human bones* and skeletons forming an extraordinary addition to their baggage, which must remind us of what is said, in the thirtieth verse of the forty-seventh chapter of Genesis, of Jacob desiring his bones to be carried out of Egypt when the Jews should emigrate from thence; and of Joseph binding the children of Israel *by an oath* to take his bones along with them, as recorded in the twenty-fifth verse of the fiftieth chapter of Genesis: "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence." It is to be supposed that the example of Jacob and of Joseph would have been likely to have been imitated by many more of their countrymen; and although Scripture is silent on the subject, the Jews might have had a tradition, that when their ancestors fled from Egypt, they carried the bones of many of their patriarchs along with them. It is further remarkable, that most of the female figures in that painting are ornamented with *rich jewels,* such as it may be supposed were worn by the Jewish women when they quitted Egypt, and which might possibly allude to the tradition of the Israelites having *spoiled* the Egyptians in the manner recorded in the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth verses of the twelfth chapter of Exodus:—"And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses, and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they *lent* unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians." Some of the *prohibitions* contained in Leviticus seem also to be alluded to in various paintings of the Dresden Codex; and in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth pages of the same MS., there occurs a figure very much resembling that of the brazen serpent whose history is given in the Pentateuch; to which the offering of a bird, killed according to the prescription of the Hebrew law, by twisting the head from the body, so as not to cause death by strangulation, appears to be made. It has already been observed, that the Dresden MS., although comprising many paintings, may still contain but a small portion of the original series descriptive of the events of the migration of the Tultecas. We shall here subjoin an extract from the first chapter of the second part of Juarros's History of the Kingdom of Guatemala, translated into English by Lieutenant Baily, which, when it is recollected that the painting preserved in the Royal library at Dresden belongs to a province which either actually formed a part of the kingdom of Guatemala, or immediately bordered on it, will add increased probability to the conjecture, that the flight of the Jews from Egypt is the subject of the above painting, by showing that the Indians of that part of the American

continent believed that they were descended from the Jews, and retained a tradition of the bondage which their ancestors suffered in Egypt, and their miraculous passage through the Red Sea. "It is not intended to undertake, in this place, the discussion of a subject that has already exhausted abilities of the first order, viz. the original population of America; from a conviction, that when the Tultecan Indians, from whom the Quiché and Kachiquel kings descended, first came into this region, they found it already inhabited by people of different nations; and when these same Tultecas entered into the kingdom of Mexico, they discovered that the Chichimecas had previously got possession of it. This conviction is founded upon the assumption, that if all the inhabitants of this kingdom did derive their origin from the Tultecas, they would doubtless have spoken the same language; but as there are so many different tongues used by the natives of it, the opinion in favour of a common origin is untenable. Coming therefore to the subject of the present chapter, it appears from the manuscripts of Don Juan Torres, the son, and Don Juan Macario, the grandson of the king Chignaviucelut, and of Don Francisco Gomez, the first Ahzib Kiche, that the Tultecas were descended from the house of Israel, and were released by Moses from the captivity in which Pharaoh held them. Having passed the Red Sea, they resigned themselves to the practice of idolatry, and persisted therein in spite of the admonition of Moses; but, to avoid his reproofs, or from the fear of his inflicting some chastisement, they chose to separate from him and his brethren, and to retire from that part of the country to a place which they called the *Seven Caverns;* that is, from the borders of the Red Sea to what is now a part of the kingdom of Mexico, where they founded the celebrated city of Tula. The chief who commanded and conducted this multitude from one continent to the other was Tanub, the stock from which sprung the families of the kings of Tula and Quiché, and the first monarch of the Tultecas. The second was Capichoch; the third Calel Ahus; the fourth Ahpop; and the fifth Nimaquiché, who being more beloved than any of his predecessors, was directed by an oracle to leave Tula with the people, who had by this time multiplied greatly, and conduct them from the kingdom of Mexico to that of Guatemala. In performing this journey they expended many years, suffered extraordinary hardships, and wandered over an immense tract of country, until they discovered a large lake (the lake of Atitan); and resolved to fix their habitations in a convenient place at a short distance from it, which they called Quiché, in commemoration of their king Nimaquiché, who died during their peregrination. Nimaquiché was accompanied by his three brothers, and it was agreed that they should divide the country between them; one was to have for his share the province of the Quelenes and Chapanecos; another, Tezulutlan or Verapaz; the third, to become chief of the Mames and Pocomanes; and Nimaquiché, of the Quichés, Kachiquels, and Zutugiles: the latter dying, was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who was at the head of his nation when they settled in Quiché, and the first monarch who reigned in Utatlan. This prince seeing that the monarchy soon rose to a high degree of splendour,—for its better government, and to relieve himself from some of the fatigues of administration, appointed thirteen captains or governors. The manuscripts before mentioned add, that Acxopil, having attained a very advanced age, determined upon dividing the empire into three kingdoms; namely, the Quiché, the Kachiquel, and the Zutugil: the first he retained for himself; the second he gave to his eldest son, Jiutemal; and the third to his youngest son, Acxiquat: this division was made on a day marked by the extraordinary circumstance of three suns being visible at the same time, an incident that has induced some persons to think the partition was effected on the day of our Saviour's birth, as it is commonly asserted such a phenomenon then occurred; but as a parhelion is a meteor which has been so frequently observed, this does not appear to be sufficient authority for fixing the division to that particular day. The Tultecan emperors who reigned in Utatlan, the capital of Quiché, whose names have reached posterity, were the following seventeen: 1. Acxopil, 2. Jiutemal, 3. Hunahpu, 4. Balam Kiché, 5. Balam Acan, 6. Maucotah, 7. Iquibalam, 8. Kicab I., 9. Cacubraxechein, 10. Kicab II., 11. Iximche, 12. Kicab III. 13. Kicab IV., 14. Kicab Tanub, 15. Tecum Umam, 16. Chignaviucelut, 17. Sequechul, or Sequechil. Of these the most distinguished was Acxopil, who led his nation into this country, established in it the empire of Quiché, and divided it into three domains. Jiutemal, who, before he succeeded his father on the throne of Utatlan, was first king of the Kachiquels, by which he was rendered next in dignity to the monarch of Quiché*. Hunahpu rendered himself celebrated by discovering the use of cocoa and cotton. Nothing remarkable was performed by any of the

* These Indians distinguished the degrees of sovereignty among their kings, by the throne itself. That of Utatlan, which was the first in rank, was placed under four canopies formed of feathers, each of different colours and of different sizes, fixed one within the other; the throne of Kachiquel or Guatemala had three canopies, and that of Atitan or Zutugil had but two.

others until the time of Tecum Umam, who occupied the throne when the Spaniards arrived, and bravely resisted their progress, until he fell by the hand of Pedro de Alvarado. After the death of this prince, Alvarado placed his eldest son Chignaviucelut on the throne of Utatlan; but having cause to suspect him of treason, he ordered him to be hanged a very short time after he had placed the crown upon his head. Sequechul succeeded him, and reigned two years; but unable to brook the disgrace of seeing himself reduced to a mere vassal of the Spaniards, he revolted in the year 1526; his success was of short duration, and being vanquished, he remained a prisoner during the remainder of his life."

"The manuscript of Juan Torres before noticed, and another of Francisco Garcia Calel Tzumpan Xavila, a descendant from the kings of Quiché, written in 1544, relate that thirteen armies left the Old Continent, headed by as many principal families, who were all related to each other, but five of them much more illustrious than the rest; these were the families of Capichoch, Cochohlam, Mahquinaló, Ahcanail, and Belehebcam. From Capichoch, the trunk of the genealogical tree of the family of Nimaquiché, all the royal progeny of the Indians of this kingdom derive their origin; and these princes of the blood royal are called Caciques. The Ahaos are the heads of noble lineages, descendants of the grandees who were the immediate attendants upon the kings. From the Ahaos are derived the Calpules, who compose the nobility of the villages Quezaltenango, Totonicapan, Iztaguacan, Ostuncalco, Zapotitlan, and others. As the princes or heads of families were very nearly related to each other, it is clear that as the emperors of Mexico were descendants of Belehebcan, a relative of Capichoch, the original stock from whom the monarchs of Quiché sprung, the kings of both countries are of the same race. It appears, too, that these princes acknowledged the relationship, and maintained a communication with each other; for it is related, in a manuscript of sixteen quarto folios, in page 4, which is preserved by the Indians of the village of St. Andres Xecul, that when Moctezuma was made prisoner, he sent a private ambassador to Kicab Tanub, king of Quiché, to inform him some white men had arrived in his states, and made war upon him with such impetuosity, that the whole strength of his people was unable to resist them; that he was himself a prisoner surrounded by guards; and hearing it was the intention of his invaders to pass on to the kingdom of Quiché and subdue it, he resolved to send notice of the design, in order that Kicab Tanub might be prepared to oppose them. This is a strong proof of a good understanding having subsisted between the two kings; for if Moctezuma, watched as he was by his keepers, could contrive to dispatch this messenger secretly to Kicab, there is no doubt but frequent intercourse took place between them in the time of peace and tranquillity. In pages 5 and 6 of the manuscript, it is said, that as soon as the king of Quiché received this intelligence, he sent for four young diviners, whom he ordered to tell him what would be the result of the invasion:—these persons requested time to give their answer, and taking their bows, they discharged some arrows against a rock; but seeing that no impression was left upon it, they returned very sorrowfully, and told the king there was no means of avoiding the disaster, for the white men would certainly conquer them. Kicab, not well satisfied with the reply, sent for the priests, and desired to have their opinions on this eventful subject. With great lamentations, they delivered a similar prognostic of disaster to their monarch, founding their conclusion upon the ominous circumstance of a certain stone, which had been brought by their forefathers from Egypt and which was worshiped as a god, having suddenly split in two; an incident that portended the inevitable ruin of their empire. Kicab, however, still incredulous, and not intimidated, immediately began to make the best military dispositions in his power for a resolute defence of his dominions; but in the midst of his preparations death put an end to his career. The principal Indians who came with the Spaniards from Mexico and Tlascala, persuaded of the identity of their own origin and that of the people of this country, declared themselves relations and friends, formed more intimate connexions by intermarriages with the Quichés, and gave them a copy of the instrument by which they had received from the Emperor Charles the Fifth the honour of a coat of arms, for the great services they had rendered to the Spanish army in the conquest of New Spain."

Note XLIII.

Sahagun declares, in the introduction to his General History of New Spain, that Mexican tradition recorded that their ancestors the Tultecas navigated the ocean in search of the Terrestrial Paradise, and styled themselves Tamohan-

chan, that is to say, persons who had gone in quest of their original homes. This tradition, allied as it is to ancient Christian and Jewish prejudices, is extremely curious; since an opinion prevailed in the early and middle ages, that *Paradise* was situated *beyond the sea*, that its site was *adjacent to some lofty mountains*, and that a circumambient ocean separated the portion of the globe now inhabited from that which was peopled by the antediluvian race of mankind. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk who flourished about the middle of the sixth century, has inserted a map of the world in his 'Topographia Christiana,' which he has adapted to this hypothesis. The earth is represented in that map as an oblong plane, surrounded on all sides by the ocean; beyond which is the region which he defines to be "*γη περαν του ὠκεανου, ἐνθα προ του κατακλυσμου κατῳκουν οἱ ἀνθρωποι*," "*land beyond the ocean, where the antediluvian race of men dwelt;*" on one side of which, and forming a part of it, is the Terrestrial Paradise, with the four rivers, the Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Euphrates, flowing out of it*, whose channels, pursuing a separate course under the sea, become again visible in our hemisphere. We may here observe, that the translators of the Septuagint version of the Scriptures have hesitated to bestow the more classical name of the Nile upon the Gihon, although they have not scrupled to explain the proper name Hiddekel to signify the Tigris. It must at the same time be confessed, that there is something absurd in the attempt to identify and trace the course of antediluvian rivers; since, if whole continents can reasonably be supposed to have been submerged by the Deluge, how vain must be the task of inquiring after the fate of the rivers that flowed from Paradise. The reason why the translators of the Septuagint version have hesitated to bestow the name of the Nile upon the Gihon, was probably because the Garden of Eden is declared in Scripture to be situated in the east, and the Nile flows from the south; a difficulty which seems to have suggested to some other writers the notion of Paradise being situated in the region of the south, and of the Nile rising in Terra Australis, and thence passing under the sea, and re-appearing in Ethiopia. The map of the world composed by Bertius, and adapted to the geographical description of Pomponius Mela, is framed according to this hypothesis; but if Pagan writers ever advocated such a theory, it was probably derived from a Hebrew source. We shall conclude this note with the insertion of some verses of the poet Manilius, which, evidently referring to another hemisphere, are very applicable to the continent of America, and to the Atlantic Ocean, declared by Egyptian tradition to be, in the age of Solon, no longer navigable for ships.

"*Altera pars* orbis sub aquis jacet *invia* nobis,
Ignotæque hominum gentes, nec transita regna
Commune ex uno lumen ducentia sole,
Diversasque umbras, lævâque cadentia signa,
Et dextros ortus cœlo spectantia verso."

Note XLIV. Page 266.

The sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain affords incontestible proof that the ancient Mexicans excelled in oratory: of their poetical genius we should have been less able to form a correct notion, if time had not preserved the two following elegies †, composed by Nezahualcoyotl, the celebrated king of Tezcuco, nearly about the middle

* See the twelfth chapter of the eleventh book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, in which the Mexicans are said to have believed that all the rivers of the globe flowed out of the Terrestrial Paradise, which itself was supposed to be situated at *the base* of some lofty mountains.

† It is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligation to Don Antonio de Uguina, a Spanish gentleman distinguished for his literary attainments, for the copy of these elegies, now for the first time published. Their value is materially enhanced by the reflection, that of sixty other odes composed by the same monarch, all, with the exception of a fragment of another (a prose translation of which has been published by Granados in his 'Tardes Americanas'), have been lost. This unfortunate result must certainly have been owing rather to the negligence of the Spaniards than to the indifference of the Indians, who for nearly half a century after the conquest of their country retained a perfect recollection of them. The greater portion of these odes are said to have been in Iambic metre, and consisted of prayers and thanksgivings addressed to Tezcatlipoca, with hymns descriptive of his power and divine attributes. To this circumstance some may feel inclined to attribute the fate which has befallen the numerous compositions of the royal bard; since, easy as would have been the task of transcribing them to any person acquainted with the Mexican language, still the Spanish clergy of Mexico, whose power for many years after the Conquest was almost as absolute as that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, might have feared the possibility of a parallel being at any future time drawn between them and the Psalms of David; and their religious scruples might have,

of the fifteenth century. Without expatiating upon the poetical merits of these singularly beautiful and interesting odes, we shall merely observe, that they were transcribed by Don Fernandez de Echevarria y Veitia, the author of the 'Historia del Origen de los Yndios de la Nueva España', from an ancient manuscript belonging to Boturini, who vouches for their authenticity in the following note, which he has prefixed to his copy of them. "El erudito caballero Don Lorenzo Boturini, que sacó de la misma obscuridad copiosas luces para la Historia de las Yndias, en el Catalogo del Museo Indiano que colocó al fin de su Idea de Historia General de Nueva España, al folio 8, numero 2, se esplica de esta suerte: 'Otro manuscrito en 12 fojas utiles de papel Europeo, contiene dos cantares del Emperador Nezahualcoyotl, traducidos de lengua Nahuatl en la Castellana, que redujo á poesia Don Fernando de Alva; de quien creo es tambien un pedazo de historia de la vida del referido Nezahualcoyotl.' Hasta aqui Boturini. Asi los cantares como el retazo de historia, se comprenden en el siguiente quaderno, copia de un antiguo manuscrito, á que hemos aplicado toda la atencion y exactitud que merece por su naturaleza un rasgo tan precioso de la antiguedad.

"Oyeme con atencion las lamentaciones que yo el Rey Nezahualcóyotl* hago sobre el imperio, hablando con migo mismo, y trayendo á otro exemplo.

"¡O Rey bullicioso y poco estable, quando llegue aquel tiempo despues de tu muerte, serán destruidos y desechos tus vasallos: verse han en obscura confusion. Entonces ya no estará en tu mano el mando y gobierno del imperio, sino en el Dios Criador y todo poderoso!

"Quien vido la casa y corte del viejo Rey Tezozomoc, y quan poderoso y florecido estaba su tiranico imperio, y agora lo vé marchito† y seco, sin duda pareceria que siempre habia de estar en su ser, siendo burla y engaño todo lo que el mundo ofrece, pues todo se ha de consumir y acabar.

"Lastimoso y admirable caso es ver y considerar la prosperidad que tubo el tiempo del tiranico imperio de aquel caduco y viejo Rey Tezozomoc‡, que como sauz§ con la humedad de su ambicion y codicia, se levantó y señoreandose sobre todos los humildes prados y floridos campos que le ofreció la primavera, por mucho tiempo que gozó de ella, al fin carcomido y seco, vino el uracan de la muerte, y arrancandolo de sus raices, hecho pedazos lo rindió por el suelo, que no fue menos lo que le sucedió á aquel antiguo Rey Colzatzli, pues no quedó memoria de su casa y linage.

in the first instance, prohibited their publication, and subsequently caused whatever manuscript copies of them could be discovered, to be destroyed. The practice of confession, which has ever been rigidly enforced amongst the Indians[1], would have rendered this no difficult task; and it does appear to us that this practice, which commenced at a very flourishing period of ancient literature, has contributed perhaps more than any other cause to the destruction of many valuable works of antiquity; since, by affording the facility of discovering, and suggesting at the same time the readiest and most *private means* of destroying, all manuscripts which actually contained, or which it was thought might possibly contain, heretical and schismatic doctrines, or, like the Decades of Livy, stories of prodigies which might offend the consciences of weaker brethren, an ignorant but at the same time zealous clergy would soon have had it in their power to consign the most valuable works of the poets, historians, and philosophers to the flames; and in this manner, the reign of a single Pope might have effected a more general destruction of ancient literature, than the ruthless hand of Time during many centuries.

* Solomon commences the Book of Ecclesiastes with express mention of his regal dignity.

† Man is frequently compared in Scripture to grass and the flowers of the field, which in the morning spring up, and in the evening are cut down and withered.

‡ Tezozomoc, the king of Azcaputzalco, for whom this elegy was composed, was during his whole life, which lasted many years, a tyrant, and the successful usurper of the throne of Acolhuacan, of which Nezahualcoyotl was the lawful heir. History has stigmatized him as a monarch devoid of principle, and of a sanguinary disposition, but possessed of very superior abilities.

§ The language of Nezahualcoyotl bears a strong resemblance here to that of David in the thirty-seventh Psalm, who, describing the prosperity which sometimes attends the wicked for a season, expresses himself in the following analogous terms: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree; yet he passed away, and lo he was not; yea I sought him, but he could not be found."

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[1] We transcribe the following extraordinary series of categories from a manual of Confession published in Mexico in the year 163 4:— "In ychpochtli initech otitlatlaco, cuix huel oticcuili yni ychpochyo ynixochiyo? *vel,* Cuix oticxapotlac?" "Cuix aca otictlanochili?" "Cuix acacihuatl otictecac?" "Cuix otic camaoalhui?" "Cuix oticahuilti?" "Cuix otic nahuatequi?" "Cuix otic tenamic?" "Cuix otic chichihualtzitzqui?" "Cuix otic matoquili?" "Cuix otimocochten?" "Cuix oticochtemic in tlaelpapaquiliztli, yc oquiz in mo oquichyo, ahnoço mocihuayo, ahnoço otimo tlaquauhtili?" "Auhyhquac oti hueliçac, cuix yppan otipapa? ahnoço otitlaocox otimotequipacho?" "Cuix otimomachiuh?" "Cuix occotlacatl ahnoço cihuatl omitz machiuh?" "Cuix itech otitlatlaco in maçatl?" "Cuix aca occeoquichtli motech oacic otlatlaco? ahnoço tehuatl, oticcuilonti?" "*Cuix aca occeçihuatl ammonehuan, ammomapatlachhuique?*" "Cuix monamic, otic coyoquetz, *vel,* otic tzincolhuazhui, *vel,* omitzteputzmama?"

"Y con estas mismas lamentaciones y triste canto, hoy traigo á la memoria y doy vivo exemplo lo que en la florida primavera pasa, y el fin que tuvo el Rey Tezozomoc, por mas que de ella gozó, para que viendo esto—Quien habr que tan duro sea, que no se derrita en lagrimas y llanto, pues esta abundancia de sus diversas flores y ricas recreaciones, son ramilletes que pasan de mano en mano, y al fin todas se marchitan y acaban en esta presente vida!

"Vos, hijos de los reyes y poderosos grandes y señores, advertid y considerad con atencion lo que en aqueste mi lamento y triste canto os manifiesto, lo que en la florida primavera pasa, y el fin que tubo el Rey Tezozomoc, para que viendo esto—Quien habrá que tan duro sea, que no se derrita en lagrimas y llanto, pues esta abundancia de sus diversas flores y ricas recreaciones, son ramilletes que pasan de mano en mano, y al fin todas se marchitan y acaban en este presente vida!

"Y gozen *por agora* la abundancia de la casa de el florido verano con la melodia de sus voces las parleras aves, y las mariposas el nectar de sus flores*.

"Un rato cantar quiero,
Pues la ocasion y el tiempo se ofrece,
Ser admitido espero,
Mi intento lo merece,
Y comienzo mi canto,
Aunque fuera mejor llamarle llanto.

"Y tu querido amigo,
Goza la amenidad de aquestas flores,
Alegrate conmigo;
Desechemos de penas los temores,
Que el gusto trae medida,
Por ser al fin con fin la mala vida.

"Yo tocaré cantando,
El musico instrumento sonoroso,
Tu de flores gozando
Danza, y festeja á Dios que es poderoso;
Gozemos de esta gloria,
Porque la humana vida es transitoria.

"De Acoluhacan pusiste
En esta noble corte, y siendo tuyo
Tus sillas, y quisiste
Vestir las, donde argullo,
Que con grandeza tanta
El imperio se aumenta y se levanta.

"O Yoyotzin prudente,
Famoso rey, y singular monarca,
Goza del bien presente,
Que lo presente lo florido abarca,
Porque vendra algun dia,
Que busques este gusto y alegria.

"Entonces tu fortuna
Te ha de quitar el cetro de la mano,
Ha de menguar tu luna,
No te veras tan fuerte y tan ufano,
Entonces tus criados
De todo bien serán desamparados.

"Y en tan triste suceso
Los nobles descendientes de tu nido,
De principes el peso,
Los que de nobles padres han nacido,
Faltando tu cabeza,
Gustarán la amargura de pobreza.

"Y traeran á la memoria
Quien fuiste en pompa de todos embidiada,
Tus triumfos y victoria,
Y con la gloria y magestad pasada,
Cotejando pesares,
De lagrimas harán crecidos mares.

"Y estos tus descendientes
Que te sirven de pluma y de corona,
De ti viendose ausentes,
De Culhuacan estrañaran la cuna,
Y tenidos por tales con sus desdichas
Crecerán sus males.

"Y de esta grandeza rara,
Digna de mil coronas y blasones,
Será la fama avara;
Solo se acordarán en las naciones,
Lo bien que gobernaron
Las tres cabezas que el imperio honraron;

"En Mexico famosa
Moctezuma, valor de pecho Indiano,
A' Culhuacan dichosa
De Nezahualcoyotl rigió la mano,
Acatlapan la fuerte
A Totoquilhuatli le salio por suerte.

"Y ningun olvido temo
De lo bien que en tu reyno dispusiste,
Estando en el supremo
Lugar que de la mano recibiste,
De aquel Señor del mundo†
Factor de aquestas cosas sin segundo.

* This passage is extremely beautiful, nor could Euripides have uttered anything more pathetic.

† The Mexicans believed, like the ancient Jews, that their kings ruled by *divine right*,—which analogy is very curious.

" Y goza pues muy gustoso,
O Nezahualcoyotl, lo que agora tienes,
Con flores de este hermoso
Jardin, corona tus ilustres bienes.
Oye mi canto y lira,
Que á darte gustos y placeres tira.

" Y los gustos de esta vida,
Sus riquezas y mandos son prestados *,
Con sustancia fingida,
Con apariencias solo matizados;
Y es tan gran verdad esta,
Que á una pregunta me has de dar respuesta :

" Y que es de Cihuapan,
Y Quautzintecomatzin el valiente,
U Conahuatzin;
Que es de toda esa gente?
Las voces agora acaso
Ya estan en la otra vida †, este es el caso!

" Ojala los que agora
Juntos los tiene del amor el hijo,
Que amistad atezora,
Vieramos de la muerte el duro filo,
Porque no hay bien seguro,
Que siempre trae mudanza á lo futuro.

" Don Fernando de Avila, gobernador de la provincia de Tlalmanalco, que es descendiente de los reyes de Tezcuco, viniendo á esta ciudad encontró á Don Juan de Aguilar, gobernador del pueblo de Cultepec de la provincia y jurisdiccion de Tezcuco, cerca de Santa Clara Quatitlan, dos leguas de esta ciudad, que venia á ella á negocios de su republica; y el dicho Don Juan venia á pie con catorce ó quince Indios cargados con su comida, que venian á Tacuba al repartimiento y repartirse, el qual venia cantando y llorando los cantos y lamentaciones del Rey Nezahualcoyotl de Tezcuco, y le traian el caballo sus criados; y como el gobernador Don Fernando se parase á mirarle, admirado de lo que vido, el Don Juan le dijo: nieto de que te espantas que me veas ir llorando? Sabeis que estos que aqui van cargados de comida, como tapixquez, son herederos hijos y descendientes del Rey Nezahualcoyotl, que la desdicha ha llegado á tanto, que como si fueran macehuales y villanos, los llevan á repartir á Tacuba, y yo les voy consolando y trayendoles á la memoria lo que dejó en sus cantos y lamentaciones ..... de otras en la lengua, que en romance nuestro lo tradujo el Don Fernando, y sobre ello se le impuso la lira de otras y romance siguiente.

" Tiene el florido verano
Su casa, corte y alcazar,
Adornado de riquezas,
Con bienes en abundancia.

" Con disposicion discreta,
Estan puestas y gravadas,
Ricas plumas, piedras ricas,
Que al mismo sol aventajan.

" Alli el precioso carbunco
De sus hermosas entrañas,
Sin dar lugar una á otra,
Luces de ciencia ‡ derrama.

" Alli el diamante estimado,
De fortaleza la estampa,
Con aquesta y con sus visos
Vivas centellas levanta.

" Aqui se veen ofreciendo
Las lucidas esmeraldas,
Del galardon de sus obras
Mil floridas esperanzas §.

" Luego topazios se siguen,
Que á la esmeralda se igualan,
Pues el galardon prometen
De la celestial morada ‖.

* The same idea occurs in the Psalms, and in many passages of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain.

† Nezahualcoyotl ingeniously endeavours to make his first question more perplexing, by observing that the very words in which that interrogation was couched might even *then* be in another life.

‡ It is deserving of remark, that the precious stones enumerated in this and the following stanzas have all symbolical allusions. The Carbuncle, for example, was typical of knowledge; the Diamond, of strength or fortitude; the Emerald, of reward for meritorious actions; the Topaz, of celestial felicity as the recompense of virtue; the Amethyst, of the anxiety which a king must feel for the welfare of his subjects, and also of temperance: and if we at the same time recollect the declaration of Nezahualcoyotl in a succeeding stanza,—that all these gems, *with their various virtues*, were consecrated to the Levitical service of Tezcatlipoca,—it will be difficult to refrain from thinking that the Mexicans had some tradition of the precious stones set in the *breast-plate* of Aaron, (to which the Jews, be it observed, attributed *occult* qualities, and considered *emblematical of the cardinal virtues*,) and of the ancient Hebrew mode of divination by Urim and Thummim, which has perplexed the Rabbis of all ages, and which some have supposed may yet lead to the discovery of the philosopher's stone,—alchemy being a science still in repute amongst the oriental Jews.

§ Green is a colour extremely refreshing to the eye, and the emerald might on that account have been emblematical of repose and pleasure after pain.

‖ The Mexicans believed that the souls of the good went after death to the house of the Sun, to enjoy eternal felicity, and they might have considered the Topaz a fit emblem of beatitude, from its bright and yellow rays, resembling those of the Sun.

" Aquesto es lo que de reyes,
De principes y monarcas,
En pechos y corazones
Se imprime, encierra y esmalta.

" Las amatistas con el ayre
Significando las ansias
Del rey para sus vasallos,
De los gustos la templanza*.

" Todas estas piedras ricas
Con sus virtudes tan varias,
O Padre! O Dios infinito!
Adornan tu corte y casa.

" Estas piedras † que al presente
Con mil amorosas trazas,
Yo el Rey Nezahualcoyotl
He juntado aunque prestadas,

" Son los principes famosos,
A uno Axaxacatzin llaman,
A otro Chimalpopoca
Y Xicomatzintlamata.

" Hoy poco regocijado
De sus fiestas y palabras,
Y de los demas Señores
Que aqui con ellos se hallan.

" Solo siento que por breve
Goza de este bien el alma,
Pero siempre lo que es gusto
Con facilidad se pasa.

" La presencia me recrea
De estas aguilas ‡ lozanas,
De estos tigres y leones,
Que á mil mundos espantaran.

" Estos que por su valor
Eterna memoria alcanzan,
Cuyo nombre y cuyos hechos
Eternizará la fama.

" Solo agora gozo y veo
Piedras ricas como varias,
Que me sirvieron de lustre
En mis sangrientas batallas.

" Hoy á principes tan nobles,
Sombra de la Yndiana patria,
Mi voluntad os festeja,
Como puede les alaba.

" Parece, que respondeis
Del alma son muestras claras,
Como vapor que de piedras
Preciosisimas exâla §.

" O Rey Nezahualcoyotl!
O Motezuma monarca!
Con vuestros blandos rocios
Vuestros vasallos se amparan.

" Pero al fin vendrá algun dia
Que amaine aquesta pujanza,
Y todos aquestos queden
En horfanidad amarga.

" Gozad, poderosos reyes,
Esta magestad tan alta,
Que os ha dado el Rey del cielo,
Con gusto y placer gozadla.

" Que en esta presente vida
De esta maquina mundana,
No habeis de empezar dos veces,
Gozad, porque el bien se acaba.

" Mirad que el futuro tiempo
Siempre promete mudanza,
Tristes de vuestros vasallos,
Porque tienen de gustarla.

" Veis aqui los instrumentos,
Cercados con las guirnaldas
De mil olorosas flores,
Gozad pues de su fragrancia.

" Y pues hay paz y concordia,
De amistades hoy enlazan
Unos con otros asidos,
Hoy regocijados con danzas.

" Paraque en un breve rato,
De piedras tan estimadas
Gozen principes y reyes,
Gozen la nobleza Yndiana.

" Que para tanta nobleza
La voluntad os consagra
El rey Nezahualcoyotl
Juntandoos hoy en su casa."

* The Greek word *ἀμεθυστος*, derived from *α, priv.*, and *μεθυω*, ebrius esse, and signifying the stone commonly named the amethyst, exhibits proof of a singular coincidence between the Greeks and the Mexicans in a merely popular opinion, the origin of which it would be difficult to explain.

† A transition from real gems to the wisdom and virtue contained, or supposed to be contained, within the hearts of kings, and fitting them for the enjoyment of happiness in another life, seems here to occur.

‡ Nezahualcoyotl here alludes to the various chiefs and warriors whom he was entertaining at a festival given in his palace, on which occasion this ode was either repeated by himself, or sung by his principal musician. It deserves to be remarked, that the appellation of *eagles* and *tigers*, which the Mexicans bestowed upon their two principal military orders of knighthood, might have been borrowed from the lamentation of David over the dead bodies of Saul and Jonathan, whose prowess he commends in the following passage of the twenty-third verse of the first chapter of the second book of Samuel: "They were swifter than *eagles*, they were stronger than *lions*."

§ This simile is borrowed from a curious belief of the Mexicans, that precious stones always emitted a fine vapour at sun-rise; a further account of which will be found in the 44th page of the sixth volume of this work.

Having been so fortunate as to rescue from the oblivion of three centuries the above two specimens of ancient Mexican poetry, we cannot refrain from inserting here the following brief description of them by the Baron de Humboldt, whose researches in America would almost in this instance alone appear to have been unattended with any result advantageous to science or beneficial to the arts. "Sous le règne d'Axajacatl mourut Nezahualcojotl, roi d'Acolhuacan ou Tezcuco, également mémorable par la culture de son esprit et par la sagesse de sa législation. Ce roi de Tezcuco avoit composé, en langue Aztèque, soixante hymnes en l'honneur de l'Etre-Suprême, une élégie sur la destruction de la ville d'Azcapozalco, et une autre sur l'instabilité des grandeurs humaines, prouvée par le sort du tyran Tezozomoc. Le petit-neveu de Nezahualcojotl, baptisé sous le nom de Ferdinand Alba Ixtlilxochitl, a traduit une partie de ces vers en Espagnol, et le Chevalier Boturini posséda l'original de deux de ces hymnes composés cinquante ans avant la conquête, et écrits du temps de Cortès, en caractères Romains, sur du papier de metl. *J'ai cherché vainement ces hymnes parmi les restes de la collection de Boturini, conservés au palais du vice-roy à Mexico.* Il est encore bien digne de rémarque, que le célèbre botaniste Hernandez a fait usage de beaucoup de dessins de plantes et d'animaux, dont le roi Nezahualcojotl avoit orné son habitation à Tezcuco, et qui avoient été faits par des peintres Aztèques." Having mentioned at the commencement of this note a prose translation of a part of a very celebrated ode of Nezahualcoyotl, which that monarch is said by Torquemada, in the 139th page of the sixth volume of this work, to have composed on the occasion of his celebrating the *dedication* of his new palace, we shall here insert it, from the fourth chapter of the 'Tardes Americanas' of Granados, observing at the same time that this is the ode the first line of which, according to Torquemada, commenced in the Mexican language with the words "Xochitl mamani." "Son las caducas pompas del mundo como los verdes sauzes, que por mucho que anhelen á la duracion, á el fin un inopinado fuego los consume, una cortante acha los destroza, un zierzo los derriba, y la avanzada edad y decrepitud los agovia y entristece. Siguen las púrpuras las propiedades de la rosa en el color y la suerte: dura la hermosura de estas en tanto que sus castos botones avaros recogen y conservan aquellas porciones que quaja en ricas perlas la Aurora, y economica deshace y derrite en liquidos rocios. Pero apenas el Padre de los Vivientes dirige sobre ellas el mas ligero rayo de sus luces, les despoja su belleza y lozania, haciendo que pierdan por marchitas la encendida y purpurea color con que agradablemente ufanas se vestian. En breves periodos cuentan las deleitosas repúblicas de las flores sus reynados; porque las que por la mañana ostentan soberviamente engreidas la vanidad y el poder, por la tarde lloran la triste cadencia de su trono, y los repetidos parasismos que las impelen á el desmayo, la aridez, la muerte y el sepulcro. Todas las cosas de la tierra tienen termino, porque en la mas festiva carrera de sus engreimientos y bizarrias, calman sus alientos, caen y se despeñan para el hoyo. Toda la redondez de la tierra es un sepulcro; no hay cosa que sustente, que con titulo de piedad no la esconda y entierre. Corren los rios, los arroyos, las fuentes y las aguas, y ningunas retroceden para sus alegres nacimientos: aceleranse con ansia para los vastos dominios de Tlaloca, y quanto mas se arriman á sus dilatados margenes, tanto mas van labrando las melancolicas urnas para sepultarse. Lo que fue ayer no es hoy, ni lo de hoy se afianza que será mañana. Llenas están las bovedas de pestilentes polvos, que antes eran huesos, cadaveres y cuerpos con alma, ocupando estos los tronos, autorizando los doceles, presidiendo las asambleas, gobernando exercitos, conquistando provincias, poseyendo tesoros, arrastrando cultos, lisonjeandose con el fausto, la magestad, la fortuna, el poder y la dominacion. Pasaron estas glorias, como el pavoroso humo que vomita y sale del infernal fuego de Popocatepec, sin otros monumentos que acuerden sus exîstencias en las toscas pieles en que se escriben. Ha! ha! y si yo os introduxera á los obscuros senos de esos panteones, y os preguntara, qué quales eran los huesos del poderoso Achalchiuhtlanextzin, primer caudillo de los antiguos Tultecas; de Necaxec Mitl, reverente cultor de los dioses? Si os preguntara donde está la incomparable belleza de la gloriosa emperatriz Xiuhtzal, y por el *pacifico* Tolpiltzin *, ultimo monarca del infeliz reyno Tulteco? Si os preguntara, qué quales eran las sagradas cenizas de nuestro primer padre Xolotl; las del munificentisimo Nopal; las del generoso Tlotzin; y aun por los calientes carbones † de mi glorioso, immortal, aunque infeliz y desventurado padre Yxtlilxochitl? Si asi os fuera preguntando

* A sign, but it must be confessed an *unfulfilled* sign, of the Hebrew Messiah was, that he should reign long and *peaceably* over Israel; whence it is possible that the Jews, borrowing the expression from Scripture, might have applied the epithet of the Prince of Peace to Quecalcoatle.

† The phrase "calientes carbones" might lead us to suppose that Nezahualcoyotl composed this ode when his father Ixtlilxochitl's death was a recent event, and probably not long after the death of Tezozomoc and the defeat of his son Maxtlaton, which, together with the ruin of the Tecpanecan empire, occurred in the year 1425.

por todos nuestros augustos progenitores, qué me responderiais? Lo mismo que yo respondiera, *Indipohdi, indipohdi:* nada sé, nada sé, porque los primeros y ultimos estan confundidos con el barro. Lo que fue de ellos, ha de ser de nosotros, y de los que nos succedieren. Anhelemos, invictisimos Principes, Capitanes esforzados, fieles amigos y leales vasallos, aspiremos al Cielo, que alli todo es eterno y nada se corrompe. El horror del sepulcro es lisongera cuna para el *Sol*, y las funestas sombras, brillantes luces para los astros. No hay quien tenga poder para immutar esas celestes laminas, porque como immediatamente sirven á la immensa grandeza del Autor, hacen que hoy vean nuestros ojos lo mismo que registró la pretericion, y registrará nuestra posteridad." The resemblance which the language and sentiments of Nezahualcoyotl display in these odes to the Psalms, has already been pointed out; and we may likewise remark, that the same resemblance forcibly struck the author of the 'Tardes Americanas,' who, in a tone of astonishment, exclaims in the following energetic terms, *A mi fé, que semejantes sentencias he leido, dictadas por el Espiritu Santo en los libros de Job y Canticos del Profeta Rey*, comentando aquel, *Omnia veterascunt, tu autem permanes;* y no sé que pudieran decir otro tanto los sabios estoycos y gentiles morales, que tanto engrandecieron los Griegos y los Romanos." He concludes his criticism of the poems by pronouncing the following splendid eulogium upon Nezahualcoyotl. "Conocióse en este Principe la magnificencia de sus luces, lo admirable de su genio, la prodigiosa fertilidad de sus sentencias, la superioridad de su estilo, la magestad de su numen, y la rara grandeza de su locucion, persuadiendo al desengaño los mentidos esplendores de las púrpuras y las magestades, con las mismas voces del poeta Latino:—

'Et regum cineres, structo monte quiescunt.' "

Note XLV. Page 271.

Garcia, in his celebrated treatise on the origin of the Indians, adduces as a principal argument in favour of the Mexicans being descended from the Jews, the similarity which many of their laws bore to those of the Pentateuch. This argument is so conclusive, that it is unnecessary to insist upon its force; in order, however, that the most satisfactory grounds of forming a correct judgment may be afforded to those who may wish to compare the institutions of the Jews and the Mexicans, we shall insert a specimen of the penal code of the latter people, which is taken from the thirteenth chapter of the third part of the Teatro Mexicano of Augustin de Betancourt; of which work, as well as of its author, who was Professor of Theology in the University of Mexico, Eguiara, in his Biblioteca Mexicana, speaks in the highest terms of commendation.

" El que se juntaba con su madre, hermana, con suegra, con entenada, por la decencia que se debe á la cercania de la sangre, y por ser grave exceso que un mismo hombre tuviese acceso con tan cercanas parientas, morian ahorcados, y si era con voluntad de la muger morian *ambos** con una misma soga: leyes que de generacion heredaron, hechas con consejo, y que se ajustan al capitulo veynte del Levitico†, salvo con las cuñadas, porque si uno moria y dejaba hijos, el hermano mayor quedaba con la viuda‡, y la recebia por muger, y esto no obligava, como en la ley del Deuteronomio

* "They shall *both* die," is a form of summing up the law very usual in the Pentateuch, and which some authors have admired for its clearness and perspicuity.

† The scrupulous care with which the more civilized Indian nations, as well as the most barbarous, under which latter denomination may be included the Brazilians, avoided marrying within the degrees of consanguinity prohibited to the Jews, and especially the severity of the punishments inflicted by them on those who transgressed these regulations, afford a strong argument in favour of the Jews having established their empire in the New World; whilst their abstaining from eating the flesh of certain beasts and fowls, from the idea of their being unclean, and complying with several other injunctions and prohibitions contained in the twentieth chapter of Leviticus, tend likewise to the same conclusion.

‡ The custom of widows being deemed, in the case of elder brothers, inheritable property amongst the Jews, appears to have led to some shameful outrages on public decency in Peru, of which Scripture affords an instance in the history of Absalom, who was advised by Ahithophel "to go in unto his father's concubines in the sight of ALL Israel." This advice we learn from the sixteenth chapter of the second book of Samuel he actually followed, and, strange to say, Scripture says that the counsel itself was "as if a man had inquired *at the oracle of God.*" To understand this declaration aright, we must either suppose that the Jews, taken in the mass, were in that age the most infamously immoral people on the face of the globe, and that this was a step taken by Absalom to gain popularity, or that it

veynte y cinco; no hazian la ceremonia quando no queria, de descalzarse el zapato,* y de escupir en la cara, como entre los Judios, sino que era el casamiento voluntario.

"A los adulteros apedreaban, y era en dos maneras, ó poniendole la cabeza sobre una piedra, y dandole con otra, ó apedreandole muchos †. Si era noble, por compasion le daban garrote, y despues ‡ le tiraban piedras. Y esto avia de ser con testigos §, que no bastava la acusacion del marido, y era con confesion de los acusados ‖. Y no tenia el marido permision para matarla, porque tenia pena de muerte, aunque los hallara juntos en adulterio ¶, si la mataba, que era caso á los juezes reservado, nombrados para el consentimiento de las causas de matrimonio, porque decian que era usurpar la juridicion real, y á los juezes quitarles el derecho. En el pueblo antiguo de los Hebreos, como consta del quinto de los Numeros la llevaban al sumo sacerdote, y hazia la prueba con el agua que llamaban de la *zelotipia, lo qual se permitió algun tiempo en la primitiva de la Iglesia,* y despues se prohibió por *razones justas.*

"A los que mentian ** en cosa leve, les picaban los labios con una pua de maguey, y á los que en cosa grave, les cortaban un pedazo de los labios, oy huviera muchos sin labios por lo mucho que mienten.

was a measure of policy to persuade the Jews that the inheritance of the house of David, including his father's concubines, *had already devolved on him.* The latter supposition, which places Absalom and all Israel in a somewhat less abominable light, is that which favours the conjecture, that the following Peruvian law was founded on ancient Hebrew precedent, and was not uncongenial with the manners of the Jews in the age of David. "Era costumbre entre ellos que el hermano heredava las mugeres de su hermano en muriendo, y *el hijo las del padre,* y tenian acceso con ellas *publicamente,* y aun el dia de oy lo usan algunos." We have transcribed the above passage from an ancient MS., the hand-writing of which appears to be of the sixteenth century. The anonymous writer says, in the section immediately preceding, that the Ingas appointed a general visitation of the provinces of their empire once every three years, when marriages were contracted in the following form: "En cada pueblo como sabian que iba el dicho Ynga ó visitador hallava en la plaza de cada pueblo, puestos en orden todos los Yndios que no tenian mugeres, que eran de quince años hasta veynte, y veynte e cinco hasta treynta, y de treynta hasta quarenta, cada edad por si, y asi mesmo las mugeres solteras por sus edades, y de tal manera que los hombres estaban frontero de las mugeres; y de alli daban primeramente mugeres á los caciques y principales que no las tenian, ó tenian necesidad de mas; y despues davan á los demas Yndios por sus edades, á cada qual su ygual, y este era entre ellos el matrimonio tan guardado que ninguno osava dexar la muger, que alli le davan, ni tener quenta con otra *so pena de muerte,* y ellas por el consiguiente. Y solamente era concedido á los caciques principales de á diez mill Yndios y de á mill Yndios, tener mas mugeres *de una,* pero avia de ser *con licencia* del dicho Ynga."

* Acosta says, in the tenth chapter of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, that Peruvian marriages were contracted by putting a sandal on the foot of the bride; and we have introduced some observations on the analogous Hebrew custom of the widow, whose brother-in-law refused to marry her, rendering him free from the obligation of treating her as a wife by pulling off his sandal and spitting in his face, which will be found in the ninth page of the present volume. We must also remark, that the custom of *elders* sitting *in the gate* to determine causes,—express mention of which is made in the seventh verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy,—seems very analogous to the court of judicature, over which ten or *twelve* persons presided (who were probably elders), who held their daily sittings in the principal square of Mexico, and took cognizance of disputes which arose in the market-place, and probably of other public matters also. Of this ordinary court of justice Cortes gives the following description, in a letter addressed to Charles V.: "Hay en esta gran plaza una muy buena casa como de audiencia, donde estan *siempre* sentados diez ó *doze* personas, que son jueces, y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acarcen, y mandan castigar los delinquentes."

† This mode of stoning to death was more agreeable to the letter of the Mosaic law, where there generally occurs a clause, comprised in the words "and *all* the people" or "*the men* of the city," which clause did away with the employment of private executioners, and, it may at the same time be inferred, greatly brutalized the manners of the Jewish populace.

‡ The stoning the *dead* body of a person who had already undergone the sentence of death by strangling, could have only been to fulfil *the letter* of a law which required that adulterers should be *stoned* to death. The Jews have, at every period of their history, shown themselves such great lovers of the letter of the law, that even this simple trait in the manners of the Mexicans betrays the features of Judaism.

§ This would appear to have been the Hebrew custom, since we read, in the thirty-fourth verse of the first chapter of the History of Susanna and the Elders, that it was the two elders who, "*laying their hands upon her head,*" accused her of adultery to the people, and not her husband on their information. We may here remark, that the fifth verse of this chapter is curious, as showing how the affairs of the Jews were administered during their captivity in Babylon.

‖ It is evident from the history of Achan, in the seventh chapter of Joshua, that the Jews endeavoured to obtain confession from accused persons, even when the evidence of their guilt was complete, and sufficient for their condemnation.

¶ The laws of many ancient states justified a husband, in such a case, killing an adulterer; and Mr. Crawford states, in the fifth chapter of his History of the Indian Archipelago, that the same permission is granted by the laws of Java. When, therefore, the Mexican and Hebrew codes, which affected the most rigid regard for morality, and even punished adultery with death, granted no such license to the injured husband, it will lead to the inference that they were derived from the same source.

** Lying was punished with extreme severity by the laws of the Mexicans and Peruvians, amongst the latter of whom it was made a

"El que se vestia de muger*, ó la muger en trage de hombre, le ahorcaban. Esta fue ley del veynte y dos del Deuteronomio, y es la razon, por escusar los actos libidinosos que pueden encubrirse.

"Al que cometia el pecado nefando, y á la muger que contra otra muger tenia delectaciones carnales, que llamaban Phtlachc incuba, los ahorcaban, y ponian gran cuydado en evitar este pecado, y si era sacerdote lo quemaban para satisfacer la gravedad del pecado.

capital crime, as is evident from the testimony of various respectable Spanish historians, and would further appear from the following passage of an inedited epitome of the laws of the Peruvians, entitled, "Orden que el Ynga tubo en la governacion del Piru," where the anonymous author says, "Ninguno de los naturales era osado de mentyr sobre esto, ni sobre otra cosa, como le fuese preguntado *por el governador,* so pena de muerte." The reason why lying was considered a crime of such magnitude by the Mexicans and the Peruvians, was probably because the oaths of two witnesses had the *same weight* in their courts of justice as among the Jews, and the life of an innocent man might be placed in jeopardy by a false witness.

* It is impossible at this distance of time to know whether Moses might have permitted the Jews to act plays in the desert, in order to beguile away the forty tedious years of their pilgrimage; but were such a law as that adverted to by Betancourt enacted at the present day, it would evidently appear to be directed against the theatres, where such an interchange of dress amongst the actors is no very uncommon occurrence. It is not, however, very probable that Moses would have encouraged theatrical representations; and if they were ever permitted in the Jewish state, it was probably in the reign of Solomon, whose taste for poetry, and inclination for whatever could add gaiety to a court, are too well known to need description. It would not, however, appear that the later Jewish kings were inclined to patronize the histrionic art; and it is an admitted fact, that the first Christian emperors who reigned at Byzantium, whose minds were imbued with the morose and persecuting spirit of Judaism, caused the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to be everywhere sought out and committed to the flames, the bishops lending their aid to this mistaken act of piety. It is hence no difficult task to account for the disgrace—we should rather say the infamy—which, during many a long and dark age, attached to the profession of an actor, and which in England appears, notwithstanding the progress of the Reformation, to have lasted even to the age of Shakspeare, who, in his hundred and eleventh sonnet, complains of Fortune,

> "That did not better for *his* life provide,
> Than publick means, which publick manners breeds."

From this passage it may be inferred, notwithstanding the doubts of some critics, that our great poet was an actor as well as a writer of plays, and that he thought that circumstance calculated to lower him in public esteem. In Roman Catholic countries the same disgrace was perpetuated to a much later period, and the consolations of religion, even Christian burial, were denied to those who exercised a profession, which in the days of Roman glory conferred no less of fame than emolument, and, to descend to an example of modern times, acquired for Talma the friendship of Napoleon. It is indeed too frequently the custom of fanatical enthusiasts like the Rev. Mr. Irving, who are many of them men advanced in years, and naturally of a cynical and austere temperament, to inveigh against the immoral tendency of plays, and to declaim in the fields against acting; and since this practice has a tendency to degrade religion to the level of the intellect of those who profess to believe in unknown tongues, it becomes almost a duty, and is certainly an act of charity, to admonish those well-intentioned but self-deluded preachers, that it is unjust to argue against the use of any art or human institution from its abuses. The real aim of the tragic muse is to convey lessons of morality to a numerous audience, and to correct their passions, exalt their sentiments, and refine their feelings, by placing before their eyes great and illustrious examples of virtue; and such an aim is unquestionably laudable. Aristotle himself concludes his celebrated definition of tragedy, in the sixth chapter of his Treatise on Poetry, with a declaration that this is the true end and aim of tragic representation; and the terms which he there employs are these: "δι' ἐλεου και φοβου περαινουσα την των τοιουτων παθηματων καθαρσιν," which, literally translated, signify, "by means of fear and pity effectually purifying passions of that class;" by which the philosopher must mean that tragedy purifies and ennobles both pity and fear, and whatever other passions are allied to them, by divesting them of all selfish considerations, and causing men to feel such sentiments for the misfortunes of others rather than for their own. With such refined sentiments of emotion, it is to be presumed an Athenian audience would have witnessed the sublime agonies of Prometheus, the fortitude of Jason, the mournful fate of Agamemnon, and the disinterested friendship of Orestes and Pylades. It may be proper to observe, that a learned translator of Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry, Mr. Twining, admits but two interpretations of the above passage of Aristotle, neither of which agrees with that here given. The sense in which he understands the words of Aristotle will be found in the forty-fifth note to his translation of that essay; but if due attention be paid to the *specific* employment of the words ἐλεου and φοβου, to the relative application of τοιουτων, and to the strict sense of καθαρσιν, his explanation will not appear very satisfactory; and a more attentive consideration of the text will show, that Aristotle intended to say that the two artificial means which tragedy must resort to to attain its end, are pity and fear,—that its tendency is to purify those affections, as well as the kindred feelings of love and admiration, which are not however so essential to tragedy, although calculated to heighten its interest, and that upon the skilful application of these means the perfection of tragedy will in a great measure depend. It need scarcely be observed, that tragedy usually represents characters whose virtues inspire us with interest for their fate; and amongst the Greeks these characters were generally selected from the early page of their own history. We may remark, in concluding, that the term τοιουτων implies an exclusion of some other class of passions, which, though frequently represented on the stage, being radically evil, do not admit of any purification:—of this class are envy, avarice, &c.

"A las alcaguetas sacaban á la plaza, y en publico le quemaban los cabellos hasta que llegaba á lo vivo * con teas, que llamaban ocote, y le untaban la cabeza con ceniza caliente del ocote, y si era persona de supposicion á quien servia de tercera, le añadian mas penas al delicto.

"Al sacerdote que hallaban comprehendido en deshonestidad, ó le hallaban con alguna muger, le privaban † de oficio, y era desterrado.

"Si alguno tenia acceso con alguna esclava agena, y moria estando preñada, hazian esclavo al que cometia la culpa, y si paria, se llevaba la cria, y la avia de libertar con precio.

"En los hurtos, era ley general que siendo de cosa de valor, tenian pena de muerte; y si la parte se convenia, pagaba en mantas la cantidad al dueño, y *otra mas* para el fisco real; á esto acudian los parientes, y por la culpa *quedava esclavo* ‡, y si lo avia gastado, y no tenia con que, pagaba con la vida.

"El que hurtaba en la plaza ó feria, que llaman tianquizco, luego era alli § muerto á palos, por ser en el lugar publico el atrevimiento.

"El que hurtaba cantidad de mazorcas de mays, ó arrancaba cantidad de matas, tenia pena de muerte, pero le era permitido el que tomara algunas para comer ‖.

* This punishment is represented in the sixty-fourth plate of the Collection of Mendoza; and that it was known in ancient times to the Jews,—whose penal enactments were too capital a part of their moral code for the Mexicans not to feel most solicitous to preserve them,—will, we think, appear from the old Hebrew proverb of heaping coals of fire *on the head* of an adversary by conferring benefits upon him, and from the clear allusion to the same punishment in the fifty-third verse of the sixteenth chapter of the second book of Esdras: "Let not the sinner say that he hath not sinned, for God *shall burn coals of fire upon his head*, which saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned."

† To be deprived of the priestly office was probably as great a punishment amongst the Mexicans as the Jews. This was the judgment which God denounced in the second chapter of the first book of Samuel against the family of Eli, on account of the iniquity of his sons.

‡ It would appear from this law that there was a surprising similarity in the Mexican laws relating to theft, and those of the same class contained in the twenty-second chapter of Exodus. Moses made neither theft nor the act of the incendiary,—which latter offence, from the evil that may thence accrue to the whole community, no penal code can treat with lenity,—capital crimes; and hence it may be presumed that the Mexican laws, which were usually extremely sanguinary, left it at the option of the other party to require, in the first instance, restitution, or, in other words, payment to the amount of the full value of the stolen goods, with the forfeiture of as much again to the public treasury; with which conditions if the thief was unable to comply, he was *to be sold*, to make up the deficient sum, and in case of total failure, to be punished with death. The principle of compounding for theft by the restitution of *double* the value of the stolen goods, is laid down again and again in the twenty-second chapter of Exodus, with one solitary unintelligible exception, in the first verse of the same chapter, relating to sheep and oxen; where five, or at least four times the value of the stolen animal, if killed or sold, was to be returned to the owner; which aggravation of punishment in the case of sheep-stealing might, in the opinion of some of the Judges of the good old times, "when wretches hung, that jurymen might dine," have justified the severity of the English law against sheep-stealing. We shall here insert the literal text of the Mosaic law, because it is quite in conformity with the provisions of the Mexican code, and might have suggested, by the employment of the phrase *full*, which properly means completely, in the sense of neither more nor less, an amendment or modification of that portion of it which vested in the owner more than the value of his goods, and the adjudication of the other half of the fine to the public treasury. "If the sun be risen upon him (the thief), there shall be blood shed for him; for he should make *full* restitution: if he have nothing, then he shall be *sold for his theft*." We learn from the eighth verse of the fifth chapter of Nehemiah, and from the twenty-fifth verse of the eighteenth chapter of St. Matthew, that it was a Hebrew custom, tolerated and permitted by the Mosaic law, for creditors to sell their debtors for slaves, if they had not the means of discharging their debts. Elisha's miracle of multiplying the widow's oil, recorded in the fourth chapter of the second book of Kings, was to spare her the grief of seeing her two sons made bondsmen to her creditor, whose demands she was enabled to pay by the sale of the oil. The Mexican law, in the same manner, authorized, Shylock-like, the sale of debtors to pay their creditors, and children were frequently sold by their parents, and, which was much more just, individuals by themselves, to pay their debts. Both the Mexican and Hebrew codes, it is quite evident, greatly favoured a *domestic* slave-trade within their respective states, and it is only surprising that individuals can be found who will pertinaciously deny a fact so capable of proof. That the slave-trade, understood in a more general sense, was, as we have already observed in the 398th page of the sixth volume of this Work, encouraged by all the Christian states,—who first extensively embarked in it on the express plea that, like the Sabbath, it was of divine institution, or at least the accomplishment of prophecy,—is likewise a clear and undoubted fact; and if it argues a reverence for Scripture on the part of some to maintain the contrary, it is no less true that it is derogating from the infallibility of Scripture for them to feel ashamed of any of its doctrines.

§ It would appear from a passage in the treatise of Maimonides concerning idolatry, that Hebrew towns could not exercise certain judicial privileges if they had not a proper market-place, which might have heightened the respect which the Mexicans felt for their paved market-places.

‖ That the Hebrew law connived at this slight invasion of private property to satisfy the calls of hunger, must be inferred from the story of Christ's disciples plucking the ears of corn.

"Si alguno vendia por esclavo algun niño perdido*, quedaba esclavo, y le vendian la hazienda, dandole al niño la mitad, y pagando al comprador lo que avia dado, y si eran muchos los vendian, y esta pena tenia tambien el que enagenaba ó vendia algunas tierras que tenia en deposito †, sin licencia de la justicia.

"El que hurtaba plata y oro, lo desollaban vivo y sacrificaban al dios de los plateros que llamaban Xipe‡, y lo sacaban por las calles para escarmiento de otros, por ser el delicto contra el dios fingido.

"En las guerras que primero justificaban para hazerlas §, á los que eran causa de motin, los castigaban con muerte, y al que hazia algun daño á los enemigos sin licencia del capitan, ó si acometian antes del tiempo, ó se aquartelaban de la vandera, ó quebrantaban algun vando, eran degollados, y si quitaba la presa, ó cautivo que por su persona avia adquirido, era pena de muerte.

"Al traydor ‖ que descubria á los enemigos los secretos de guerra, le hazian pedazos, eran sus bienes confiscados, y sus parientes quedaban *manchados*.

"El que en guerra, bayle ó fiesta sacaba las insignias, ó alguna señal, ó armas de los reyes de Mexico, Tezcuco, y Tacuba, tenia pena de muerte, y confiscados los bienes.

"Los juezes, ó relatores que hazian falsa relacion al rey de algun pleyto, y los que injustamente y sin razon sentenciaban, tenian pena de muerte.

"A los hijos que malbaratavan la hazienda heredada, y á los tutores que la gastaban, los ahorcaban ¶ en pena de que no estimaban el sudor ageno.

"El que quitaba los mojones y linderos que la justicia ponia en tierras y heredades, tenia pena de muerte **.

"El que hazia hechisos ††, y los maleficios, morian sacrificados, y abiertos por el pechos; y el que con bebedisos mataba era ahorcado.

* Man-stealers are mentioned in terms of reprobation in the Old Testament.

† This clause might lead us to infer, not only that the Mexicans resembled the Jews in their inclination to give and take pledges, which custom had an evident tendency to encourage usury, but likewise that their laws discouraged the alienation of landed property, which, amongst the Jews, could only be sold for a term of years expiring with the jubilee; thus rendering the possession of land a perpetuity in the same families.

‡ Xipe was worshiped by the Mexicans under the other name of Totec; he was the Mammon adored by their goldsmiths and jewellers, and, in more ancient times, was equally revered by the Tultecas.

§ The Jews made a mock justification of the wars which they undertook, by assuring their enemies that they were God's chosen people, and that they ought to yield quiet possession to them of their land; to which if they assented, they contented themselves with plundering them of their wealth, and reducing them to the condition of slavery; but if they resisted, they were considered as rebels, and they, their wives, and their children were devoted to death. That the Jews were acquainted with military discipline, and enforced it by very severe regulations, is evident from the curse and adjuration of Saul in the twenty-fourth verse of the fourteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel, and from his being about to offer up his son Jonathan as a *devoted* victim to the Lord, if the people would have suffered it, as recorded in the forty-fourth verse of the same chapter of Samuel; and it must also be inferred, from the example given, in the forty-third verse of the first chapter of Deuteronomy, of divine chastisement falling upon disobedience to military orders in attacking the enemy before the time, that they would have carefully guarded against the latter error, whilst the dreadful punishment of Achan, which fell not alone on him, but on his unoffending children, as we are informed in the twenty-fifth verse of the seventh chapter of Joshua, would have led the Jews of every age to consider the embezzling or purloining, from private individuals or the public coffers, plunder taken from the enemy, a crime of the most atrocious magnitude.

‖ The treachery of Ahithophel to David, who betrayed his most secret counsels to Absalom, and joined his rebellion, although he had been his father's "familiar friend," would have disposed the Jews to enact very severe laws against traitors.

¶ This law, instituted for the purpose of retaining and augmenting wealth in private families, savours extremely of Judaism, since the spirit of covetousness which dictated it betrays itself in the undue severity of the sentence. It may, however, be remarked, that the ancient Roman law punished notorious prodigals, who were in danger of wasting their estates, by authorizing the Prætor to place them under the care of tutors or curators.

** This was also a crime severely punished by the Mosaic law, from which it may be inferred that neither the Mexicans nor the Jews understood anything of land-surveying, or were acquainted with the first principles of geometry, since, if that had been the case, so much importance would not have been attached to land-marks as to punish the removal of them capitally.

†† A similar law occurs in the eighteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus; but it would not appear from the following passage of the thirteenth chapter of Ezekiel, that Moses was very successful in putting down witches, since, had that been the case, the latter prophet would have had no reason for indulging in the following bitter invective against the witches that existed amongst the Jews of his age, whom he accused of murder, divination, and *hunting souls*, adding to the other charges which he brings against them, that of *fastening pillows to their arms*, the meaning of which it is difficult to conjecture, unless it may refer to a pillow or stuffed knapsack worn, as it seems, by the Jewish women under their arms, in the manner represented in the twentieth page of the Mexican painting

"El que siendo mancebo bebia vino con demasia, lo llevaban á la carcel y alli á golpes le quitaban la vida*: á las mugeres que se embriagaban apedreaban, como adulteras: al noble le quitaban el oficio, y quedaba afrentado; á los plebeyos les quitaban el cabello, y les *derribavan las casas.* En Tezcuco al noble lo ahorcaban, y lo hechaban en el rio, para que se hartase de agua el cuerpo que en vida bebió tanto vino; al plebeyo lo vendian por algunos años, y á la tercera vez le ahorcaban.

"El esclavo que salia de la prision y se entraba en el palacio, quedava sin esclavitud, y libre de las penas en que estaba condenado, porque era como lugar de refugio † el real palacio.

preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden, which, we have elsewhere supposed, is only a fragment of a much larger painting, descriptive of the pilgrimage of the ancestors of the Mexicans from Aztlan. Without pretending to judge whether the women represented in the Dresden painting, whose features, it must be confessed, are decidedly Jewish, are real witches, we shall merely observe, that if that question be decided in the affirmative, it is highly probable that the children on their backs are imps; they being, in the opinion of the celebrated Chief Justice Hales, the usual concomitants of witches. "Likewise, thou son of man, set thy face against the daughters of thy people, which prophecy out of their own heart, and prophecy thou against them, and say, Thus saith the Lord God: Woe to the women that sew pillows to all arm-holes, and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature, *to hunt souls!* Will ye hunt the souls of my people, and will ye save the souls alive that come unto you? And will ye pollute me among my people, for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying to my people that hear your lies? Wherefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against your pillows, wherewith ye there hunt the souls to make them fly, and I will tear them from your arms, and will let the souls go, even the souls that ye hunt to make them fly. Your kerchiefs also will I tear, and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand to be hunted, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. Because with lies ye have made the heart of the righteous sad whom I have not made sad, and strengthened the hands of the wicked that he should not return from his wicked way *by promising him life.* Therefore ye shall see no more vanity *nor divine divinations,* for I will deliver my people out of your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord."

* Various passages occur in the Old Testament which might have led the Jews, after they had determined to effect a thorough reformation of morals in the New World, to constitute drunkenness a capital crime. The drunkards of Ephraim are mentioned in such terms of reprobation by Isaiah, in the first verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of his Prophecies, that it is with infinite amazement we read, in the seventh verse of the same chapter, that the priests and prophets of Jerusalem delighted in drunkenness; nor is it at all surprising, this being the case, that they should have "erred in vision" or "stumbled in judgment," since what drunken man ever saw or walked aright? and it would be blasphemy to suppose that in such a state the Lord would have assisted them with his outstretched arm; which, at times and seasons far less necessary, the Hebrew prophets were never weary of entreating. The prophet Micah indulges in a more satirical strain against drunkards, where, inveighing, in the eleventh verse of his second chapter, against the habitual drunkenness of the priests and prophets of the Jews in his age, he says: "If a man walking in the spirit and falsehood *do lie,* saying, I will prophecy unto thee *of wine* and of strong drink, *he* shall even be *the prophet of this people:*" and drunkenness is condemned in persons of the highest rank by Solomon, in his exhortation to king Lemuel, in the following passage of the thirty-first chapter of his Proverbs, whose recommendation to give wine to persons ready to perish, might have induced the Mexicans to allow persons of either sex, above seventy years of age, to get drunk with impunity, as stated by the interpreter of the Collection of Mendoza, in the eighty-seventh page of the sixth volume of this work. "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes strong drink, lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted. Give strong drink *unto him that is ready to perish,* and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts; let him drink and *forget* his poverty, and remember his misery no more." With respect to the punishments with which the Mexican laws chastised drunkenness, we shall only remark, that they all bear a Jewish character: to inflict stripes, not exceeding forty, was a most common mode of punishment amongst the Jews, which, in cases of extreme delinquency, might have been commuted into the sentence of beating the culprit to death. Stoning to death was notoriously a Hebrew punishment,—barbarous, it is true, but declared by Moses to have been of divine origin. To have the hair shorn off completely, and not alone on *the fore part* of the head, or as *a sign of grief* for the death of near kindred, was considered highly disgraceful by the Jews, and is alluded to, as a reproach which the Lord would bring upon them, by Isaiah in the twentieth verse of the seventh chapter of his Prophecies; and we learn, from the twenty-ninth verse of the third chapter of Daniel, that to throw down the dwelling-houses of persons convicted of any grave public offence was an aggravation of their sentence, which the page of Scripture rendered familiar to the minds of the Jews, and to which David appears to allude in the Psalms, when he says, he passed by the house of the wicked, and it was not. "Therefore I make a decree that every people, nation, and language which speak anything amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego shall *be cut in pieces,* and their *houses shall be made a dunghill.*"

† The Jews had a certain number of cities which were named cities of refuge, from the immunity and protection from the law which they afforded criminals who could escape to them. The altar, dedicated to Jehovah, and within the inclosure of the temple, was also a place of refuge, to which Joab vainly fled to escape the anger of Solomon, who, as we are informed in the thirty-first verse of the second chapter of the first book of Kings, commanded the satellites of death to fall on him, and slay him at the altar, which must necessarily have been dyed with human blood. We may here observe, that the Hebrew altar of refuge led to the invention, in later ages and under the Christian dispensation, of the right of sanctuary, which proved the greatest impediment to justice that law could ever have devised, and often screened the most atrocious murderers from the penalty due to their guilt.

"Otras muchas leyes extravagantes* que con el instinto natural con maduro consejo confirmaron, y que inviolablemente guardaban, tenian los Mexicanos y los de Guatemala, como el deponer al rey con junta y consejo de la nobleza, y el promover las causas para la guerra, el guardar los fueros á los embajadores y correos, de que dejo escrito, y van en la parte de la politica advertidas: basten las puestas para el conocimiento de que no eran tan barbaros como algunos piensan.

"En tres delictos en que eran en su gentilidad con todo rigor castigados, porque entonces conocian ser frequentes, estan oy los naturales con disolucion perdidos, que son adulterio, la embriagues y hurto, porque como son de tal natural, que son mas llevados por el rigor y miedo que por la razon y suavidad, con la clemencia de la Iglesia y su ley de gracia han soltado las riendas de su inclinacion depravada, desdicha grande que lo que no se les consentia quando gentiles, se les tolere siendo Christianos. Todos á la embriagues son tan inclinados, que porque les conviden á pulque, convidan y entriegan sus mismas mugeres para la luxuria, cometen incestos en la embriagues para decir que estaban embriagados, siendo la disculpa su misma culpa. Trabajan mas por lo que hurtan, que por lo que ganan, y asi son menester muchos ojos, porque lo que sus ojos ven sus manos aguilas son. Pues el mentir; en qualquier informe lo primero que dicen es una mentira, si le sirve despues para su defensa, y lo que es para llorar es lo que en las confessiones mienten, pensando engañar, y en su daño se engañan á si mismos, en lo que son puntuales es, que apenas tienen el menor achaque, quando llaman al ministro, no tanto por su bien, quanto por darle que hazer, y á vezes se valen de que los sacramenten para escaparse por enfermos, ó para que los visiten con agasajos. Ya ha sucedido llamar á las nueve de la noche á los sacramentos, y á la mañana ver los levantados, y averiguado el caso fue, porque aviendole reñido el marido fingió achaque, se hizo sacramentar por hazer las pazes, y hechas se fue á vender á la mañana sus maritatas á la plaza. Esto es de mas de cinquenta años de experiencia, y cada dia van á peor, porque antes eran los negros y mulatos sus enemigos, y con beber juntos se han hecho camaradas, de quienes aprenden otras mañas. Dios Nuestro Señor les alumbre los entendimientos para que conoscan la obligacion que tienen de Christianos."

Those who are conversant with the ancient history of the Jews must admit, that there is scarcely a law in the above catalogue which may not be referred, either directly or indirectly, or by analogy, to the Pentateuch; nor is there a single one which the testimony of the most respectable Spanish historians might not be adduced to show really formed a part of the Mexican code; we shall here, however, only adduce that of Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, the celebrity of whose name, his great erudition, undoubted means of information, and unimpeachable veracity, constitute him an authority, from which, on a question of this kind, there can be no appeal,—from whose inedited 'Historia Apologetica' the following compilation of the laws of the ancient Mexicans, and some other Indian states, is extracted, to which we have added some miscellaneous laws, transcribed from the works of other Spanish historians. Beginning, then, with the 'Historia Apologetica,' and with that article of Jewish faith which, with the belief in the unity of God,—if, indeed, the association be not blasphemous,—constitutes the essence of Judaism, namely, circumcision, Las Casas bears testimony, in the following passage of the 175th chapter of the above-mentioned work, to the existence of that rite amongst the Totonacas, who were a populous nation which inhabited the eastern provinces of New Spain, extending from Panuco nearly to Yucatan.† "Tenian por ley en aquellas provincias que en pariendo la muger, á los

* This phrase means here simply miscellaneous: it is used by Torquemada in the same sense.

† It deserves to be remarked, that the rite of circumcision seems to have prevailed thousands of leagues along the coast of the Atlantic, amongst nations very remote from each other, and who spoke very different languages. Peter Martyr notices, at page 335 of the sixth volume of this work, the existence of the above rite amongst the natives of Yucatan. Oviedo says, at page 204 of the present volume, that it was practised in Nicaragua; and Gumilla states, at page 272 of the sixth volume already mentioned, that it was common amongst the Indians of the Orinoco, observing that the ceremony was performed on the *eighth* day after the birth of the child. "Al octavo dia circuncidaban sus parvulos, *sin exceptuar a las niñas.*" We shall, in a succeeding note, prove, from the fourth chapter of Dr. Boudinot's Star in the West, that this rite was practised amongst the North American Indians. Of its existence amongst the Dog-ribbed Indians there can be little doubt, from the words of the intelligent traveller Mackenzie, who, describing, in the third chapter of his Journal of a Voyage through the North-west Portion of the Continent of America, which he has annexed to his General History of the Fur Trade, the manners of that tribe, says, "Whether circumcision be practised among them I cannot pretend to say, but the appearance of it was general among those whom I saw." It would be an extremely difficult thing to determine how appearance, in the present case, could have differed from reality; and we shall only observe, that as the idea of the Jews having colonized America appears never to have crossed the imagination of Mackenzie, he could have had no motive for noticing this curious fact in his Journal but its singularity, and therefore his evidence need not be received with distrust. From the accounts of travellers it would seem almost doubtful whether circumcision was not a custom of the Hottentots, who, according to Anquetil, were forbidden by their traditions pork, fish

veinte y ocho dias ó veinte y nueve, varon ó hembra los llevaban al templo, y el sacerdote sumo y el segundo tomaban la criatura, y teniendola encima de una piedra y tomando el capullito del miembro secreto, se lo cortaban cercen con cierto cuchillo de pedernal que no quedaba de el cosa alguna, de manera que los circuncidaban como lo acostumbraron los Egipcios y otras naciones, como se dira adelante si Dios quisiere: aquello que cortaban quemabanlo y lo hacian ceniza. A las niñas en lugar de circuncision el sacerdote sumo y el segundo con sus propios dedos de las manos las corrompian, mandando á las madres que habiendo la niña seis años, renovasen con sus manos ó dedos de ellas el mismo corrompimiento.

"Tenian estas gentes tambien por ley, que todos los niños llegados á seis años hasta los nueve habian de embiar los padres á los templos para ser instruidos en la doctrina y noticia de sus leyes, las quales contenian casi todas las virtudes, explicada la ley natural, y lo contrario de ella les prohibian y enseñaban como de los vicios se habian de guardar.

"Otra ley tenian en sus templos, que los varones habian de guardar y guardaban castidad hasta los veinte y dos años, y llegando aquella edad, mandaban los pontifices que se casasen, y ninguna otra muger conocian antes. Y si en aquella edad no se casaban, eran obligados á vivir en continencia, y la pena era sino la guardaban, ser publicados por malos, y ninguno les dava despues su hija, porque lo tenian como por infame.

"Las muchachas llegando á edad de quince años se habian de casar, y no conocian otro varon antes.

"Cerca de estos casamientos y edad en que se habian de casar, no comprendia esta ley á los señores y principales, porque otras leyes tenian ellos que guardaban.

"A los adulteros el y ella por sentencia de los sacerdotes apedreaban. De estas leyes y costumbres despues se dira mas.

"Tornando á la religion de estos, tenian una ceremonia y manera de sacramento de comunion, que adoraban y en quien ponian toda su devocion y esperanza; cosa cierto de maravillar. De tres en tres años mataban tres niños y sacabanles los corazones, y de la sangre que de alli salia y con una goma que llaman ulli, que sale de un arbol que se cria en tierra caliente, al qual punzandolo salen unas gotas blancas y despues se tornan como pez negra, de que hacen las pelotas con que juegan que saltan seis veces mas que las nuestras de viento, y no paran de bullir, saltando como si estubiesen llenas de azogue. Con este licor ó goma digo, y la sangre de los corazones de los niños y de ciertas semillas las primeras que salian en una huerta que en sus templos tenian, hacian cierta confeccion y masa; esta tenian por comunion y cosa santisima; llamabanla Yoliainitlacualoz, que quiere decir, manjar del anima. De este manjar usaban á semejanza de comunion, y tenian esta orden y precepto, que de seis en seis meses los hombres de veinte y cinco años habian de comulgar, y las mugeres de diez y seis. Era espantosa la reverencia y veneracion y humildad con que los sacerdotes aquesta comunion daban, dando á cada una persona un muy poquito de ello, poniendoselo en los bezos, y la persona lo tragaba no con menos temblor y devocion. Quando aquella masa se secaba, desleianla con otra sangre de corazones de los que sacrificaban. Esta misma comunion y rito y supersticion se acostumbraba en las provincias de Chiapa, nuestro obispado, y creemos que era rito y ceremonia universal en muchas leguas y provincias de la Nueva España, y por aquella renglera en otros reynos adelante."

without scales, hares, and rabbits; and it is very deserving of notice, that Edwards says nearly the same thing, in the second chapter of his History of the West Indies, of the Caribs, whose aversion to the flesh of the *pecari* or Mexican hog, assimilated them in no slight degree to the Indians of the Orinoco, who, according to Gumilla, held the flesh of the hog in extreme abhorrence. Josephus makes mention of Ethiopian or African Jews, who were a distinct race from those of Palestine; nor is it at all unlikely, that when the tide of Christian conversion took a decidedly eastern course, Jewish proselytism might have proceeded in an opposite direction, and made Africa the stepping-stone to America. It may not be amiss to observe, before concluding this note, that Las Casas declares, at the commencement of the 175th chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' that his description of the laws and religious ceremonies of the Totonacas is taken from the written information of a "man of worth and good Christian," who had been an eye-witness of them: "estando solo entre aquellas gentes sin otro Español alguno, *al principio* que en la Nueva España entraron Cristianos." His knowledge of the Mexican laws and religious rites, he says, was derived from the Franciscans, who had received their information from the Mexicans themselves; since, as he immediately adds, although theirs was *the first* religious order that entered New Spain, they had *witnessed* none of the religious rites of the Mexicans: "*ninguna* cosa de ello vieron, sino por relacion de los mismos Indios lo supieron." This statement of Las Casas confirms what we deemed it not unimportant to point out, in the 330th page of the sixth volume of this work, namely, the remarkable fact of three years having been suffered to elapse before the Pope and Charles the Fifth permitted any of the religious orders to enter Mexico, whose reason for this delay was perhaps to allow time to the secular arm to efface some unequivocal traces of Judaism, which would have been sure to attract the notice of a clerical order of men, however they might have been passed over unheeded by the military followers of Cortes.

The above laws and religious usages are those of the Totonacas, whose state bordered on Mexico and was subject to Montezuma, and whose religion differed but little from that of the Mexicans, carrying religious austerities, consisting of penance, vigils, and fasting, if possible to a greater length. The Totonacan form of government was priestly, and their high-priest, who possessed the supreme authority in the state, was consecrated to that office, as Las Casas asserts, by having his head anointed with the blood of circumcised children; a ceremony which proves the ideas of holiness which they attached to circumcision, and that it was not amongst them only a civil custom, but also a religious rite. The following collection of laws, for the authority of which Las Casas pledges himself, were those of the Mexican empire: they are taken from the 213th and 214th chapters of his 'Historia Apologetica.'

"Quanto á las penas que davan á los delinquentes, será bien aqui dar cuenta de los pecados y obras malas que por aquellos reynos se tenian por crimenes publicos, porque estaban prohibidos por sus leyes y costumbres. Aquestas leyes que fueron muchas y muy justas y buenas, muchas dellas se pornan juntas abajo en el capitulo docientos catorce. Agora tocarse han algunas, poniendo las penas con que se punian ciertos delinquentes.

"Esto era general, que castigaban con pena de muerte á los que perpetraban pecados graves y enormes, que segun razon natural deben ser entre las naciones muy politicas y son con tal pena punibles, como aquellos que pueden perturbar y perturban la paz y sosiego de las republicas.

"Destos era el que mataba á otro, el qual moria por ello.

"La muger preñada que tomaba con que lanzar la criatura, y la que se lo dava, moria por ello.

"El que hacia fuerza á alguna doncella, ó que fuese en el campo ó en casa del padre, moria por ello.

"El que daba ponzoña á otro con que muriese, y aquel que se la dava, ambos morian por ello.

"Si el marido matava á la muger que le cometia adulterio, aunque los tomase juntos cometiendo, moria por ello. Daban la razon, porque usurpaba la justicia del rey, no llevando su acusacion á los jueces, para que despues de averiguar la verdad, y convencida, muriera por sentencia.

"La muger que cometia adulterio, y el adultero, tomandolos en el delito, ó si avia violenta sospecha, prendianlos, y si no confesavan, dabanles tormento, y confesando condenavanlos á muerte. Unas veces los mataban atandolos pies y manos, y tendidos en tierra, y con una gran piedra redonda y pesada, les davan en las sienes de tal manera que á pocos golpes les echavan los sesos fuera. A otros ahorcavan con unos garrotes, ó porras de palo de encina para ello hechos. Otros tiempos quemaban á los adulteros, y á ellas ahorcaban; y si eran Pipiltin, que quiere decir principales é hidalgos, despues de ahorcados emplumavanles las cabezas, y ponianles ciertos penachuelos verdes, y asi ataviados los quemavan, y decian que aquella era señal que se compadecian dellos, y que por eso les quemavan los cuerpos de aquella manera. Cerca deste crimen de adulterio, acaecio una justicia notable, que se hizo en la ciudad de Tlascala, y fue esta. Que un Señor de muchos vasallos, muy principal y heredero de Maxixcacin uno de los quatro cabezas y Señores que governavan aquel reyno, y capitania general de todo él, y por su persona muy valeroso y estimado de todos, cometio adulterio, y sobre el caso juntados todos los quatro Señores y jueces, y con ellos el mismo Señor Maxixcacin, fue determinado que muriese por ello y no se quebrantasen sus buenas costumbres y leyes por ninguna persona por grande que fuese. Y asi lo mataron no embargante que fuese hermano de tan señalado Señor. Cierto sentencia y justicia fue esta digna de ponerse por exemplo y dechado á muchas naciones.

"A otros adulteros mandavan los jueces fuesen apedreados, y llevavanlos á la plaza donde se ayuntava infinita gente, y puestos en medio de la plaza atabanles las manos, y luego disparaban en él mas piedras que pelos tenia en la cabeza, y en cayendo no penavan mucho, porque luego era muerto cubierto de piedras.

"Si alguno aviendose embriagado, y asi embriagado, cometia adulterio, no le excusava la borrachez de la muerte, antes por el mismo delito moria.

"El hombre que llegava en mala parte á su madrastra, entrambos morian por justicia.

"El Rey de Tezcuco, agüelo del que ahora vive, mando matar por veces quatro de sus hijos, porque llegaron á sus madrastras, mugeres de su padre. Tuvieron el agüelo y padre del que hoy es, muchas mugeres y de ellas cada cien hijos, y otras tantas hijas segun hoy se afirma.

"El hermano que llegava á su hermana, fuese de padre y madre, ó solo de padre, ó solo de madre, morian por ello ambos. En la Nueva España se hallaron tres ó quatro casados con sus hermanas, pero dicen que fue despues de la conquista de los Españoles, quando anduvieron las cosas rebueltas y desordenadas.

"El padrastro que llegava á su entenada, morian ambos por ello.

"Todos los que cometian, puesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad ó de afinidad, tenian pena de muerte, salvo cuñados y cuñadas, y quando uno moria, las mugeres que dexava, era costumbre que los hermanos mayores ó menores, ó alguno dellos tomase la muger ó mugeres del heredero difunto, aunque huviese havido hijos, quasi *ad sustinendum semen fratris*.

"Los que conspiraban y tratavan traicion contra el rey ó señor propio, y los que le querian privar del señorio, aunque fuesen deudos muy propinquos, eran punidos con pena de muerte.

"Quando algun Señor moria y dexava muchos hijos, si alguno se alzava en palacio y se queria preferir á los otros, aunque fuese el mayor, no lo consentia el Señor á quien pertenecia la confirmacion, y menos el pueblo. Antes dexavan pasar un año, ó mas de otro, en el qual consideravan bien qual era mejor para regir ó governar el estado, y aquel permanecia por señor.

"Los que cometian el crimen nefando, agente y paciente morian por ello. De quando en quando la justicia ponia diligencia en hacer inquisicion y buscava si algunos havia nefandos para los justiciar. En dos ó en tres provincias lejanas de Mexico, segun se dice, uvo aquel vicio innatural quasi permitido ó disimulado, y segun las historias destos, fué porque los demonios les hicieron creer que asi lo usaron los dioses que adoravan, y por consiguiente que á ellos les era licito. Pero con todo aquel engaño del demonio, siempre lo tuvieron aquello por malo, y eran tenidos los perpetradores muy viles y muy infames. En todo el señorio de Mexico y de Tezcuco principalmente fue muy inquirido y castigado, y el padre del Señor que hoy se dice ser de Tezcuco, que ..... la venida de los Cristianos, y murio baptizado, hizo justicia de algunos que halló en su señorio.

"Pecado de bestialidad nunca fué oido ni visto en aquellas tierras.

"Los ladrones eran muy castigados y perseguidos. El que cometia hurto notable, mayormente si era cosa de los templos ó de la casa del Señor, ó si por hurtar escalava ó rompia casa, por la primera vez lo hacian esclavo, y á la segunda lo ahorcaban. El ladron que hurtaba en la plaza ó mercado cosa de precio, asi como ropa ó algun tejuelo de oro, ó por freqüentacion de hurtos pequeños en el mercado, porque havia tan sotiles ladrones algunos que en levantandose la vendedera ó volviendo la cabeza le apañavan de lo que tenia, luego le ahorcavan por la orden é justicia del lugar, porque tenian por gran delito el que se cometia en el mercado, por el mal exemplo que á toda la comunidad se dava.

"El hombre que andava vestido de vestidura de muger, ó la muger que hallavan vestida de la de hombre, morian por ello.

"Cerca de qüestiones y rencillas que entre aquestas gentes todas de estas Yndias solian acaecer, conviene reducir á la memoria lo que arriba en el capitulo dejimos, la natural condicion que tienen de paz, paciencia, y sosiego, que cierto parecen menos de la irascible, porque papagayos hay que parecen tenir mas ira que algunos y aun muchos Yndios. Por esta innata propiedad reñian muy pocas veces, y quando reñian alguna vez, todos de palabra diciendose algunas tachas, que son entre nosotros niñerias, como decir, anda que tienes los ojos negros ó blancos, ó que te falta un diente, y cosas semejantes, ó tomavan puños de tierra y davanse con ella en los ojos, y luego se apartavan, y cada uno se alimpiava. Quando llegavan á las manos ó darse de codazos y rempujones, y romperse cuando mas las mantas, y alguna vez mesarse, y acaso hacerse salir de las narices, y de las orejas sangre; á los quales como no interviniesen armas, porque nunca jamas las sacavan ni traian, sino era quando ivan á la guerra, ó los cazadores de los señores que iban á pescar ó cazar, presto los ponian en paz los circunstantes. Si de la question tenia noticia la justicia, embiabalos á la carcel, y alli los tenian pocos dias, y mandavanle pagar la cuenta que avia rompido, que por la mayor parte parava en aquello su venganza, ó la cura, si quiza quedava algo descalabrado, pero quando reñian en los mercados, como á escandalosos y alborotadores del pueblo eran muy gravemente castigados.

"Cuentase haver acaecido en el mercado de Tezcuco una vez, que riñendo dos mugeres de palabras, vinieron á las manos, y mesandose la una á la otra lastimó en una oreja de que le corrio sangre por el rostro abajo. Llegose á la pelea destas mugeres toda la gente del mercado, todos escandalizados, como nunca se avia visto. Sabido por el Rey de Tezcuco, mandó luego ahorcar á la que avia á la otra injuriado y sacado sangre, por haber sido causa de aquel tan gran escandalo, porque fuese á ella castigo y á todos los demas exemplo, de que ninguno fuese osado de cometer delito alguno en el mercado, ni de dar causa que el pueblo se escandalizase.

"Cerca de estas rencillas y questiones de aquellas gentes, parece será bien contar cierta costumbre que avia entre mancebos que presumian de enamorados. Acaecia enamorarse dos de una muger, y como es cosa no inusitada de

aquella obra salir otras peores ó malas, tenian costumbre de desafiarse, no para irse desde luego á matar, sino para la primera guerra que se ordenase. Venida la guerra, cada uno de aquellos con diligencia se buscavan, y topandose peleaban y se sacudian como si fueran los enemigos contra quien la guerra se habia ordenada. Y estos dexabanlos darse los padrinos ó jueces que alli se allegavan, hasta que se recognoscia la ventaja. Entonces los despartian, porque luego entendian el caso porque se havian desafiado.

"Lo mismo acontecia quando uno tenia una manceba, y otro se enamorava de ella ó se la llevava de casa. Desafiavalo á aquel para la primera guerra, y el que mejor lo hacia en el desafio, saliendo vencedor al parecer y sentencia de algunos que por jueces y veedores de aquello ponian, vuelto de la guerra, aquel llevava la muger á su casa.

"A las alcahuetas muy bien punian y castigavan, y era la pena, que averiguado que usaban aquel oficio, las sacavan á la verguenza, y en la plaza delante todo el pueblo les quemavan los cabellos hasta que se le escalentava lo vivo de la cabeza. Y asi afrentadas con sus cabellos quemados, y llena la cabeza de gotas de pez de la tierra, se iban bien desconsoladas. Y si la persona que alcagueteava era de honra y de calidad, mayor pena le davan.

"Acaeció que el señor de un pueblo llamado Tenayucan, se enamoró de la hija del señor y rey de Tezcuco, el qual puso por tercera á cierta muger, y despues de muchos mensages concertaron de entrar donde dormia la doncella, y la manera fué aquesta: usanse por aquestas Indias unas cajas de caña muy ligera cubiertas de cuero de venado, que llaman *petacas*, con sus coberteras, donde se mete y lleva ropa y otras cosas: mete dentro de una el alcagueta al señor enamorado, y echaselo á cuestas, y metiolo dentro donde estaba la doncella. Desque la doncella lo vido, ó porque huvo miedo del padre que en hacer justicia era severo, ó porque no queria, de palabras no quiso consentir al effeto. Por las guardas de palacio que avia muchas, no pudo el negocio encubrirse, y asi vino á noticia del rey, que se llamava Nezaualpilçintli, el qual mandó prender al alcagueta y al que en la caja avia en su palacio metido, y mandolos á ambos luego ahorcar. Estos delictos y las penas de ellos quedavan por memoria en todos, y por ley para todo el reyno y señorio del rey.

"Era entre la gente de la Nueva España tenido por gran vituperio y vicio vil é ignominioso emborracharse; y por esto usaban del vino los que lo bebian, no como quiera, ni todos los que lo querian, sino con licencia de los señores ó de los jueces, los quales no lo davan sino á los viejos y viejas de cinquenta años arriba ó poco menos; y la razon que davan era, que aquellos lo avian menester, como remedio de la sangre que se les iba enfriando, para que pudiesen recalentar y dormir. Estos bebian dos, ó tres, ó quatro tazas pequeñas, con las quales, del vino que ellos hacian, sino es con mucha cantidad, no puede alguno embriagarse.

"En sus fiestas de sus bodas y otros regocijos, podian beber los que eran de edad varonil dos ó tres tazas y no mas. Los medicos davan muchas medicinas en una taza de vino, y á las paridas era muy comun cosa en los primeros dias de su parto darle á beber un poco de vino por salud y no por vicio. Avia muchas personas que asi tenian el vino aborrecido, que asi sanos ni enfermos no lo querian gustar.

"Los labradores y trabajadores quando acarreaban madera del monte y quando traian grandes piedras, bebian para templar el frio y sufrir mejor el trabajo: bebian unos mas y otros menos, segun sentian que les era necesario. Los señores y principales tenian por punto de honra y tambien la gente de guerra no beber vino. Su comun bebida era cacao y otros brevajes hechos de harina de maiz tostado, que no embriaga sino dá fuerza y refresca todo el cuerpo.

"La pena que se dava á los que se emborrachavan, ó de haber bebido mucho se comenzaban á embeodar y davan voces ó cantavan, era llevallos al mercado, fuese hombre ó fuese muger, y publicamente los trasquilaban, que no es menor afrenta entre ellos que entre nosotros, y dar á uno cien azotes por las calles acostumbradas, y luego le iban á derrocar la casa, dando á entender que la persona que se embeoda perdiendo el juicio de razon voluntariamente, no es digna tener casa en el pueblo, ni contarse por uno de los vecinos.

"Esta fue la costumbre y la ley y la pena que se tuvo y se dava todos los tiempos que aquellas gentes vivieron sin que viesen Christianos. Lo qual todos los religiosos, en especial los de la Orden de San Francisco, escudriñaron, examinaron y averiguaron, y tuvieron y tienen por cierto. Despues de los Christianos haber conquistado aquella tierra y quitado los señores naturales y jueces, y sido causa que no se usasen sus antiguas leyes, son tantos los excesos que en borracheras han hecho y hacen quando pueden los Indios, en especial si pueden aver vino de Castilla, que los mismos religiosos que digo, no podian creer que no las usasen todos en sus tiempos antiguos. Pero despues de conocido y muy bien inquirido, y como dije mirado y examinado, confiesan haber estado engañados. Y es verdad que todo esto que aqui digo, es todo escrito dellos y de sus escritos lo he sacado.

Capitulo CCXIV.

" Para que lo que en este capitulo siguiente se dixere se tenga en mas, y entendian los que lo leyeren, quan razonablemente aquellas gentes de aquella Nueva España tenian ordenadas y regidas sus republicas, debese primero entender y considerar que los principes y señores ó governadores de todos y de qualesquiera reynos ó republicas para bien y justamente gobernallas, no deben prohibir por sus leyes ordinarias todos los pecados y vicios que los hombres en ellas pueden cometer, sino pasar y disimular con algunos, dexandolos á la libertad de los subditos; puesto que nunca licitamente pueden hacer ley por la qual manden hacer ó aprueven cosa que sea injusta, ó que induzga los hombres á pecar. Los vicios y pecados que con gran dificultad se pueden evitar, como los de la fornicacion simple soltero con soltera, y hablar ociosamente, y los pensamientos malos, y otros que no son en perjuicio y escandalo de la republica, ó de algun vecino de ella particular, y los semejantes, todos estos se han de pasar debaxo de disimulacion, y seria malo é iniquo prohibirlos por leyes, porque causaria muchos escandalos y daños en la republica. Y esto parece por quatro razones: la primera, porque evitar todos los vicios y pecados es sobre la facultad de todo hombre puro como quiera que no pueda ser sin especial divina gracia: la ley humana gracia no puede dar, como sea ordenada de hombre puro solo, quando está reservado por la ley nueva de Jesu Cristo, que pudo y puede y da gracia para cumplirla y guardarla; y por esto prohibio y pudo prohibir todo pecado por chico y leve que sea, como es, decir una palabra ociosa.

" La segunda razon es, porque la ley humana debe quitar en quanto pudiere la causa de escandalo, y las ocasiones de mayores males * que pueden succeder en la republica; y si quisiese prohibir todos los males y pecados, por evitar uno seguirse han otros mayores; como si pusiese ley que prohibiese la fornicacion simple, seguirse han mil adulterios de donde vernian á matarse los hombres, y seguirianse otros males, como San Augustin dice en el libro De Ordinatione, y asi aquella tal ley convertirse ha en daño de la republica. De donde se sigue, que quando por alguna ley se impide la utilidad de la republica, ó por ella viene algun daño notable y perturbacion al pacifico estado de la republica, la tal ley es iniqua é injusta, puesto que la intencion y el fin de constituirla fuese bueno, y para provecho y utilidad de la republica, y no se podrá llamar ley sino corrupcion de ley, como el mismo Santo dice en el libro primero *De Libero Arbitrio.*

" La tercera razon es, porque si el principe quisiese por su ley evitar todos los vicios y defectos de la republica, seria cosa inutil, porque no le seria posible, asi como cognoscer y juzgar *de los pensamientos* de los hombres, y asi en valde y ociosamente la estableceria.

" La quarta, porque las leyes no se constituyen sino para conservar el estado politico: conservase el estado politico habiendo justicia é igualdad entre los que unos con otros comunican, segun Aristoteles, é hizose la mayor y mejor de las comunicaciones en la policia, y la justicia que la conserva se muestra por las leyes. Las buenas leyes dos efectos solamente inducir en la policia pretenden; el uno es dirigir ó enderezar á todo hombre y miembro de ella como se debe aver bien con toda la comunidad y republica, y con qualquiera persona della haciendo bien; el segundo es impedir é cohartar que los hombres se abstengan de hacer mal, y de toda injuria á toda la comunidad, y de qualquiera parte ó miembro de ella. De donde se sigue, que las leyes politicas no tienen que negociar ni entremeterse, sino en aquello que pertenece á la comunicacion de un hombre con otro en quanto haga bien y no se haga mal. Y quanto á todo lo demas que no pertenece á la comunicacion humana, la ley politica no tiene que entremeterse, porque perderia el genero de su consideracion, asi como si el geometra quisiese tratar de la musica, ó el musico de la geometria. Asi pues es que hay muchos vicios y muchas virtudes, que por alguna via no pertenecen á la humana comunicacion, porque ni la hacen buena, ni la hacen mala, en quanto sin aquellas virtudes, y con aquellos vicios está el estado de policia pacifico: por lo qual la ley politica no tiene que entremeterse, porque todo el genero de su consideracion se perderia. De estos vicios es la fornicacion simple soltero con soltera, en tanto que consiste dentro de sus terminos; porque á ninguno que sea de la comunidad perjudica, ni por ella el estado de la republica se perturba ó impide. Lo mismo es de los malos pensamientos, y de las palabras ociosas, quando se dicen sin injuria de otro; y dello es, que amen á Dios, ó no le amen; porque por ninguno destos vicios se hace al proximo perjuicio, y por tanto á las leyes humanas no incumbe cerca dellos entremeterse. Porque aquellas virtudes ó vicios hacen al hombre bueno ó malo

* The order displayed in the laws that govern the universe, where all is perfect harmony, and even the rays of light interfere not with each other in their rapid course through the solar system, leads not by analogy to the conclusion, that a legislator can be placed in the dilemma insinuated in the text, the notion of which would seem to proceed from mistaken views of the law of nature.

simpliciter, quiere decir no comparando el hombre á otro, sino en si mismo. Y esto hace poco y nada al caso quanto al estado publico, con que se halla el hombre con los demas bien y no mal, como se dijo. Y ningun filosofo moral de los antiguos tanto trabajó de hacer los hombres buenos, ni corregir la vida humana, que totalmente quedase sin algunos vicios: solamente se reservó por si esta preeminencia nuestro Redemptor Jesu Christo, que nos enseñó que amasemos todos de corazon, y le rogasemos y hiciesemos bien hasta los enemigos, etc.

"Resta pues de lo dicho, que á la prudencia de qualquiera buen principe y governador de toda bien ordenada republica pertenece por sus leyes permitir y disimular algunos defectos y pecados en ella, quando por ellos el estado del reyno y de las ciudades no se perturba. Y esta permision ó disimulacion no es otra cosa sino no punillos, los quales si quisiese totalmente quitar por sus leyes castigandolos, y aun si compeliese á todo el pueblo con graves penas guardar totalmente la ley Evangelica, sus leyes serian injustas, y él indiscreto; porque asi mandaria que no oviese mugeres malas, y por consiguiente toda su republica turbaria y destruiria. De aqui es que por los principes profesores de la ley de Christo, se disimula y permite no castigando á las mugeres pecadoras, ni á los que á ellas van, ni que los hombres pecadores tengan sus concubinas por las razones dichas, reservando el castigo para el riguroso juicio divino.

"Y es aqui agora de notar, que aunque antiguamente las leyes imperiales y reales permitian estar los hombres amancebados, con que fuese una y de contino la tubiese en casa; pero agora ya son aquellas leyes revocadas, como las de las usuras. Porque los emperadores catholicos y asi mismo los reyes, sometieron á si mismos y á sus leyes á la correccion y censura de los Sacros Canones.

"Los Sacros Canones prohiben y dañan ó condenan estar los hombres amancebados, y los castigan, como parece en los Decretos, capitulo *Nemo*, y tractase por los canonistas en el capitulo, *Cujus sit generis, de foro competenti.*

"Puedese aqui preguntar, que porque mas prohibe y castiga la Iglesia los amancebados que las mugeres publicas, pues en ambos casos están en pecado mortal? Puedese responder, que porque el pecado de los amancebados es contino y mas diuturno y comprehende á ambos, y parecer que es directamente contra y injuria del matrimonio, ó tambien porque la Iglesia impide quanto puede sin escandalo y sin mayor daño los pecados; y castigando los amancebados no hay escandalo, ni de impedillos y castigallos puede suceder mayor daño, como puede acaecer del impedimento y castigo si se hiciese á las mugeres malas, etc.

"Todo lo dicho se ha trahido á proposito de que se vea y conozca la prudencia que los reyes de la Nueva España usaban en su governacion de tan infinitos pueblos que avia dentro de sus señorios: los quales no solo prohibian y castigavan por sus leyes los crimines y delictos que podian perturbar las policias y comunidades, pero tambien permitian y disimulaban los que sino dissimularan, fuera iniquidad é injusticia, porque causaran mayores daños y escandalos en sus republicas. Esto parece porque permitieron que oviese mugeres que ganavan con sus cuerpos á quien darse querian: puesto que no avia lugares publicos ni señalados para el tal oficio, sino cada una morava y andava adonde le parecia.

"Permitieron tambien que oviese mancebas, y uvo ciertas especies dellas.

"Los mancebos antes que se casasen y viniesen á ser vecinos y tener casa en el pueblo, mayormente los hijos de los señores y de los hombres ricos, tenian sus mancebas. Y vino á entablarse tal costumbre, que las pedian á sus padres y á sus madres para tenellas por tales, como quando pedian otras para tenerlas por mugeres.

"Esto se declara por la practica que dello se tenia, y tambien por el nombre propio y vocablo que lo significa; porque á la manceba llamavan *tlacarcavili*, é á la que pedian por muger legitima decian *ciuatlantli*. Donde no habia costumbre demandar la hija á los padres por manceba, nombrabase por otro nombre general de manceba, y este fue *temecauh*.

"Acostumbrabase comunmente ó por la mayor parte, que despues que aquel mancebo habia un hijo de su manceba, ó la dexar del todo, ó la tomar por su muger legitima, porque asi se lo requerian los padres, diciendolo, que pues yá tenia hijo, como si dixeran, pues ya parece aver razon para que la tomeis por muger, tomadla, y si no, dexadla, que nosotros buscaremos con quien casemos nuestra hija, porque ya no es razon que viva mas tiempo amancebada.

"Si el mozo acordava de la tomar por muger, convidavanse los parientes de ambas partes, y hacianse las ceremonias que usaban en sus legitimos casamientos.

"Avia otra especie de mancebas, como las suele aver entre los Christianos que no son de aquel vicio limpios, que quando se enamoravan el de ella y ella del, se ayuntavan, y si despues de algun tiempo poco ó mucho, determinavan casarse, notificavanlo á sus deudos y hacian las cerimonias y ritos arriba dichos, y desde alli llamavan al mancebo, no

mancebo, que era telpuchtli, sino *tlapalihuy*, como si dixeran casado y hombre vecino del pueblo, ú hombre que tiene cuidado de su casa y de su muger. Y á ella no la nombravan nomecahuh como de antes, mas *nociuahuh ó ciuatlantli*, que significa muger legitima.

" Otra especie de mancebas se permitian, y estas eran las que los señores y principales tenian, ó que las tomavan ellos, ó las pedian despues de ya casados con la señora y legitima muger que llamaban *ciuapili* : tenian sus nombres particulares sin el general de manceba. Las que pedian á los padres que eran doncellas, y aunque no lo fuesen, llamavanse *ciuanemactly* é tambien *tlaciuantli*. Las que ellos tomavan sin pedillas, decianse *tlaciuaantin*. Muchas veces tomavan algunas con afecto matrimonial como la primera, por tenellas por legitimas mugeres sin las mancebas.

" Todas estas especies de mancebas, puesto que muchos las tenian, y tenerlas en muchas partes se usaba, tenianse por todos empero ilicitas, y solamente por permitidas. Esto parece, porque los padres y parientes viejos siempre amonestavan á sus hijos y deudos mancebos que huyesen de aquel vicio, y los reprehendian y castigavan quando podian sobre ello. Y por esto tenian las hijas muy guardadas y encerradas, temiendo no fuesen por engaño ó por aficion á aquella deshonestidad persuadidas.

" De lo dicho pues, parece la orden buena y policia que aquellas gentes tenian en sus republicas por sus buenas leyes, unos delictos prohibiendo y castigando, conviene á saber, los que cognoscian ser en daño del estado de ellas; otros, que si los quisieran del todo succedieran males mayores, disimulando y permitiendo: que no hizo mas alguna republica de gente muy politica, *ni hace menos ni mas hoy la Cristiana policia.*

Capitulo CCXV.

En el qual se refieren todas las Leyes por las quales los reynos de la Nueva España se regian.

" Porque mas en suma se vea la buena y prudente governacion que los reyes de Nueva España en sus reynos tenian puesta, será bien referir en este capitulo todas las leyes que yo he podido saber que avia en ellos, sacadas y colegidas con diligencia por religiosos muy entendidos y experimentados y que penetraron de raiz aquella lengua. Las quales tengo en mi poder confirmadas de su nombre, y comienzan como me las dieron de la manera siguiente.

" Estas son las leyes que tenian los Indios de la Nueva España.

" Si el hijo del principal era tahur, é vendia la hacienda que su padre tenia, ó vendia alguna suerte de tierra, moria por ello, secretamente ahogado. Y si era plebeyo ó de baja suerte hacian lo esclavo.

" Si alguno tomava de los magueyes, que son los cardones ó arbolillos de espinas de que arriba en el capitulo .... se dixo que hacian veinte cosas, provechosos para hacer miel, y eran de veinte pies ó arboles, pagavanlos con las mantas que los jueces sentenciavan, y sino las tienen, ó es de mas pies de magueyes, hacenlo esclavo.

" El que pida algunas mantas fiadas ó prestadas, y no las pagava, era esclavo.

" Si alguno hurtaba alguna red de pescar, pagavala con mantas, y si no las tenia, era esclavo.

" Si alguno hurtaba algun acanoa (que es los barquillos de un madero con que navegan,) pagavanla con mantas quantas valia la canoa, y si no las tenia, era esclavo.

" Si alguna esclava que no era de edad para llegar hombre á ella, alguno usaba mal della, era esclavo.

" Si llevó á vender su esclava á Ascapucalco, donde se hacia la feria de los esclavos, y el que se la compró le dió mantas por ella y el las de suyo y se contentó dellas, si despues se arrepintiese, volvia las mantas y perdia el esclavo.

" Si alguno quedó pequeñito, y los parientes lo venden, y se sabia despues quando era mayor, sacavan los jueces de aquellos las mantas que los parecian y davanlas al que lo compró, y el vendido quedava libre.

" Si algun esclavo se huya y se vendia el mismo á otra persona, pareciendose volvia á su dueño, y perdia lo que dio por él el que lo compró.

" Si alguno tenia parte con alguna esclava agena, y acaecia morir estando preñada, era esclavo el que la empreño, pero si pare sin peligro, lo que pare es libre, y llevavalo el padre.

" Si algunos vendieron algun niño por esclavo, y despues se sabe, todos los que entendieron en ello eran esclavos, y dellos davan uno al que lo compró, y los otros repartian entre la madre del niño y entre él que lo descubrió.

" Los que daban bebidizos para que alguno muriese, moria por ello á garrotazos; y si la muerte era de esclava, le hacian esclavo al que los daba.

" Si hurtavan las mazorcas de mahiz de veinte arriba, moria por ello; y si menos, pagava en lo que lo condenavan que pagase.

" El que arrancaba el mahiz antes que granase, moria por ello.

" El que hurtaba un tecomatl, que es una calabazilla atada con unos cueros colorados por la cabeza con unas borlas de pluma al cabo, de que usan los señores y traen en ella polvos verdes que toman por la boca con humo que en la isla Española llamavan 'tabacos,' moria por ello á garrotazos.

" El que hurtaba algun chalchui, que era piedra que tenian por preciosa, y otra qualquiera joya en qualquiera parte que la hurtase, era apedreado en el mercado, porque no la podia tener ningun hombre baxo.

" El que en el mercado hurtava algo, los mismos del mercado tenian licencia para lo matar á pedradas.

" El que salteava en el camino era publicamente apedreado.

" Tenian ley que si el sumo pontifice se emborrachava, donde quiera que le hallasen borracho, con unas porras lo matavan.

" El mozo por casar, que se emborrachaba, era llevado á una casa que se decia Telpuchcalli, é alli lo matavan á garrotazos.

" El principal que tenia algun oficio ó cargo, si se embeodava, quitavanle el oficio, y si era por valiente hombre dado, que entre ellos era honroso titulo, quitavanselo.

" Si el padre acaecia pecar con su hija, morian con una soga al pescuezo ahogados ambos.

" El que pecaba con su hermana moria ahogado *con garrote, lo qual* era entre ellos muy detestable.

" Si una muger pecava con otra, morian de la misma manera ahogadas.

" Si el sumo pontifice era hallado con alguna muger secretamente, lo matavan con garrote, ó lo quemavan. Dicese tambien que le derrocaban la casa, y la hacienda le confiscaban; tambien morian todos los que lo sabian y callavan.

" Para convencer de adulterio no bastava probanza, si juntos no los tomavan, y la pena era publicamente apedreallos.

" Algunas destas leyes suso referidas no son del todo autenticas, porque se sacan de un librillo de Indios no autorizado; pero las que se siguen son tenidas todas por autenticas y verdaderas; en las quales se prohiben y castigan quatro principales crimines, el primero de los hechizeros y salteadores, el segundo de los ladrones, el tercero de los carnales, el cuarto de las guerras.

" Era ley que fuese sacrificado abierto por los pechos, el que hiciese hechizos y maleficios para que viniese algun mal sobre la ciudad.

" Era otra ley que ahorcasen al hechizero que con sus maleficios ponia sueños á los de la casa para poder mas seguro entrar á roballa.

" Era ley por la qual ahorcavan á quien matava con hechizos.

" Era ley ahorcar á los que por los caminos yendo para hacer mal, se finjian ser mensajeros de los reyes ó señores.

Quanto á los Carnales.

" Ahorcavan al que forzaba á su madre, y si ella era voluntaria, la misma pena le davan, y era entre ellos tenido aqueste pecado por horrible y abominable.

" Ahorcavan los hermanos que pecavan con sus hermanas.

" Ahorcavan los que pecaban con sus entenadas, y á ella lo mismo si no era forzada.

" Tenian pena de muerte los que hacian lo mismo con su suegra.

" Apedreaban los adulteros ambos *.

" A ninguna muger ni hombre castigavan por adulterio, si solo el marido della los acusaba, sino que havia de haver testigos y confesion dellos. Y si los adulteros eran personas principales, ahogavanlos en la carcel.

" Tenia pena de muerte el que matava á su muger por sospecha ó indicio, y aunque la tomase con otro, sino que los jueces la avian de castigar.

" En algunas partes castigavan al marido que tenia parte con su muger, despues que le habia hecho traicion.

" Por la ley no tenia pena el que llegaba á la manceba de otro, sino era que oviese mucho tiempo que la tenia el otro, y era estimado de sus vecinos por casado.

* That this was the punishment which the Mexican code adjudged to adulterers, is attested by the evidence of the Mexican paintings, and of the earliest Spanish historians. Valades says in the 220th page of his Rhetorica Christiana, " Mechum in adulterio deprehensum impunè necari volebant, nec ullum gravius flagitium quam adulterium vindicabant. Ideo in adulterio deprehensus cum adulterâ absque misericordiâ, absque morâ, *ab omnibus lapidabatur*." The treatise of this author was printed in 1579, and dedicated to Gregory XIII.

" Ahorcavan al que cometia el pecado nefando, y lo mismo al que tomava el habito de muger.

" Ahorcavan al médico ó hechizera que dava bebidizos para hechar del vientre las criaturas, y lo mismo hacian á la preñada si para este fin tomava algo.

" Desterravan, privavanlos de los bienes, y davan otros castigos recios á los papas ó pontifices sumos, tomandolos con alguna muger. Y si acaso eran culpados en el pecado nefando los quemavan en algunas partes, y en otras los ahogavan, ó de otra manera los matavan.

Quanto á los Ladrones.

" Hacian esclavo al ladron si no habia gastado lo hurtado, y si lo habia gastado siendo cosa de valor, lo mataban.

" El que en el mercado algo hurtava, era ley que luego publicamente alli en el mismo mercado lo matasen á palos.

" Ahorcavan los que hurtaban cantidad de mazorcas de maiz, ó arrancaban algunos maizales, excepto sino era de la primera ringlera que estaba junto al camino; porque desta los caminantes tenian licencia de tomar algunas mazorcas para su camino.

" Era ley, y con rigor guardada, que si alguno vendia por esclavo algun niño perdido, que se hiciese esclavo al que lo vendia, y su hacienda se partiese en dos partes, la una era para el niño, y la otra al que lo havia comprado, y si quizas lo avian vendido y eran muchos, á todos hacian esclavos.

Quanto á lo de las Guerras.

" Quando algun pueblo se rebelaba, enviaban luego los Señores de los tres Reynos principales su ejercito, Tezcuco e Tlacupa secretamente á saber si aquella rebelion procedia de todo el pueblo, ó solamente por mandado del señor ó governador que lo regia. Si solo del señor habia originado, proveian que fuesen capitanes y jueces con gente para prender á aquel señor rebelde, y que hiciesen justicia del publicamente, y de los que con él culpados hallàsen. Si la rebelion era causada tambien por todo el pueblo, embiabanles á requerir muchas veces que tornasen á la devocion y obediencia que tenian y fuesen subjectos y pagasen los tributos como de antes hacian. Los quales si pertinazes eran, enviabanseles ciertas armas y rodelas en señal de amenazas y desafio, y luego apregonasen á fuego y sangre la guerra. Y esta suponia siempre tal condicion que en qualquiera tiempo y hora que saliesen de paz y tornasen la obediencia cesava la guerra. De creer es que se devia de dar alguna pena, puesto que no lo sabemos.

" Era ley que degollasen á los que en la guerra hacian algun daño á los enemigos sin licencia del capitan, ó acometian antes de tiempo, ó se apartavan de la bandera ó capitania.

" Tenia pena de muerte aquel que á otro quitava la presa en la guerra.

" Tenia pena de muerte tambien, y de perdimiento de bienes y otras graves penas el señor ó principal que en algun baile, ó fiesta, ó guerra, sacaba alguna divisa, que fuesen como las armas ó divisas de los señores de Mexico, ó de Tezcuco, ó de Tlacupa, sobre lo qual avia guerra algunas veces.

" Hacian pedazos y confiscaban todos los bienes al que era traidor, avisando á los enemigos en la guerra de lo que se trataba ó platicaba en el real, y hacian esclavos á todos sus deudos y parientes.

Las que siguen eran leyes diversas.

" Tenian pena de muerte los jueces que hacian alguna relacion falsa al rey ó señor superior en algun pleyto; y asi mismo los jueces que sentenciaban á alguno injustamente.

" Ahorcavan y grandisimamente castigavan á los hijos que gastavan mal la hacienda que sus padres les habian dexado, ó si destruian las armas, ó joyas, ó cosas señaladas que uvieron de los padres. La misma pena tenian los que daban por tutores, si no davan buena cuenta á los hijos de los bienes del padre difunto.

" Tenia pena de muerte el que quitava ó apartava los mojones y terminos ó señales de las tierras y heredades.

" El modo que tenian de castigar á los hijos y hijas siendo mozos, quando salian viciosos y desobedientes y traviesos, era trasquilarlos y traerlos maltratados, y punzarles las orejas y los muslos y los brazos con las puas ó espinas de los maguelles.

" Era cosa muy vedada y reprehendida y castigada el emborracharse los mancebos, ni beber vino hasta que llegasen á cincuenta años, y en algunas partes havia penas graves señaladas.

" Hacian esclavo á quien vendia alguna tierra agena, ó que tuviese depositada como en terceria, sin licencia de la justicia, ó de quien podia darsela.

"Era ley que el esclavo que estaba preso y se soltava de la prision, y se iba á palacio, en entrando que entrase en el patio, era libre de la servidumbre, y como libre andava seguro.

"Era costumbre que los hijos de los señores y hombres ricos en siendo de siete años, poco mas ó menos, entraban en los templos á servir á los dioses. Alli servian barriendo y haciendo fuego delante de los templos y salas y patios, y echavan los inciensos en los fuegos segun se acostumbrava, y servian á los sacerdotes. Y quando eran negligentes ó traviesos, ó hacian alguna inobediencia, castigavanlos atandoles pies y manos, y punzavanlos los muslos, y los brazos, y los pechos, y hechabanlos á rodar por las gradas abajo de los templos pequeños.

"En la ciudad de Mexico, y en la de Tezcuco, y en la de Tlacupa, avia tres consejos: el primero era consejo de las cosas de guerra: el segundo era donde habia quatro oidores para oir los pleytos de la gente comun: el tercero era donde se averiguavan las causas y pleytos que ocurrian entre señores y caballeros, y entre pueblos sobre señorios y terminos y jurisdicciones. Y este consejo en ciertas cosas señaladas le dava parte al rey, que eran como casos reservados á aquellos tres reyes.

Estas que se siguen son las leyes por las cuales condenavan á algun esclavo.

"Hacian pedazos y perdia sus bienes el que era traidor, avisando á los enemigos en la guerra de lo que se determinaba en el real, y hacian esclavos á todos sus deudos.

"Hacian esclavo al que havia hecho algun hurto en cantidad, si aun no lo habia gastado.

"Era ley que si alguno vendia por esclavo algun niño perdido, lo hacian esclavo, y á todos quantos en ello eran, aunque fuesen muchos.

"Hacian esclavo al que vendia alguna tierra agena, ó que tuviese depositada sin licencia, etc.

"En algunas partes habia ley que hiciesen esclavo al que hacia preñada alguna esclava si acaecia morir del parto, ó si por causa del parto quedava lisiada.

"Hacian esclavos á los que hurtaban cantidad de mazorcas de mahiz en los mahizales de los templos ó de los señores.

"Por otras causas tambien hacian esclavos, puesto que eran arbitrarias. Pero estas leyes ningun juez tenia poder para dispensar de ellas, sino en matando al que cometia los mismos delictos por no hacello esclavo.

"Todas las leyes de suso puestas dice aquel religioso, que fue el que mas supo de la lengua Mexicana y mas la penetró como dije, que son todas verdad; porque las sacó de un libro de pinturas muy autentico de la Nueva España, que los Indios tenian con gran veneracion*, y era entre ellos de mucha autoridad. Y porque es verdad todo lo que aqui refirio, dijo que lo firmava de su nombre, y asi lo tengo como dije, firmado del mismo. Y parece tambien que muchas de las cosas arriba† de otros religiosos de diversas ordenes y aun de seglares, por mi avidas, son con estas conformes."

The above laws, as it appears from the following passage of the 212th chapter of the Apologetic History of Las Casas, were not confined to the provinces of the Mexican empire, but were, with some slight modifications, the system of jurisprudence adopted throughout the whole of New Spain, which portion of the American continent it is probable was for many ages the centre of Judaism in the New World‡. "En toda la Nueva España, en unas partes poco mas, y en otras poco menos, el govierno y las leyes quasi no diferian; por manera, que por lo que de unas partes dixeremos, y adonde tuvimos mayor noticia, se podrá entender, y quizá será mejor decirlo en comun y generalmente."

* Echevarria affirms, that the ritual and ceremonial laws of the Mexicans were contained in the Teoamoxtli, and that this collection of sacred paintings was preserved in the archives of Tezcuco until the arrival of the Spaniards in New Spain. It hence appears not improbable that the ecclesiastic to whom Las Casas here alludes might have seen that mysterious volume, and have extracted from thence some of the laws contained in this catalogue.

† Parece, falta 'referidas.'

‡ The similitude which some Spanish writers have thought they have discovered between the proper names Aztecas and Israelites, will not appear so fanciful, when it is recollected that the first syllable of the former term,—which is the appellative part of the name, the remaining portion being merely terminative, as in the words Tultecas, Cholultecas, and Mixtecas,—nearly resembles the first syllable of the Hebrew proper name ישראל, and that even if the appellative portion of the Mexican proper name had extended to the second syllable, the analogy could not have been preserved, since the Mexican language excludes from its alphabet the letters b, d, f, and r.

Las Casas, having completed his summary of the laws of New Spain, proceeds to take a brief survey of the laws and customs of the adjoining states of Verapaz, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Yucatan, whence he passes to Peru, and gives an outline of the ancient history of that country, with which he acknowledges that he was but imperfectly acquainted, ascribing much of the ignorance that prevailed respecting the institutions of the Peruvians and the religion which they professed to the cupidity of the Spaniards; who, when they plundered the Peruvian temples of their immense riches, so terrified the priests, the only enlightened class of the community, that they fled to the inaccessible range of the Andes, taking with them no inconsiderable share of the spoils, which their descendants continued to enjoy for many years after the conquest. The following were the laws of the Indians of Verapaz, a region known to the Mexicans by the name of Anaoac, and with which the Mexican merchants carried on a very extensive trade in the reign of Ahuitzotl, Montezuma's predecessor on the throne.

"Tenian gran cuidado en estas provincias de la Verapaz en instruir y doctrinar los padres á los hijos. Enseñavanles que fuesen devotos á los dioses, y que guardasen y cumpliesen lo que los sacerdotes y ministros de los templos de lo tocante á la religion ó divino culto les dixesen. Y para que de esto fuesen mejor informados, y desde niños la devocion y exercicio de la religion en si recibiesen, hacianlos conversar de dia y de noche en los templos.

"Que honrasen á los padres y les fuesen obedientes.

"Que no tuviesen codicia de muchos bienes.

"Que no adulterasen con muger agena.

"Que no fornicasen, ni llegasen á muger, sino á la que fuese suya.

"Que no mirasen á las mugeres para codiciallas *, diciendo que no traspasasen umbral ageno.

"Que si anduviesen de noche por el pueblo, que llevasen lumbre en la mano.

"Que siguiesen su camino derecho, que no bajasen de camino, ni subiesen tampoco del.

"Que á los ciegos no les pusiesen ofendiculo para que cayesen †.

"A los lisiados no escarneciesen y de los locos no se riesen, porque todo aquello era malo.

"Que trabajen y no estubiesen ociosos; y para esto desde niños les enseñavan como havian de hacer las sementeras y como beneficiallas y cogellas.

"Instruianlos en como se havian de sacrificar con las navajas y sacar sangre de las lenguas ‡, de los molledos, brazos

* This resembles the language of Christ in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, who there inculcates purity of thought as well as of action in the following forcible terms: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, that whosoever *looketh on a woman* to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." It is, doubtless, surprising that this refinement on the Mosaic law should not have added greater *efficacy* to Christian morals; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the principle here advocated was unknown to the religions of antiquity, which however contented themselves with a different choice of terms to express the very same sentiments. If this truth seem to be opposed to the doctrines daily delivered from the pulpit, let those who doubt it refer to the peculiar tenets of the Pythagorean school, and they will confess that Solomon was right, when he declared there was nothing *new* under the sun; but if mere phraseology is a matter of such weight in their estimation, they will feel gratified at learning, on the high authority of Sahagun, that to commit adultery with a look, was a crime which the Mexican laws occasionally punished with death; and that the infamy of that act was perpetuated to distant ages by a proverb which the same learned author takes occasion to notice in the following extremely curious passage of the twenty-second chapter of the sixth book of his History of New Spain. "No mires con curiosidad el gesto y disposicion de la gente principal, mayormente de las mugeres, especialmente de las casadas, porque dice el refran, que el que curiosamente mira á la muger, *adultera con la vista*, y aun algunos fueron *premiados con pena de muerte por esta causa*." "Do not look inquisitively at the features and deportment of persons of superior rank, especially of the women, particularly of the married women; for the proverb says, that he who looks inquisitively at a woman commits adultery with her with a look, and some have even been punished with death on that very account."

† It is said in the fourteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind, but shalt fear thy God: I am the Lord."

‡ The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus affirms, in the 178th page of the sixth volume of this work, that Quecalcoatle taught men to propitiate the divine anger by making voluntary offerings of their own blood; and that mysterious personage appears to be practising the precept which he inculcated, in the fourth page of the Codex Borgianus, where he is represented surrounded by his four disciples with a stream of blood issuing from a self-inflicted wound in the lower part of his body. The same interpreter obscurely intimates, in the 208th page of the volume referred to, that Quecalcoatle carried the doctrine of propitiation and atonement by means of human blood to such a length as himself to die upon a cross for the sins of mankind; which event seems also plainly alluded to in the fourth and seventy-fifth pages of the Codex Borgianus. The sins which Quecalcoatle chiefly condemned were those of the flesh, for which he thought the flesh ought to suffer, by *voluntarily* enduring the most exquisite tortures; this doctrine, on which Confession was speedily engrafted, led the Mexicans to invent many extraordinary kinds of penance, some of which will be noticed in the sequel. It deserves,

y muslos, y de las partes secretas. Amonestavanlos frequentes veces, que no pecasen, y entendian por ésto que no se maculasen con pecados de la carne principalmente *.

however, to be remarked, that in giving the precedency to that class of sins, the Mexicans closely imitated the Jews; since it was a maxim of the jurisprudence of other more enlightened nations, not to outrage public decency by taking cognizance of every species of immorality that might come under public notice; and their jurists justified the principle upon which this exception was founded, by observing that where there was no complaint, the law could not presume the existence of *injury;* and where there was no injury, neither could it assume the existence of wrong; and where there was no wrong, there could be no need of legal redress. This, it may be contended, was a mere fiction of law, agreeable to the rules of some antiquated code fitted for the manners of other times: but to this objection we shall only reply, that whether it was a fiction founded on expediency, or a genuine expression of sentiment, it is of little importance to the present subject to enquire. Before noticing the extraordinary austerities practised by the Mexicans, we shall transcribe a passage from a valuable inedited MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, entitled Miscellanea de la Nueva España; from which it will appear, that the part of the body from which the Mexicans drew an offering of blood, was principally determined by the nature of the sin committed, or which the party imagined they were likely to commit: "Sacabanse sangre de la lengua, si habian ofendido con ella hablando, *y de los parpados de los ojos por haber mirado* [1], y de los brazos por haber pecado de floxedad, de las piernas, de los muslos, de las orejas y narices, segun las culpas en que habian errado y caido, disculpandose con el demonio, y al cabo le ofrecian el corazon por lo mejor de su cuerpo, que no tenian otra cosa que le dar, prometiendo darle tantos corazones de hombres y de niños para aplacar la ira de sus dioses, ó para alcanzar y conseguir otras pretensiones que deseaban, y esto les servia de confesion vocal para con el perverso enemigo del genero humano." "They drew blood from their tongue, if they had offended with it in speaking; and from their eyelids, if they had offended in looking; and from their arms, if they had sinned through lustful desire; from their legs, thighs, ears and noses, according to the faults which they had committed, reconciling themselves in this manner with the devil; and at last they offered him their hearts, as the best part of their body, having nothing more to give him, promising to give him so many hearts of men and children in order to appease the anger of their gods, or to procure and obtain any other object of their desires; and this served them as oral confession with the perverse enemy of the human race." Those who consider that one of the gravest charges brought against the religion of the ancients by the early fathers was, that it connived at licentiousness of morals, and encouraged profligacy of every description, by enlisting even deities on the side adverse to virtue,—will feel surprised at learning from the following passage of the twenty-sixth chapter of the ninth book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy, on what *new* grounds the Spanish monks of the sixteenth century, who first visited America, ascribed the temperance, sobriety and chastity inculcated by the religion of the Mexicans to the devil, who, as they chose to maintain, carried his ambition to rival and equal God to such a height, as even to enjoin the practice of virtue to mankind; a notion which, however extravagant, absurd and blasphemous, did away with the necessity of their recognising in the horrid superstitions of the Mexicans the dark features of Judaism, and excused them from bowing the knee at the bloody shrine of the Mexican Jehovah. "De los sacerdotes de Etiopia, dice San Augustin (tratando de la peregrinacion que hizo por aquellas regiones, en uno de los sermones á los monges del yermo) estas formales palabras: Yá era obispo Hiponense, y fuime con algunos siervos de Jesu-Christo á Etiopia, á predicarles su santa lei y evangelio, *y vimos alli muchos hombres y mugeres que no tenian cabeza, sino los ojos en los pechos, entre los quales vimos, que los sacerdotes eran casados; pero de tanta abstinencia, que jamas, sino era una vez en el año, conversaban con sus mugeres, el qual dia se abstenian de poner las manos en ningun sacrificio.* Vimos mas (dice luego) en las partes mas bajas de esta region, otros hombres, que no tenian mas de un ojo en la frente, cuios sacerdotes huian toda conversacion de hombres, y se abstenian de todos los malos deseos y apetitos de la carne, y tan abstinentes, que la semana que les cabia de sacrificar y servir sus templos, no comian, contentandose solo con beber una vez al dia una metreta de agua. Y mas adelante añade: O miseria grande de los Christianos! Veis aqui que los paganos se hacen doctores y maestros de los fieles, y los pecadores y las mugeres rameras les preceden en el reino de Dios. Estas son palabras de este excelentisimo doctor. Esta limpieza, que sus sucios ministros *queria que huviese el demonio,* es la que Dios ha querido y quiere, que tengan sus ministros y sacerdotes, y la que en la lei antigua pedia á los que eran de su casa y templo; y asi dijo en el Levitico (hablando del sacerdote) que fuese virgen la que avia de tomar por esposa, no viuda, ó publica ramera, ó repudiada. Pero que pretende en esto Dios? No mas (segun dice Innocencio, Papa primero de este nombre) sino que se entienda, que le permitia aquello solo, sin lo qual no podia pasar para dexar heredero en su oficio sacerdotal, y que era con aquella limitacion, para dar á entender que si pudiera seguirse de otra manera, aun aquello no le concediera, por la limpieza que pretende en sus ministros. Y quando los sacerdotes avian de ocuparse en el ministerio de su semana, se abstenian de todo acto carnal licito; y para esto avia casas y aposentos donde los dichos ministros asistian el tiempo dicho de su administracion. Y para que se entienda lo mucho que queria que sus sacerdotes fuesen castos y limpios, se debe notar aquella gravisima y rigurosisima lei, que estaba divulgada contra las hijas de los sacerdotes, la qual era: si la hija de algun sacerdote fuere hallada aver perdido secretamente su pureza y virginidad, y huviere manchado con esta macula la casa de su padre, sea quemada en llamas de fuego. De donde es fuerza colegir la grande limpieza y castidad que queria que tuviesen sus sacerdotes; porque si á la hija incasta y flaca mandaba quemar porque pecó, quanto con mayor rigor y castigo debia de ser castigado el padre, que siendo ministro de Dios, y sacerdote para

* Balboa, speaking of the Indians of some of the provinces of Peru, says, "*Quemavan la ropa que tenian vestida quando pecaron,*" which reminds us of the language of St. Jude in the twenty-third verse of his General Epistle.

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[1] This passage singularly confirms what Sahagun says of the belief of the Mexicans that the guilt of adultery might be incurred even by a look, which, it need scarcely be observed, was a Gospel precept likewise.

"Y es aqui de saber, que tenian por grave pecado el de la sodomia como abajo dirémos, y comunmente los padres lo aborrecian y prohibian á los hijos. Pero por causa de que fuesen instruidos en la religion, mandavanles dormir en los ofrecerle sus sacrificios, pecaba? No salian de esta obligacion los sacerdotes Indios de esta Nueva España, *los quales queria el demonio, que fuesen castos;* y asi digo, que eran tan continentes como hemos visto y dicho de ellos en muchos lugares, en especial de los sumos sacerdotes y pontifices mayores, y los dos sacerdotes ó monjes constituidos á la diosa Cinteutl; los quales avian de aver sido casados, pero no quando servian el oficio de sacerdote; porque en aquel tiempo avian de guardar castidad perpetua é inviolable. De los ministros y capellanes de los templos de Tehuacan sabemos, que si cometian este pecado (como se supiese) era por él muerto á palos, y entregado á la gente popular de noche, para que en él la executasen. Y de las mugeres que servian en los templos, hemos dicho ser continentisimas, las quales guardaban perpetua castidad y virginidad sin manchar en nada su pureza. Y era tanto lo que temian caer en esta culpa, que entendian si la cometian, aver de ser rigurosamente por los dioses castigadas, mayormente, si se sabia, morian por ella. De este rigor se puede colegir el cuidado con que vivian los sacerdotes, y lo mucho que cuidaban de vivir castamente, por tener entendido ser aquella la voluntad de sus falsos dioses, y creer que se ofendian gravemente con lo contrario. *Y de aqui queda sabido, como el demonio, no por ser limpio, sino por imitar en alguna manera á Dios en su limpieza, ha querido que sus ministros lo sean, y se abstengan de semejantes actos en las cosas posibles; queriendo el demonio que los de su falsa lei y seta hiciesen esta inferencia—la castidad es buena y nuestro Dios nos la enseña y manda que seamos castos; luego bueno es él.* Y no advertian estos desventurados ciegos, que no porque él es bueno, mandaba un acto de virtud tan heroico, sino que por ser el hecho en si bueno, es apetecible, y que la razon natural inclina al hombre á apetecer aquello que es mas conforme á la rectitud de la naturaleza; y asi, no porque el demonio fuese bueno (que no lo es) era bueno el acto, *sino por ser bueno el acto y hecho, parecia bueno el que lo mandaba.*" The following account of the voluntary penance practised by the Mexicans, and the Indians of some other provinces of New Spain, is taken from the hundred-and-seventy-fourth chapter of the Historia Apologetica of Las Casas; and it deserves to be remarked, that the mortification of the flesh was the principal object of the cruel austerities thus described by the pen of that prelate: "Pues aun no es acabado lo que hay que decir de ayunos y penitencia y devocion y hervor para con sus dioses, en que aquellos infieles que habemos mucho menospreciado, nos han hecho mil ventajas. Los vecinos de las ciudades de Teuacan, Cuzcatlan, y Teutlitlan, especialmente los sacerdotes de ellos y verdugos de si mismos tenian de costumbre de se sacrificar muchas veces y de muchas partes. Los dias de las fiestas hacian en lo alto de las orejas con una navaja de piedra negra de que ya hemos hablado, un agujero por el qual metian y sacaban una caña tan gruesa como el dedo de la mano, y tan larga como un brazo. Y por las lenguas metian y sacaban unas pajas agujereando las lenguas por medio y atravesandolas. Otros con las puntas de maguey se punzaban y pasaban; y todo lo que de esto salia ensangrentado ofrecian á su Dios poniendoselo delante. En estas ciudades que eran de frontera que por muchas partes tenian guerra, sacrificaban los esclavos. Hacian en si mismo un sacrificio horrendo y nunca antes jamas imaginado. Cortaban y hendian su miembro genital entre cuero y carne, y hacian tan grande abertura que por ella pasaba una soga tan gruesa como el brazo, y de largo segun la devocion y esfuerzo del penitente: algunas veces era de diez brazas, otras de quince, y otras de veinte; y si alguno desmayaba con la mucha sangre y con el horrible dolor, decian, que procedia por haber tocado á muger, porque los que á este sacrificio tan costoso y doloroso hacian, eran todos mancebos por casar. No era maravilla que desmayasen y aun que muriesen, pues por una sangria que es una picadura de una lanceta muy sotil, muchos desmayan; y de la circuncision que mucho era menos que aquello, los hijos de Jacob mataron á los varones de la ciudad de Sichen, y quasi la asolaron por no poderse defender tantos de tan pocos, por el grandisimo dolor con que estaban por haberse poco antes circuncidado[1]: quanto mas estos que padecian seis veces doblado dolor y derramaban veinte veces mas sangre. La otra gente popular solo se sacrificaba de las orejas y de los brazos y del pico de la lengua, de donde sacaban unas gotas de sangre que ofrecian, y los que eran mas devotos se precian en traer, hombres y mugeres, las lenguas y las orejas mas arpadas; y hoy dia los vemos de aquellos harto señalados. Ayunaban los ministros de los templos sus quaresmas y todos los de sus casas cada año sus ochenta dias, y tambien ayunaban quaresmas voluntarias antes de las fiestas, unas de diez dias, y otras de veinte, y otras de quarenta, y otras de ochenta; comiendo solo pan y sal y agua, de que muchos infermaban. Al pueblo comun y á las veces á los muchachos mandaban los sacerdotes que ayunasen á dos y á quatro y á cinco dias, y hasta diez dias el pueblo ayunaba. Estos ayunos no eran de una manera en toda la tierra, sino que cada provincia tenia su modo y costumbre y cerimonias y rigor segun sus devociones diversas de á sus dioses ayunar." Las Casas again reverts to the religious austerities of the Mexicans, in the hundred-and-eighty-ninth chapter of his Historia Apologetica, and, professing it to be his opinion that no nation ever equalled them in the practice of superstitious rites and ceremonies, corroborates in the

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[1] The history alluded to occurs in the thirty-fourth chapter of Genesis, and involves in an equal degree of criminality two of the Hebrew patriarchs, Simeon and Levi; upon both of whom Jacob, when dying, pronounced the following malediction: "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul! come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united! for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and *scatter them* in Israel." Since it would be absurd to imagine that Jacob could here have intended to predict the future elevation of the tribe of Levi to the sacerdotal dignity, and the consequent dispersion of the Levites and their possessions throughout those of the other tribes, we are under the necessity of supposing, that the portion of this prophecy which related to the dispersion of the tribe of Levy has never been accomplished, and that when he foretold, in the tenth verse of the same chapter of Genesis, the advent of the Messiah, and that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until Shiloh came, his language assumed a truer tone of inspiration.

templos donde los mozos mayores en aquel vicio á los niños corrompian. Y despues salidos de alli mal acostumbrados, dificil era librallos de aquel vicio. Por esta causa eran los padres muy solicitos de casallos quan presto podian, por los apartar de aquella corrupcion vilissima, aunque casallos muchachos contra su voluntad y forzados, y solamente por aquel respeto lo hacian. La razon es porque tenian de costumbre de nunca casar los hijos hasta que pasaban de treinta años arriba. Y asi dicen los ancianos que sus padres les decian, que en los tiempos que los muchachos engendrasen, y las mozas pariesen, tuviesen por cierto que estava cerca la fin del mundo, y que entonces vendrian otras gentes mejores que ellos, que les dirian lo que mas les cumplia, y que aquellas durarian hasta que se acabase el mundo. Todo esto asi escudriñando nuestros religiosos de Santo Domingo, que mas que ningunos otros y mejor diré que ninguno otro porque alli ninguno ha entrado sino ellos, están en la lengua de aquellas gentes industriados, y ellos me lo han dado por escrito."

Las Casas remarks in a succeeding chapter of his Historia Apologetica, that the Indians of Verapaz kept the greater portion of the Ten Commandments. He observes, however, that they erred in the first, and expresses himself of the rest in the following terms:—

" Quanto al segundo y tercero mandamientos ninguna pena ponian: lo uno porque no tenian juramentos quanto al segundo, ni dias feriados quanto al tercero, porque aunque se juntavan todos á celebrar sus fiestas, pero no prohibian que no trabajasen * en ellas.

" Quanto al quarto, guardavanlo estrechamente como nosotros, porque los padres con mucha diligencia enseñavan y exortavan los hijos, á que honrasen y obedeciesen y sirviesen los padres, como ya se vido, y lo mismo á sus señores y principales. Y á los que se ensobervecian contra los señores, aspirando al señorio, ó impidiendo á los vasallos que no les obedeciesen, ó llevasenlos lejos de manera que acudir con tributos y el servicio que devian al señor no pudiesen, luego los ahorcavan. Cerca del quinto mandamiento que prohibe matar ni hacer injuria y agravio á otro, guardavanlo como nosotros. Si alguno matava á otro, los que lo sabian luego lo denunciavan al señor, el qual

following terms his previous relation. " Que se puede comparar al dolor y tormento y amarguras que aquellos sufrian, sacandose trescientos y cuatrocientos palos por las lenguas? y este tormento sufrian cantando como arriba referimos. El sacrificio que hacian en Teuacan y Cuzcatlan y otros pueblos de que arriba mencion hecimos, hendiendo y cortandose el miembro genital entre cuero y carne, y haciendo tan grande la abertura, que pasaban por ella una soga tan gruesa como el brazo, y de diez y quince y veinte brazas, segun la devocion era mayor ó menor del que de aquella manera se sacrificaba, con que dolores ni con muerte que en un credo se acaba, lo podemos cotejar? Porque si algunos se daban voluntariamente con la muerte ser sacrificados, aquel postrer tormento en breve tiempo se pasaba, aunque muriesen quemados, pero aquestos, principalmente los que eran sacerdotes, que toda su vida en muchas festividades aquel martirio sostubiesen, grandisima era de los otros el morir una vez la ventaja que ganaba. Muchos habria en el mundo, si contra su voluntad á padecer aquel tan luengo dolor y tantas veces fuesen forzados, que eligirian mas morir qualquiera muerte violenta siendo breve y arrebatada, que sufrir no digo toda la vida, pero ni un año pena tan dolorosa y tan horrenda. Aunque los que se castraban por honor y en las fiestas de la diosa Siria padecian gran dolor, no merecen ser comparados á estos, porque aquellos no lo hacian sino quando eran llenos de furor y arrebatados del demonio, y por consiguiente no estaban en su libre albedrio como parecia arriba. Pero estos no arrebatados de furor sino estando en su seso y voluntariamente lo hacian. Los ayunos y abstinencias no solo del comer pero del dormir que hacian, estando sin pegar los ojos ni echarse, sino sentados y arrimados sesenta dias, y sacandose cada hora con aquellas puas de las orejas y de otra parte mucha sangre, á que tormento sino á los infernales pueden ser comparados? Quedese tambien por decir con otros particularidades, millares de pajas gruesas como el dedo que por las lenguas se metian y sacaban: las quales aunque no eran tantos tormentos como los dichos, todavia eran muy dolorosas, y pocas ó ningunas naciones hubo en el mundo, que tal sacrificio inventasen y pasasen. Y por tanto bien podemos en estos tres ó quatro postreros sacrificios quitar la corona, si alguna tubieran, de todas las gentes supersticiosas del mundo pasadas, y ponersela sin engaño ni agravio de ninguna á las de la Nueva España. Pues si ofrecer á Dios, ó á los dioses verdaderos ó falsos, pero por verdaderos estimados, sacrificio mas precioso y mas costoso y doloroso, voluntario, arguye tener mas noble y mas digno concepto natural y estimacion y conocimiento de la excelencia y merecimientos de Dios, y por consiguiente mejor discurso y juicio de razon, y mas claro y desplegado entendimiento, y las gentes de la Nueva España excedieron á todas las otras naciones del mundo en ofrecer á sus dioses sacrificios tan costosos y dolorosos, y por eso mas preciosos aunque horrendos, luego tambien las excedieron en el concepto, estimacion y conocimiento natural de Dios, y asi en tener mas desplegado y claro entendimiento y mejor juicio y discurso natural de razon."

* Oviedo says, that the Indians of Nicaragua refrained from *all work* on the days dedicated to religious festivals, and the same custom existed amongst the Peruvians, of whose sabbaths we shall make some mention in a succeeding note, merely observing that it is very probable that the sabbath of the seventh day was known in some parts of America; since Boturini informs us that the Indians of Chiapa were acquainted *with a week of seven days*. If, however, the fact were otherwise, it should still be recollected that, although the Pharisees, in the age of Christ, were extremely particular about the due observance of the sabbath, the Jews are accused in various passages of the Old Testament of great indifference to their new moons and sabbaths, and this indifference would have been likely to lead to the total oblivion of that institution in another hemisphere.

preguntava con diligencia quien era el muerto y el matador y la causa, y quien se lo havia mandado, y si tuvo compañeros en ello. Lo qual todo averiguado, embiaba sus executores de justicia y davanle garrote y asi moria por ello; y pocas dilaciones y gastos de letrados y procuradores eran necesarios hacerse. Comun cosa era entre algunos Indios vender unos á otros. El que mas podia, ó mas ruindades sabia y astucia tenia, vendia á los otros y hallava quien se lo comprase. Pero tenian estos plagiarios graves penas * por las leyes; averiguado que alguno havia vendido á otro sin dilacion mandavan darle garrote al plagiario vendedor. Allende la muerte que le davan, le vendian los hijos y la muger.† Del precio que por ellos se sacava, llevava el fisco y camara del señor cierta parte, y todo lo demas se gastava en comida y bebida para todo el pueblo ‡ que para este regocijo se convidava y juntava.

"Quando riñendo unos con otros se herian, que pocas veces acaecia, en siendo avisado el señor por las quejas de los parientes del herido, embiava un gueso ó una hacha, ó otra cosa al heridor, el qual entendido que lo sabia, embiabale rogadores que lo perdonase, poniendo las excusas que podia, para hacer mas leve y aliviado el caso. El señor mostrava mucho enojo, y disimulava el delicto, hasta que lo sentenciava en que pagase cierta pena, como ciertas plumas, cierto cacao, ó ciertas mantas, en que le condenava, lo qual todo aplicava para el fisco y su camara.

"El que matava, ó heria, ó hacia otro algun daño á su esclavo ó esclava, ninguna pena tenia; *porque decian que sus esclavos eran su hacienda y su caudal* §.

"El que matava esclavo ageno, comunmente se lo mandavan pagar, y los parientes del matador echavan entre si la paga.

"El que matava hombre libre, no podia por alguna via escapar de muerte, sino que sin dilacion, era ó ahorcado ó dado garrote, que segun tengo entendido era el mas comun genero de muerte que se dava á los criminosos que la merecian.

"El que matava á su muger, ó la muger al marido, eran ahorcados por ello.

"En lo tocante al sexto mandamiento tenian lo siguiente. Deste mandamiento tenian tanta noticia las gentes de aquella tierra, que quando decian 'pecado' sin aditamento, entendian por el pecado de la carne, y el de la fornicacion mayormente, puesto que tambien usaban este vocablo 'pecado' por los otros pecados de qualquiera especie; pero antonomastice, que es decir por *excelencia*, por pecado ‖ entendian el de la carne como es dicho.

"El mancebo que fornicava con alguna doncella, no le davan otra pena, sino compelerle á que la tomase por muger ¶.

* The Jews would have felt inclined to punish this crime with extreme severity, from the recollection of the history of Joseph, and the cruel manner in which his brothers sold him to the Ishmaelites, as recorded in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis. We accordingly learn from the following ordinance of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, that the Jews punished man-stealing with death: "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall *surely* be put to death." The Indians attaching, as it would appear, an emphatic signification to the expression 'surely,' in the above law, and acting in conformity with the vindictive spirit of the Hebrew code, commanded the wife and the children of the guilty party to be sold, in addition to the punishment of strangling, to which the real delinquent was himself sentenced.

† An instance of a woman and her children being first stoned, and afterwards burned, for the transgression of her husband, will be found in the twenty-fifth verse of the seventh chapter of the Book of Joshua.

‡ This was by way of interesting the principal inhabitants of a town in the detection and punishment of man-stealers: the rites for the expiation of uncertain murder, prescribed by Moses in the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy, seem also to have been instituted with the view of making the preservation of the laws, in the cases of injury done to individuals, a matter of *public* concern.

§ The Hebrew law, both in the impunity which it accorded to the crime of murder when the individual killed was only a slave, and in the plea with which it justified such impunity when death followed beating after an interval of two days, bears a striking resemblance to the above Indian law; as the perusal of the following enactment of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus will more fully show: "And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die *under* his hand, he shall be surely *punished*. Notwithstanding, *if he continue a day or two*, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money*." Reason and humanity have in every age alike condemned cruelty towards men or animals: but were that unfortunately not the case, where would be the utility of putting the Bible into the hands of the West India planters when it is found to contain such a doctrine?

‖ Las Casas means to say, that the Indians of Verapaz marked their abhorrence of sensual sins by applying to them the epithet of *sin* in an exclusive or transcendent sense, as if other sins compared with that particular class hardly deserved the name of sins. This, we must observe, was a peculiar feature of the Jewish religion, which affected a purity of morals that but ill contrasted with the manners of the Jews, who, even taking it for granted that they had the best code of laws in the world, were at the same time confessedly the worst people on the face of the earth.

¶ This was in exact conformity with the Hebrew law, as we learn from the following ordinance of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus, by which it is evident that it was a Hebrew custom for the husband to give the parents of the woman a marriage dowry; and

Si la doncella estava *desposada* con otro, no la tomava su esposo †, ni la via mas, sino pedia que le restituyesen su dote, ó arras ó precio que avia dado; el qual pagava él que avia corrompido y adulterado la doncella, dando al padre y á la madre de ella.

" El que cometia fornicacion con viuda y con esclava, hacianle pagar luego algunas veces sesenta plumas ‡, otras veces ciento, ó otras cosas semejantes.

" El que adulterava con muger casada, le davan la misma pena de las cien plumas; pero si lo tenia de costumbre, á ambos á dos ahogavan en pena.

" El mozo, libre ó esclavo, que se atrevia á pecar con la señora, muger del señor, era luego ahogado; y sino, vendido para ser sacrificado en sus fiestas.

" Si esclavo mozo, casado ó soltero, pecava con muger esclava dentro de casa, llevavanla luego al cabo del pueblo, y alli la matavan, quebrandole la cabeza con dos piedras, ó hincandole un palo por la garganta, ó dandole garrote; y lo mismo hacian á él, ó para sacrificar lo vendian.

" Si hombre casado cometia adulterio con doncella, sus parientes de ella lo callavan, encubriendo el pecado, porque no se supiese, y la hija perdiese casamiento; pero si lo denunciavan, mandavanle pagar sesenta plumas ó ciento.

" Si casado pecava con viuda ó con casada, castigavanle una y dos veces; y si muchas lo vian perseverar en pecado, atavanles á ambos las manos atras en alto, que no llegavan al suelo, y quemavan debajo de ellos una yerva, que llamavan *tabacoyay*, que debia ser hedionda, y davanles humo á narices § y fuego buen rato, y despues dexabanlos ir, amonestandolos que se enmendasen.

" Esta misma pena se dava á todos los casados que pecavan como se ha dicho atras, puesto que no siempre; y si otra vez despues de asi castigados, tornavan al pecado, matavanlos de la manera dicha delante toda la gente.

" Algunas veces dicen los Indios, que los que eran buenos hombres y pacientes, no decian al señor el pecado de su muger; sino davanle un paxaro de los que ellos sacrificavan, y decian á su muger y al adultero que *sacrificasen* y se *confesasen* ‖, á la manera que ellos se confesavan. Y con este sacrificio y confesion se contentavan como abaxo se dirá,

the text declares that this was also an Indian usage. " If a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely *endow* her to be *his wife*. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins."

† Thus we read in the first chapter of St. Matthew, that Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary was espoused, discovering that she was pregnant before they came together, resolved, in conformity with the manners of his countrymen, to repudiate her; and was only dissuaded from his purpose of putting her away privily, by an angel appearing to him *in a dream*, and assuring him that she was with child by the Holy Ghost.

‡ The feathers, which are here said to have been imposed as a fine for the above offences, were of the rarest and most valuable description, and were procured from a bird which, by the laws of Verapaz, it was death to kill, in consequence of the value which the Indians set upon its plumage, which formed an article of commerce between them and the adjoining provinces. The Mexicans, it may be observed, employed feathers in those works of art to which the Spaniards gave the name of paintings. Sahagun bestows the appellation of Mosaic work on this art of painting with feathers, peculiar, at the time of its discovery, to the New World, but which there is reason to suppose the Phœnicians were acquainted with many ages before the Christian æra.

§ There is a passage in the Old Testament, in which the Jews are compared by God *to smoke ascending into his nostrils*. This was doubtless an emphatic mode of expressing the extreme abomination which he felt for their sins; but the simile recurred to would lead one to suppose that *inhaling* smoke of a noxious quality was a punishment known to the Jews as well as to the Mexicans. There are some other passages likewise in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, which prove that the Jews were accustomed, like the Mexicans, to punish offenders by running thorns into their body, and putting out their eyes; we shall here only refer to one which occurs in the fifty-fifth verse of the thirty-third chapter of Numbers, and which alludes to this cruel and barbarous custom: " But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell."

‖ It is very deserving of notice, that *confession* and *a sacrifice of atonement* were strictly enjoined on the Jews, who were conscious of having committed sin; and it is a singular coincidence, that this injunction should be contained in the following passage of the fifth chapter of Numbers, which principally treats of the mode of convicting a woman accused of adultery, by compelling her to drink the bitter water that caused the curse: " And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the Lord, and that person be guilty; then they shall *confess their sin* which they have done: and he shall recompense his trespass with the principal thereof, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him against whom he hath trespassed. But if the man have no kinsman to recompense the trespass unto, let the trespass be recompensed unto the Lord, even to the priest; beside *the ram* of the atonement, whereby *an atonement shall be made for him*." We may reasonably suppose, that half the offerings represented in the Mexican paintings were trespass offerings, or sacrifices of atonement for the commission of sins; since that unequivocal feature of Judaism was strongly developed in the religion of the Mexicans, which enjoined frequent sacrifices of

y no pedian de su injuria otra venganza; y á todos los que con esta satisfaccion *disimulavan su afrenta,* eran tenidos por hombres *virtuosos* * y humanos.

" Cerca del pecado nefando, lo que hay que con verdad decir es, que nunca se vido entre aquellas gentes, antes se tubo por grande y abominable pecado, hasta que les aparecio un demonio en figura de Indio llamado Cu, y en otra lengua Chin, y en otras Cavil y Maran, que los indujo á que lo cometiesen, como él lo cometio con otro demonio. Y de aqui vino á que no le tubieron algunos de ellos por pecado †, diciendo que pues aquel dios ó diablo lo cometia y lo persuadio, que no debia ser pecado: de alli vino que daban algunos padres á los que eran mozos un niño para que lo tubiesen por muger, y si algun otro llegaba al niño, se lo mandaban pagar como hacen cerca de las mugeres al que violaba muger agena. Con toda esta corrupcion, si alguno forzaba á algun muchacho resistiendolo él, lo castigaban con la pena del que forzaba muger; y lo que mas es, que todos los viejos y viejas reprehendian y reñian con los muchachos, porque consentian en si aquellos malos actos que eran gran pecado, y que se guardasen de el, porque se moririan los que tal sufriesen y cometiesen. Finalmente, siempre habia de ellos quien murmuraban del y lo afeaban y abominaban. Y quando leyeren los lectores esto, acuerdense de leer luego lo que en el capitulo — dexamos escrito de los Franceses, y de los Griegos, grandes philosophos, y de los Emperadores Romanos, tan prudentes y poderosos, porque no hagan tantos milagros destas gentes ‡.

" Entre otras costumbres que estos tenian buenas y malas, usaban de una buena y otra mala; pero la mala pervertia ó destruia la buena. La buena era que cada uno que caia malo, luego se confesaba sus pecados, diciendolos al medico que lo curaba, ó al sacerdote ó hechizero, que contaba para sus supersticiones los dias como se dixo arriba: ó los

atonement, because that description of offerings was to be *eaten* by the priests, as expressly commanded in the seventh verse of the seventh chapter of Leviticus. With respect to the Hebrew mode of trial for adultery, those who will take the trouble of referring to the eighty-seventh page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, will perceive what strong reasons there are for supposing that it was known by tradition at least to the Indians who peopled New Granada.

* That the same custom existed amongst the Jews, may be inferred from the following passage of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew: " Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was *espoused* to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. Then Joseph her husband, being *a just man,* and *not willing* to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily."

† Pedro de Castañeda, an early Spanish missionary, says, in a manuscript account of the Indians of Culiacan, a province situated two hundred and ten leagues to the north-west of Mexico, "Estos idolatraban y hacian presentes á el demonio de sus haberes y riquezas, que era ropa y turquesas: no comian carne humana ni la sacrificaban: habia entre ellos hombres que se casaban con otros hombres." The author of the continuation of Morfis' inedited history of the province of Texas,—a vast tract of territory situated to the north-east of Mexico, and contiguous to Louisiana,—says the same of the Indians inhabiting that district; and the same thing is stated by other Spanish authors of the Indians of Florida.

‡ It has been a matter of dispute, whether, in the no less true than beautiful lines,—

" He who the sword of Heaven would wield,
Should be as holy as severe,"

prohibition or exhortation was intended chiefly to be expressed by the poet. When however we reflect that holiness, in the strict sense of the word, is an attribute which belongs not to man but to the Deity, but that mercy is a quality common to angels and to men, and which dwells on earth as well as reigns in heaven, we must consider that the sense of the above passage is strongly prohibitive, and that it was written in dissuasion of all atrocious legal sentences, and intended to convey a forcible admonition to the judge, that when conscious himself of perfect purity, he might then inflict extreme punishment on vices of an opposite description. It has generally been remarked, that the best of human beings have invariably shown themselves the most merciful to those failings of their fellow-creatures that did not involve in them a destructive principle, or that did not come under the definition, if we may be allowed to quote Aristotle, of " φθαρτικον τι," either in reference to human existence or human happiness; since vices of the latter description,—which strike at what legislation most prizes and chiefly aims to promote, which is the happiness of man,—it is evident, must be curbed by strong penal laws, calculated to awe and terrify the wicked. The same was likewise a Gospel precept, as appears from the eighth chapter of St. John; for although adultery was a crime punished with death by the Mosaic law, yet Christ saved the woman convicted of adultery and about to be stoned, by desiring him that was *without sin* to cast the first stone at her; when all being convicted by their own consciences, the law remained without a single individual to put it in force, and the woman was dismissed with a charge to go and sin no more. There are some persons, however, who in these days of moral purity contend that the example of Christ ought not to be followed, and who fain would change the reading of the texts of Scripture,—" Vengeance is *mine,* saith the Lord, and I *will repay* :" " The eyes *of God* are too pure to behold evil,"—into the impious protest, " God may, if he pleases, show mercy; but the eyes of man are too pure to behold evil." Without demanding of these modern Pharisees whether they believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, when the most perfect justice will be rendered to every individual for every action, good or bad, which he may have performed in this life,—or whether their religion has degenerated into that of the Sadducees of old, who, denying the immortality of the soul, and ridiculing the notion of a day of

mozos se confesaban á sus padres, ó la muger á su marido, ó el marido á la muger, ó á qualquiera de sus parientes *. Y esta era la costumbre buena, ó al menos tenia principio y aparencia y color de bondad. La mala é irracional era, que diciendo la muger en aquella confesion que algun hombre havia pecado con ella †, luego le acusaban delante el señor, y sin testigos ni otra probacion, penavan al que la muger en la confesion declaraba aver sido su complice, aunque el lo negase; y este error procedia tanto, que por lo que la muger declaraba en la confesion, le ahorcaban. A mi me aconteció que lo vi, y castigué á los ..... en la tierra, puesto que no en el mismo pueblo donde se efectuó, que estando la muger de un señor enferma y á la muerte de su enfermedad, confesó de que con cierto mancebo avia pecado, al qual luego ahorcaron. Cierto esta era costumbre harto injusta é irracionable.

" En lo que concierne al septimo mandamiento, era claro á estas gentes como el sexto, y asi los padres á los hijos amonestaban que no hurtasen, como que ni adulterasen, con suma diligencia.

" Era ley que el que hurtase cosas de poca estima, como una gallina, ó algun poco de trigo mahiz ó otras semejantes, mandabanle volver lo hurtado, y sobre aquello, que pagase algunas plumas ó otras cosas, que seria como *el otro tanto* ‡ que valia lo que havia hurtado, y todo el hurto y la pena que le echavan, era del señor, porque ninguna cosa de ella queria el dueño de lo hurtado tomar, aunque el señor se lo daba, quasi teniendolo por *inficionado* y no digno de tornarse á recibir de manos tan malas §.

" El ladron que hurtase alguna cosa de mucho valor, segun la estimacion de ellos, como una diadema de oro que ellos usaban, ó otra cosa preciosa, buelto lo que hurtaba si lo tenia, penabanlo en mucho mas, como en cien plumas que eran entre ellos de valor; y sino tenia de que pagar, vendianlo por esclavo.

" El que usurpava las tierras, mudando los terminos y limites ó mojones ‖, ó en los montes ó en las sembradas, embiaba el señor veedores, y al que havia entrado y usurpado en la posesion agena, mandavanle pagar y poner mojones y terminos con nuevas señales, para que no tornasen á tener pendencias sobre ello.

" El que hurtava plumas en el monte ageno, donde criaban los pajaros que las tienen, ó cacao ó otra cosa semejante, se la hacian pagar con la pena ya dicha.

judgement, contended for the fulfilment to the letter of all the bloody enactments of the Mosaic law, and thereby drew down upon themselves the condemnation of Christ,—we shall merely observe, that the strongest argument in favour of a mild and merciful administration of penal laws, is the attestation of reason and of nature, that there is a Power above who will assuredly award to guilt, either here or hereafter, its due measure of punishment, and who cannot err in discriminating between the nature of human actions, as is too often the case when man is the judge of his fellow-creatures. Any mistrust of the truth of the religious creed in which they have been educated ought certainly to make those who fill judicial stations very cautious of trying human actions by the standard of moral rectitude which such a creed inculcates, which, except it be adapted to all ages and nations, and be conformable to the reason of men of every climate, is itself extremely suspicious, and likely to be founded in error and imposture.

* " Confess your sins one to another," appears to have been a Gospel precept; but the mode in which confession was to be received seems never to have been precisely defined by Christ or his Apostles. Strong objections were certainly urged, at the commencement of the Reformation, against the Abelards of the Roman Catholic Church administering that rite to their female penitents; and it is a curious fact, that the Peruvians should have remedied the evil which might possibly thence ensue, by instituting an order of female confessors for the express purpose of receiving the confessions of women.

† An anonymous Spanish author gives the following account of the Indian confession of the sick. " Si algun Indio enfermaba, iban los parientes ante esta vieja sortilega que les dixere de qué procedia el mal: la cual echaba unos granos de maiz y frisoles sobre un petate, arrojandolos á una tablilla como la que tiene en la mano, y estando ante el demonio, y decia lo que se le antojaba y llamaba al demonio que se lo declarase: y si caia un grano de maiz sobre el otro, decia que de sometico era su mal. Tambien estas viejas eran parteras ó comadres, y quando iban á partear alguna muger, si tenia recio parto, la vieja la decia que no podia parir si primero no le descubria con quantos hombres, sin su marido, habia tenido parte; y la preñada los descubria sin recelar cosa alguna, porque tenia entendido que si no lo decia no pariria. Y si por ventura alguna moria de parto, decian que no habia descubierto todo lo que habia hecho. Y si el niño moria en naciendo, decian lo mismo. Y esta vieja lo descubria despues á quien queria, y á su marido si queria. Y quando acontecia nacer algun niño con ronchas ó bermejo, decian las viejas que fue algun antojo, ó de comer carne humana, ó de algun perillo."

‡ It is said, in the ninth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus: " For any manner of lost thing, which another challengeth to be his, the cause of both parties shall come before the judges; and whom the judges shall condemn, he shall *pay double* unto his neighbour." It may be proper to observe, that stolen goods are the *lost* things here referred to.

§ That it was the opinion of the Jews, that money contracted uncleanness from the hands through which it passed, and the manner in which it was acquired, is evident from the eighteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, and is exemplified in the sixth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

‖ It is said in the seventeenth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Deuteronomy: " Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark."

" El que tomaba prestado algo *, si lo perdia ó no lo volvia, siempre se lo mandavan pagar.

" El que recibia fiada † alguna cosa, sino pagava en el tiempo señalado, pedianselo ante el señor, y mandavanselo volver luego.

" Si alguno tomaba muchas cosas fiadas de unos y de otros, y despues no podia pagar, vendian la persona, y lo que davan por él davanlo los acrehedores al señor: otras veces como á quien roba en poblado, lo matavan dandole garrote.

" Quanto al octavo mandamiento, siempre fue cognoscido por malo entre aquellas gentes *levantar falso testimonio*, y asi tienen nombre proprio como del hurto y adulterio, y como á tal lo amonestavan y prohibian los padres á los hijos, y lo mismo los señores á los subditos.

" Lo mismo era de las mentiras ‡, que igualmente las prohibian y detestaban los mayores, diciendoles: *no os levanteis testimonio falso, no mentais*, porque es muy malo.

" La pena que se dava al que se probaba haver mentido, levantando falso testimonio, era que le reñia el señor asperamente y deshonraba de palabra, y mandavale que pagase diez ó quince ó veinte plumas, segun que le parecia.

* A similar ordinance occurs in the fourteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus.

† It would appear from the enactments relating to pledges, in the sixth and tenth verses of the twenty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, that this mode of dealing was very common among the ancient Jews, whose descendants are even still much inclined to the trade of pawnbrokers. It cannot, however, be doubted, that if the custom of giving and taking pledges favoured the growth of usury, to which the Jews have ever been extremely addicted, it afforded many advantages to the labouring poor, whom sickness or want might have obliged in this manner to seek temporary relief. A clause in the Hebrew law, providing, that if raiment was pledged by a poor man, it should be returned to him before the sun went down, that he " might sleep in his own raiment," has induced some Spanish writers to observe, that the Mexicans resembled the Jews in sleeping in their ordinary apparel; which custom, Torquemada says, was general amongst the Indians of New Spain, whose beds were mats, woven from rushes or the leaves of the palm, the rich alone making use of cotton counterpanes. It is probable, from the special attention which the Mexican law bestowed on pledges, that that trait of domestic policy was borrowed by the Mexicans from the Jews.

‡ Brulius declares, in the third chapter of the first book of his Historia Peruana, that the Peruvians punished liars and perjurers with death: " Mendacem et falsò jurantem semel iterumve, nullâ emendatione castigatum, publicâ plectebant morte." This extraordinary severity doubtless originated in the great weight which the oaths of two or three witnesses had in their courts of justice; and some Spanish writers affirm, that even the first act of perjury was, in grave cases, punished with death. It is certainly a singular coincidence, that throughout the New World, or at least that portion of it which was most civilized at the period of the Spanish conquest, those crimes which the Jews regarded as of the greatest magnitude, were precisely those so considered by the Indians; and those virtues, on the contrary, which were most prized by the Romans,—such as honour and generosity, respect for valour even in an enemy, clemency to the vanquished, patriotism, candour, disinterestedness, and contempt for fraud and artifice of every description, mildness in the administration of justice, a regard for the liberties of the people, and for individual rights, and especially toleration in religion,—were as little esteemed by the Mexicans and the Peruvians, whose whole morality consisted in a due observance of their ceremonial law, an affected humility, visible in the σκυθρωπια of the figures introduced in the Mexican paintings, and peculiar in the age of Christ to the Pharisees, and fasting, penance, and mortification, carried beyond all reasonable bounds. If, however, the act of simply lying was a vice held in abomination by the Peruvians, and expressly forbidden to the Jews in the eleventh verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, judicial lying or perjury, whereby the life of an individual might be endangered, must by every code of human law have been judged most impious, and was by that statute of the Roman law entitled 'Lex Cornelia de Sicariis' punished with death: and certainly it does appear, that of all crimes, that of swearing away the life of an innocent person is the most detestable; since here even the common temptations to kill are wanting, and *vitæ sacra fames* must be the only incentive. Amongst the Jews, this description of swearing was punished with death, as appears by the following enactment of the nineteenth chapter of Deuteronomy: " If a false witness rise up against any man, to testify against him that which is wrong; then both the men, between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the Lord, before the priests and the judges, which shall be in those days; and the judges shall make diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother; then shall ye do unto him *as he had thought to have done unto his brother:* so shalt thou put the evil away from among you. And those *which remain* shall hear, and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil among you." We subjoin the following passage from the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book of Nieremberg's Natural History, because it proves that the Peruvians refrained from swearing on all ordinary occasions, and, like the Jews, were apprehensive of taking the name of God in vain: " Peruensibus inusitatum jusjurandum: coactus a lictore quidam nobilis barbarus sententiam suam sacramento firmare, respondit: 'nondum Christianus sum, quomodo vis ut firmem meum sensum nomine Dei tui?' Lictor retulit, sufficere invocare nomen Solis aut Lunæ. Tunc Indus: 'nos non utimur Divino nomine nisi ut adoremus, propterea *non licet aliter ore sumere*.' 'Quid ergo,' lictor inquit, 'faciemus?' 'Sat sit,' Curaca ille dixit, 'si promittam verum dicere, et cogitare coram rege Hispano me loqui, cujus nunc ipse vicarius es.'" The reply of the Indian to the Spaniard in the foregoing passage is further deserving of notice, as showing that the Peruvians, like the Jews, considered the Divine name *ineffable*, an analogy which we have elsewhere pointed out.

" Y comunmente no creian fuera de la confesion* á la muger que venia á decir haver pecado ó hechole fuerza algun hombre. Por lo qual si venia muger alguna estando sana sin enfermedad á dar queja de alguno que la avia forzado, ó hecho algun otro daño, luego le pedia el señor de ello testigos, ó la señal de la verdad. Y esta señal era que havia de traer alguna cosa que huviese tomado al que la quiso forzar; como el paño de manos, ó el mastel que es los paños menores con que cubren sus verguenzas, la manta que trae cubierta, ó otra cosa que se cognosciese ser de aquel. Entonces la creian decir verdad y sentenciavanlo en la pena del adulterio ya dicha.

" Si alguna vez havia quien acusase los adulterios y ellos lo negavan, davanles tormento† de cuerda, atandolos reciamente los brazos atras por los molledos, y davanles el garrote detras y demas de esto sino confesavan davanles humo á narices, y quemavanlos estando ellos en alto como se dixo ya. Estos mismos tormentos davan á los ladrones, hasta hacerles confesar la verdad.

" Del nono y decimo mandamientos tambien tuvieron gran noticia estos Indios, como parece por la diligencia que ponian los padres en la instruccion y amonestaciones que hacian en esto á los hijos, diciendoles, que no codiciasen las mugeres, no solo las agenas, pero ni otras ningunas, y que no mirasen las hermosas, ni la disposicion y atavios que trujesen, y asi huyesen las ocasiones. Y añidian la razon, diciendo, que no era una muger diferente de otra, porque tan verdadera muger era la fea, como la hermosa. Lo mismo amonestavan las madres á las hijas doncellas por respecto de los hombres.

" En la misma forma tenian y platicavan el decimo mandamiento, amonestando los padres á los hijos que no deseasen‡ el oro ni plata, ni plumas ni cacao, ni las demas cosas agenas, y que si para sus necesidades querian tenerlas, que trabajasen por su solicitud é industria y trabajo haverlas.

" Otras muchas buenas costumbres y leyes y orden buena de gobierno tenian las gentes de aquellas provincias, dignas de loor aunque apartadas de este nuestro orbe, y carecientes de lumbre de fé y doctrina: las quales segun me han dado por escripto los religiosos que alli han sudado y trabajado de sabellas, con las malas que entre ellos avia, como gentes sin gracia divina—las malas para se las quitar y disuadir, y las buenas para loarselas y persuadirlos á la conservacion y perpetuidad de ellas—el tiempo andando de la lengua de ellos en nuestro Castellano dixeron, que como dignas de ser vistas y practicadas convertirian, por las quales se podrá con facilidad entender, no haver sido de todas las infieles y gentiles antiguas naciones estas las mas infimas."

The laws above enumerated were those of the Indians of Verapaz: those which follow, which are likewise copied from the Historia Apologetica of Las Casas, were peculiar to Guatemala §, especially to Utatlan, its principal province,

* The confession of a sick woman was considered unexceptionable evidence by the laws of Verapaz; and such weight was attached to it, that Las Casas declares, that men whom they charged with having committed adultery with them, were, upon that testimony alone, sometimes put to death, even although they denied the fact. Hence it appears in what a solemn light the Indians viewed the rite of confession. It need scarcely be remarked, that by a rule of the Catholic Church, which in very rare cases admits exception, priests are forbidden to reveal anything communicated to them in confession. At what period such a prohibition was first imposed, it would be difficult to say; but it probably originated in the inconveniences which would have resulted if such a rule had not been adopted: and even under this salutary restriction, as the Church deems it, confession gives the clergy great influence over their flocks; and in the primitive ages of Christianity it was an instrument which might justly be compared to a two-edged sword, and which, doubtless, greatly contributed to the ascendancy which the Church so long maintained throughout every country of Europe. It deserves to be remarked, that a woman in health was not believed, except she produced witnesses, or at least some part of the apparel of the man whom she accused; which reminds us of the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar, in the thirty-ninth chapter of Genesis, which was probably known by tradition to the Indians.

† To inflict torture was not repugnant to the spirit of the Mosaic law, as we learn from various passages of Scripture; and for that reason the use of the rack was, till within a comparatively recent period, tolerated by the jurisprudence of nearly all Christendom, and was even recommended by the Inquisition, who tortured in the first instance those unhappy victims whom they afterwards condemned to the flames. If there be aught meritorious in retributive justice, what great concessions should modern legislation make to the spirit of the present age, were it only to atone for the crimes with which intolerance has afflicted the earth, and to appease the shades of those who, like the Grecian ghosts so pathetically introduced in Dryden's Ode, may still be supposed to visit this earth, and, frequenting the scenes of their ignominious sufferings, to implore the tardy vengeance of posterity!

‡ Gomara, describing,—in the chapter of his History of the Indies, which he entitles 'Calidades y Costumbres del Cuzco,'—the manners of the Peruvians, says, "Castigan de muerte los adulterios. Sacan los ojos al ladron, que me parece su propio castigo. Guardan mucha justicia en todo." The latter punishment, it deserves to be remarked, was known to the Jews, and received the sanction of the Mosaic law; and it appears to be occasionally represented in the Mexican paintings.

§ Juarros informs us, in his History of Guatemala, that that territory comprised three monarchies, two of which acknowledged a sort of feudal supremacy in Utatlan, which latter State is said to have been for many ages governed by princes of Jewish descent. New Spain

which, with the territory adjoining, formed at the period of the Spanish invasion a powerful and independent kingdom. The latter laws were likewise common to Honduras and Nicaragua, being, as the above-mentioned prelate observes, "*Las leyes y costumbres que tenian por todas aquellas provincias en mas de docientas leguas segun creemos.*"

was in fact subdivided into many different kingdoms, some of which, like Michuacan, were even formidable to the Mexicans, and it contained an immense and redundant population,—a fact which the ruins of ancient cities, scattered over a vast extent of country, still sufficiently attest: the diversity of languages proves likewise that it was originally peopled by many different nations, and must consequently have been subject from the earliest times to the sway of many princes. It is however deserving of remark, that only one language was spoken throughout the extensive peninsula of Yucatan,—a fact which Las Casas and other Spanish writers have particularly pointed out, attributing to that cause its peaceful and flourishing state when first discovered by the Spaniards. That Yucatan, however, had been subject to great revolutions, may be inferred from the following passage of Gomara's History of the Indies: "Viven mucho estos Yucatenses, y Alquimpech sacerdote del pueblo do es agora Merida, vivio mas de ciento y veynte años. El qual, aun que ya era Christiano, llorava la entrada y amistad de los Españoles. Y dixo á Montejo como avia ochenta años que vino una inchazon pestilencial á los ombres, que rebentavan llenos de gusanos: y luego otra mortandad de increible hedor: y que uvo dos batallas, no quarenta años antes que fuesen ellos, en que murieron mas de ciento y cinquenta mil ombres. Empero que sentian mas el mando y estado de los Españoles, porque nunca se irian de alli, que todo lo passado." Gomara, whose authority as an historian has always been considered great, and whose intimacy with Cortes opened to him an original source of information, confirms, in the following passage of the above chapter, what Peter Martyr says, in the 204th page of the present volume, of the rite of circumcision being discovered amongst the Indians of Yucatan. "Hiendense las orejas, hazense coronas sobre la frente, que parecen calvos, y trençanse los cabellos, que traen largos, al colodrillo. *Retajanse,* aunque no todos. Y ni hurtan, ni comen carne de ombre, aunque los sacrifican, que no es poco segun usança de Indios." Las Casas himself confirms, in the following passage of the 241st chapter of his Historia Apologetica, what is stated by Oviedo, in a subsequent paragraph, respecting the existence of that rite amongst the Indians of Nicaragua. "Tornando al proposito, dixose que algunos de ellos y no todos se circuncidaban: no se sabe si lo hacian por cerimonia, ó por otro respeto alguno. Mas *comun era la circuncision* en la provincia de Nicaragua, puesto que no todo aquello superfluo segun alli supimos, se cortavan. En otra parte de todas las Indias no he oido que se circuncidasen." Gomara agrees likewise with Peter Martyr in asserting, that the Indians of the island of Cozumel or Acuzamil, which was situated a few leagues only from the coast of Yucatan, were circumcised; whose manners he thus describes in the tenth page of his History of the Conquest of Mexico. "*Retajanse:* son idolatras: sacrifican niños, mas pocos, y muchas vezes perros en su lugar. En lo demas gente pobre es, pero *caritativa,* y muy religiosa en aquella su falsa creencia." A reason for the ignorance and uncertainty which so generally prevailed respecting the manners and customs, the different forms of government, and the laws and institutions of many considerable Indian states, will be found in the following passage of the 242nd chapter of the Historia Apologetica of Las Casas. "Finalmente como ya hemos en algunas partes dicho, todas las Indias parece aver tenido el regimiento real, muy pocas partes sacadas. Y asi creo ser averiguado en todas las provincias y reynos agora nombradas, y las de Tierrafirme desde Paria, Cumana, Venezuela, y Santa Marta, y Darien, y el Çenu, y la tierra adentro las provincias de Popayan, y sin haver duda alguna el Nuevo Reyno de Granada, que llamavan en aquella lengua Bogota, la ultima silaba aguda. Todas estas provincias y reynos tenian sus reyes y señores, á quien obedecian los pueblos que por señores los recognoscian. De cuya manera de governacion, *como fueron acabados presto,* al menos los de ambas á dos costas ó riberas de la mar, yendo de Guatemala por el oriente hasta Panama y Nombre de Dios, y tambien por no haver habido en aquellas provincias religiosos que para predicalles, aprehendiesen sus lenguas, los quales solos son los que saben y penetran sus secretos, tener noticia no pudimos." Having quoted many passages from Spanish authors in proof of the existence of the rite of circumcision amongst the Indians, we shall add to these testimonies the following, which is taken from the third chapter of an extremely rare treatise, entitled, "A Short Discourse concerning the New World or America," published in the year 1660, and professedly the work of the Rev. Thomas Thorowgood. A strict regard to delicacy and propriety of language would almost justify the omission of some passages in this extract, were not such a mode of quotation wholly unwarrantable. "I begin with circumcision, and justly, for it is the mainest point of Jewish religion, saith Bishop Montague; it had the front among the former sacred rites and customs; but something, I suppose, considerable will now be added thereto, the rather because it hath been confidently affirmed, by some most opposite to these conjectures, if that Judaical badge were certainly known to be upon the Indians, there would be more than consenting to the probabilities; and they would say with Hornius, (a very learned man, and one that hath travelled as far into these inquiries as any other,) if there were any *certain testimonies* of their circumcision, he would judge them to be of Judaical extract. I shall, therefore, now in this be more express, not troubling the reader with that which puzzled Herodotus, whether the Egyptians had circumcision from the Ethiopians, or these from them; seeing we know assuredly, from the word of truth, it came originally from the Jews, Gen. xvii., which caused Theodoret to write so confidently, it was no *old* law among the Egyptians to circumcise infants, for Pharaoh's daughter, finding Moses by the river side, saw him circumcised, and said thereupon presently, 'This is one of the Hebrews' children,' Exod. ii. 6. That, then, of P. Martyr to the former mentionings may be inserted, which was received from the mouth of a fugitive Indian, that in some parts of America, as they had cities walled, people clothed, and government by laws, so they were circumcised likewise. In Yucatana they be all cut in that part, and in the island of the Holy Cross, Cuba, and many other places; and in a book he wrote after his Decads, he tells in a manner they were all circumcised; and in one island, he saith, they carried them away all as hares, and *thought they might do it lawfully, because of their circumcision.* Mr. Brerewood, also, whose judgment is very ponderous, writes confidently, that in Yucatana the inhabitants have circumcision still in use, which is not only avouched by Grotius, but he tells the same of many other nations in

" Primeramente, quando algun señor era tirano y en su regimiento cruel, aquellos que eran cabezas de familias* que se sentian de agraviados, comunicaban sus quejas y agravios á los principales de la ciudad y del reyno; y si hallavan en ellos aparejo y que les querian en su proposito ayudar, juntavanse todos y matavanlo, y tomavanle sus mugeres é hijos por captivos, y toda su hacienda, sin dexar cosa salva. Pero si todo el reyno ó pueblo no convenia en conspirar con los querellantes y agraviados, acudian al señor que mas poder de los circunstantes y comarcanos tenia, que sentian que los ayudaria, ofreciendole que llevaria las mugeres y los esclavos y hacienda para provocallo, el qual si lo aceptaba, embiava su gente de guerra, para que por la mejor manera que pudiesen lo matase.

" Qualquiera señor ó principal que impedia que los vasallos no obedeciesen al rey ó señor, moria por ello, y ponian otro en aquel estado y lugar.

" Qualquiera que matava á otro moria por ello.

America, Tolonas, Acuzamitenses, Guazacualcenses, and others about Mexico; and when Jo. de Laet was in a manner convinced of this truth, he studies to elude it by another evasion, as if it were the mark of the filthy disease, and not the sign of circumcision; but Grotius merrily, and with fine force, beats him from that fence and fancy, saying, as if the venereous pest were in that country so Judaical, that it was content to take off the prepuce or foreskin only, and spare the other parts of the body. And when the same learned man tells him there are so many witnesses affirming divers of the people in America to be circumcised, that it doth not become a *modest* man to deny it, it did extort from Jo. de Laet himself, notwithstanding his former allegation, that expression, 'Neither do I absolutely deny it'; and again, 'It is possible it may be so.' Suetonius, telling of some cruelties exercised by Domitian upon the Jews, saith, when he was a young man he saw among very many others, when a public inspection was made of a man ninety years old, whether he were circumsected. And here, because ocular witnesses, and *of our own nation*, in this may seem almost a cogent probability, I shall therefore produce two most irrefragable testimonies of that convincing kind. I saw Mr. Eliot's letters to Mr. Winslow, the New England agent here, in these words among others: 'You tell me one will publish probabilities that at least some of the ten tribes are in America. It would be a glad tidings to my heart; and when Mr. Dudley heard of it, he said, Captain Cromwel, that died lately at Boston here, reported he saw *many* Indians to the southward circumcised.' And for a further confirmation hereof, I had it not only from the mouth of Mr. Thomas Gage and his printed book, but I have his letter by me wherein he doth assert, that in the town of Mixco, where he preached five or six years, he had often deep discourse with an old Indian, named Domingo de Gusman, which was fiscal or clerk of the church; this Indian did often show him some papers in written hand of antiquity, wherein were many practices of their forefathers agreeing much with the Jews' customs, but especially he would talk often of the cutting off young children's flesh, when they were newly born; which I myself, saith he, saw also once performed among them, to whom I went with a guard of Spaniards, where we all beheld their priest cutting with a razor *made of flint* the foreskin of a new-born babe. Other of his general observations will be mentioned hereafter; and now, as Genebrard writes confidently of the Tartars, that they are Jewish, because they were circumcised long before they received any of the Mahometan rites, it will doubtless seem probable also, that many Indian nations are of Judaical race, seeing this frequent and constant character of circumcision, so singularly fixed to the Jews, is to be found among them." The reasoning of Mr. Thorowgood in the above extract is the more satisfactory, because it is founded upon facts which had come to his own knowledge, and not merely upon conjectures or the unsupported assertions of contemporary writers who had never visited America. For the information, however, of those who might otherwise feel little disposed to concede to the testimony of Mr. Eliot that weight to which it is entitled from the great respectability of the individual, we must observe, that he was the translator of the Scriptures into the Mohawk language, and from his great zeal in the conversion of those rude tribes to Christianity, received the appellation of the Apostle of the Indians. The testimony of other and later Anglo-American writers might be adduced, to prove that circumcision was practised in ancient times amongst the North American Indians. Doctor Boudinot thus expresses himself in the 113th page of the fourth chapter of his "Star in the West," a Work published so recently as the year 1816. "The Indians to the eastward say, that previous to the white people coming into the country, their ancestors were in the habit of using circumcision; but latterly, not being able to assign *any reason* for so strange a practice, their young people insisted on its being abolished. M'Kensie says the same of the Indians he saw on his route even at this day.—'History,' page 34. Speaking of the nations of the Slave and Dog-rib Indians very far to the north-west, he says, 'Whether circumcision be practised among them I cannot pretend to say; but the appearance of it was general among those I saw.' The Dog-rib Indians live about two or three hundred miles from the Straits of Kamschatka. Dr. Beatty says, in his Journal of a visit he paid to the Indians on the Ohio about fifty years ago, that an old Christian Indian informed him, that an old uncle of his, who died about the year 1728, related to him several customs and traditions of former times, and among others, that circumcision was practised among the Indians long ago, but their young men making a mock at it, brought it into disrepute, and so it came to be disused.—'Journal,' page 89." The perusal of the above passage leads naturally to the inference, that the young men of New Spain would likewise have made a mock of this ceremony, as soon as they discovered that it caused the Spaniards to suspect that they were descended from the Jews, against whom such a bitter persecution raged about *that time* in Spain; and hence it is likely that they would have refrained from circumcising their children, if they could not, as suggested by the Apostle, themselves become uncircumcised; and this would account for the almost total disappearance, in a single generation, of this rite amongst the Mexicans, and the consequent silence with respect to it of the Spanish and Indian historians who wrote towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

* The heads of families had considerable influence in the affairs of the Jews, as appears by the frequent mention of them in the Old Testament.

" Qualquiera que adulterava con la muger del señor, si era persona principal moria por ello, pero si era hombre vil lo despeñaban.

" Qualquiera que llegava á esclava agena, la pena era como pecuniaria, ó daba otro tanto como la esclava valia, ó compraba otra, y mayor pena le davan si era tal que algun señor tenia quenta con ella.

" Qualquiera que hurtava, lo punian con pena pecuniaria, y esta pena era para el rey ó su fisco, allende que avia de restituir á su dueño lo hurtado.

" Qualquiera ladron que en aquel oficio era incorregible, lo ahorcavan, denunciandolo á sus parientes, si querian pagar por él: ellos respondian que ya estaban hartos de hacer tales pagas, que lo castigasen ó matasen.

" A todos los que sentenciaban á muerte por sus delictos, comunmente los confiscavan sus bienes, y sus mugeres y hijos y esclavos.

" Qualquiera que era bruxo ó bruxa quemavan, y llamavanlo en su lengua Balam*, que quiere decir *tigre*, porque el demonio se revestia en ellos, y por sus prestigios hacia que pareciesen tigres á quien los mirava, como en el capitulo 92† esto como puede ser, largamente declaramos. Estos hacian muchos daños, y por esto los quemavan; *y lo mismo se hacia de los que se hallasen entre Christianos.*

" A los que fornicavan, soltero con soltera, penavan como con pena pecuniaria, quando el señor á saberlo alcanzava. Pero si avia parte que pretendiese injuria y reclamase, como padre por hija, ó hermano por hermana, le davan pena de muerte, ó le hacian esclavo.

" Al que hurtava cosa de los templos ó de sus dioses, despeñavan, ó lo hacian esclavo si era cosa liviana.

" El que hacia alguna fuerza á muger, si era cosa notable, lo matavan ó hacian esclavo.

" A los plagiarios que vendian persona libre, si era su natural, matavan, pero de los estrangeros, aunque los vendiesen por esclavos, no se hacia tanto caso.

" Al que cometia crimen de trahicion contra el señor ó su republica, y descubria los secretos de ella, ó se pasava á los enemigos, matavan y confiscavanle todos sus bienes, y á sus hijos y muger hacian esclavos.

" En la provincia de Verapaz, (de que luego en el siguiente capitulo se tractará,) tenia pena de muerte el que matase pajaro de las plumas ricas, porque no las havia en otra parte, y era cosa de mucho valor, porque usaban de ellas como de monedo, y por consiguiente avianlo por gran daño del bien comun.

" Todos los que salvavan en las guerras, chicos ó grandes, los hacian esclavos‡.

" Las personas principales, como señores y hermanos de señores, y otras tales que prendian en las guerras, los sacrificavan á sus idolos, y despues los comian, por asombrar y poner miedo y terror á los enemigos.

" Lo mismo, aunque disimuladamente, hizo Ptolemeo, hijo de Cleopatra reyna de Egipto, (conviene á saber,) para poner temor á los enemigos, mostrando que eran comedores los de su exercito de carne humana. El qual, peleando contra Alexandro rey en Judea, hermano de Aristobulo, y habida la victoria, y triumphando por la provincia, entró en ciertas villas de Judea, las quales hallando llenas de mugeres y niños, los mandó matar todos, mugeres y niños, á los de su exercito, y hacer pedazos y tajadas y echallas en calderas á cocer, fingiendo que lo hacian para comerlos, para que los que se avian escapado de la batalla creyesen que comian carne humana, y asi les tuviesen horrible temor. Asi lo cuenta Josepho, libro 13, capitulo 21, de las Antiguedades Judaicas§.

* This name singularly agrees with that of Balaam, the false prophet whom Balak is said, in the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters of the Book of Numbers, to have expressly charged to curse the Jews on their entrance into the land of Canaan; and hence it might have been used as a term of reproach by the Jews of later ages, and have been indiscriminately applied to witches and conjurors. The curious fact of Montezuma having imitated the policy of Balak king of Moab, by sending his diviners and enchanters to stop the advance of the Spaniards towards Mexico, is recorded by Sahagun in the eighth chapter of the twelfth book of his History of New Spain.

† The chapter to which Las Casas alludes is the ninety-second of the Historia Apologetica, which commences with an appeal to the authority of St. Augustin, to prove that witches are able to metamorphose men into animals, who, in the sixteenth chapter of the eighteenth book of his treatise De Civitate Dei, instances the example of Circe, who changed the companions of Ulysses into swine.

‡ This was in accordance with the ancient usages of the Jews.

§ The following is the passage of Josephus to which Las Casas here refers: " *Πτολεμαιος δε μετα την νικην προσκαταδραμων την χωραν, ὀψιας γενομενης, ἐν τισι κωμαις ταις Ιουδαιας κατεμεινεν, ἀς γυναικων εὐρων μεστας και νηπιων, ἐκελευσε τους στρατιωτας ἀποσφαττοντας αὐτους και κρεουργουντας, ἐπειτα εἰς λεβητας ζεοντας ἐνιεντας τα μελη ἀπαρχεσθαι. τουτο δε προσεταξεν, ἱν' οἱ διαφυγοντες ἐκ της μαχης και προς αὐτους ἐλθοντες, σαρκοφαγους ὑπολαβωσιν εἰναι τους πολεμιους, και δια τουτο ἐτι μαλλον αὐτους καταπλαγουσι ταυτ' ἰδοντας. λεγει δε και Στραβων και Νικολαος, ὁτι*

" Tornando á contar las leyes de las provincias que llamamos de Guatemala, otra ley fue, que el vasallo que huia de su señor, si con tiempo se sabia, embiaban de presto por él, y alcanzandolo lo matavan, y á su muger y hijos hacian esclavos, y le confiscavan toda su hacienda.

τουτον αὐτοις ἐχρησαντο τον τροπον καθως κἀγω προειρηκα." "But Ptolemy, after the victory, scouring the country, halted late in the evening in certain villages of Judea, which finding full of women and children, he commanded the soldiers, having killed them and cut them into pieces, to throw their limbs into boiling cauldrons; and he issued these orders, that those who had escaped from the battle and fled to them might imagine that the enemy were cannibals, and on that account, having witnessed these things, might entertain a still greater terror of them. Strabo and Nicolaus declare that they treated them in the manner in which I likewise have related." We may here remark, that in the Latin edition of the Jewish Antiquities, published in the year 1546, the concluding paragraph of the above passage, in which mention is made of Strabo and Nicolaus, is entirely wanting. It cannot, however, be doubted, that mutilations and interpolations of all kinds have in the course of ages greatly corrupted the text of the Jewish historian. The account, however, which he gives of Ptolemy having caused his soldiers to put to death captive women and children, and to cast their limbs into boiling cauldrons, as if they were to be served up at a banquet, is not only in itself extremely improbable, but savours of recrimination against the Greek author Apion, who had accused the Jews of cannibalism in the following passage of his treatise cited by Josephus: "Propheta vero aliorum factus est Apion, et dixit Antiochum *in templo* invenisse lectum, et hominem in eo jacentem, et oppositam ei mensulam maritimis terrenisque volatilium dapibus plenam, et quod obstupuisset his homo. Illum vero mox adorasse regis ingressum, tanquam maximam sibi opem præbituri: ac procidentem ad ejus genua, extensâ dexterâ poposcisse libertatem: et jubente rege ut consideret, et diceret quis esset, vel cur ibidem habitaret, vel quæ esset causa ciborum ejus, tunc hominem cum gemitu et lacrymis lamentabiliter suam narrasse necessitatem. Ait, inquit, esse se Græcum: et dum peragraret provinciam parandi victus causâ, correptum se subito ab alienigenis hominibus, atque deductum ad templum, et inclusum illic, et a nullo conspici, *sed cunctâ dapium apparatione saginari*. Et primum quidem hæc sibi inopinabilia beneficia visa attulisse lætitiam: deinde suspicionem, postea stuporem: postremum consulentem a ministris ad se accedentibus, *audisse legem ineffabilem Judæorum*, pro quâ nutriebatur: *et hoc illos facere singulis annis quodam tempore constituto:* et comprehendere quidem Græcum peregrinum, eumque *annuo tempore saginare*, et deductum ad quandam sylvam, occidere quidem eum hominem, ejusque corpus sacrificare secundum suas solennitates, et *gustare* ex ejus visceribus, et jusjurandum facere in immolatione Græci, ut inimicitias contra Græcos haberent: et tunc in quandam foveam reliqua hominis pereuntis abjicere. Deinde refert eum dixisse, paucos jam dies debitos sibimet superesse, atque rogasse, ut reveritus Græcorum deos, et superans in suo sanguine insidias Judæorum, de malis eum circumstantibus deliberaret. Hujusmodi ergo fabula non tantum omni tragœdiâ plenissima est, sed etiam crudeli *impudentiâ* redundat. Non tamen a sacrilegio privat Antiochum, sicut arbitrati sunt, qui hæc ad illius gratiam conscripsêre: non enim præsumpsit aliquid tale, ut ad templum accederet; sed sic invenit non sperans. Fuit ergo voluntatibus iniquis impius, et nihilominus sine Deo, quicquid jussit mendacii superfluitas, quam ex ipsâ re cognoscere valde facillimum est. Non enim circa solos Græcos discordia legum esse dignoscitur, sed maxime adversus Ægyptios et plurimos alios. Cujus enim regionis homines non contigit aliquando apud nos peregrinari? ut adversus solos Græcos renovatâ conjuratione per effusionem sanguinis ageremus. Vel quomodo possibile, ut ad has hostias omnes Judæi colligerentur, et tantis millibus ad gustandum viscera illa sufficerent, sicut ait Apion? Vel cur inventum hominem quicunque fuit (non enim suo nomine conscripsit) aut quomodo eum in suam patriam rex non *cum pompâ* deduxit? Dum posset hoc faciens, ipse quidem putari pius, et Græcorum amator eximius, assumere vero contra Judæorum odium auxilia magna cunctorum. Sed hæc relinquo; insensatos enim non verbis, sed operibus decet arguere." We may here observe, that the Latin translation alone of the above passage of Josephus's Treatise against Apion has been preserved; the text of which was probably mutilated at a very early period, nor is it found entire in the most ancient manuscript copies of that author's Works; neither does Josephus say, that *all* the Jews collected together to eat the human victim, stated to have been annually sacrificed by an *ineffable* law of their religion. It is at the same time highly deserving of notice, that the Mexicans, according to the testimony of Sahagun, in the twenty-fourth chapter of the second book of his History of New Spain, actually sacrificed, in the manner described by Apion, a human victim to Tezcatlipoca, whom they nourished with all kinds of delicacies for the space of a year. The words of Sahagun are as follows: "Al quinto mes llamaban Toxcatl. En este mes hacian fiesta y *pasqua* á honra del principal Dios llamado Tezcatlipuca, y por otro nombre Titlacaoan, y por otro *Yautl*, y por otro Telpuchtli, y por otro Tlamatzincatl. En esta fiesta mataban un mancebo muy acabado en disposicion, *al qual habian criado por espacio de un año en deleites*; decian que era la imagen de Tezcatlipuca. En matando el mancebo que estaba de un año criado, luego ponian otro en su lugar para criarle por espacio de un año, y de estos tenian muchos guardados para que luego sucediese otro al que habia muerto. Escogianlos entre todos los captivos los mas gentiles hombres, y tenianlos guardados los Calpixques. Ponian gran diligencia en que fuesen los mas habiles y mas bien dispuestos que se pudiesen haber, y sin tacha ninguna corporal." "They named the fifth month Toxcatl. They celebrated in this month a festival and *passover* in honour of their principal God, designated Tezcatlipuca, and by another name Titlacaoan, and by another name *Yautl*, and by another name Telpuchtli, and by another name Tlamatzincatl. They killed on this festival a young man of superior merit, whom they had nourished in luxury for the space of a year; they said that he was *the image* of Tezcatlipuca. On killing this young man, who had been regaled for a year, they immediately substituted another in his place, to nourish him for the space of a year; and they had many of these young men in their custody, in order that another might be immediately substituted in the place of him who had been sacrificed. They selected from all the captives the handsomest men, and the Calpixques were those who guarded them. They took great care that they should be the ablest and the best looking men that could be found, and that they should have no bodily defect." The signification of the names which the Mexicans bestowed upon Tezcatlipoca, amongst which that of Yautl is very deserving of notice, will be found in the note subjoined to the 128th page of the sixth volume of this Work, where, however, the epithet Tlamatzincatl,—which means 'the God of

" Los que pescavan ó cazaban en tierras ó terminos agenos, si los tomavan con la caza ó pesca, se la quitavan si eran amigos, pero si eran de los enemigos los llevavan al señor, el qual ó los mandava matar luego, ó dava para sacrificar, ó hacia esclavos.

" El que servia en casa de algun señor, qualquiera cosa que hiciese menos ó perdiese, ó quebrase ó se dañase por su culpa, le hacia pagar, ó que se comprase otra semejante *.

" Qualquiera cosa que alguno tuviese en deposito, ó recibido prestada, si se perdia ó se la hurtavan, se la mandavan pagar.

" Quando alguno havia dado palabra de casar su hija con otro, y despues no se la dava, mandavanle pagar qualquiera joya ó dadiva que huviese por aquella causa recebido † y castigavanlo, porque no consentian que ninguno burlase á otro en tal caso, puesto que pocas veces esto acaecia.

" La muger que una vez era dotada, ó la avian comprado como ellos dicen, no volvia jamas entre sus parientes, sino que en muriendo el marido, la casaban con otro de la parentela, y muchos veces con el hermano del marido, *y esto era comun casarse con los cuñados* ‡.

" Qualquiera que se huia la muger á alguno, ó se iva con otro, ó por rencilla que avia entre ambos se absentaba para casa de sus padres, si *despues de requerida* no queria volver á su marido, el se casaba con otra, porque en este caso las mugeres eran poderosas á no ir sino querian, y por no poder vivir sin muger por causa de guisar la comida y hacer las otras cosas de casa, como forzados se tornavan á casar. Algunos se sufrian y aguardavan un año y mas, esperando si quisiese tornar."

Las Casas having completed his Survey of the laws of Guatemala and Verapaz, and made some brief and incidental mention of the civil history of the former province, or that portion of it which he says the Indians named 'Calcatuz,' as if in allusion to the passage of Deuteronomy " omnis locus quem *calcaverit* pes *tuus*, tuus erit," proceeds to give the

penitence,' and was a name emphatically given by the Jews to the Deity,—does not occur. Other reasons for supposing that Apion's account of the prisoner confined in the temple of Jerusalem and destined for sacrifice, was not a mere fable, will be found in the 487th page of the sixth volume of this Work; and we shall only further remark, in reference to the above passage, that Adam is expressly declared, in the twenty-seventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to have been created in the image of God; which might have suggested to the Mexicans the honorary title which they bestowed upon their unfortunate victim. It need scarcely be mentioned that it was a Levitical ordinance, that victims without any blemish or defect should be offered to the Deity; to which Sahagun intended, perhaps, to allude, in making use of the above expression 'passover.' The Mexicans were accustomed to clothe themselves in the skins of the victims whom they had sacrificed, and history informs us, that the Jews in the reign of Trajan rebelled against the Romans, and having killed vast numbers of them, ate their flesh, and wore their skins by way of triumph. Lerius accordingly strives to palliate the cruelties which the Brazilians exercised towards their enemies, by quoting the example of the Jews, in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of his 'Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam': "Hæc porro immanis crudelitas apud barbaros frequentissima, per se est quidem abominanda. Atqui portentosius id esse videtur quod patratum a Judeis fuisse legimus, (quos tamen humanitate cæteras gentes antecellere par erat, prohibito a Deo *sanguinis esu*). Illi enim tumultibus concitandis, ut tradunt historiæ, deditissimi, Trajani temporibus adeo horrendas seditiones excitarunt, eoque crudelitatis et immanitatis processerunt, *ut cæsis quadraginta hominum millibus in Ægypto, Cyrene, et Cypro, eorum carnibus vesci, sanguineque vultum oblinire suum sustinuerint. Quin multos a vertice transfixere medios, eorumque pellibus induti immanissimam præ se ferentes rabiem obambulavere.* Quæ historia si non absolvat, saltem *extenuet* Americanorum crudelitatem." We have already remarked, in the note subjoined to the 309th page of the sixth volume of this Work, that the Jews might have worn the skins of their enemies to verify ancient prophecies, interpreted by them in a fanatical sense; but since in the Mexican paintings figures occur clothed in the skins of women, and Sahagun informs us that the Mexican priests sometimes wore the skins of the unfortunate female victims whom they had sacrificed at their festivals, the latter atrocity might have been to verify, in an extraordinary sense, the prodigy foretold by Jeremiah, in the twenty-second verse of the thirty-first chapter of his Prophecies: "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, *a woman shall compass a man;*" the same passage is translated in the Septuagint, ἐκτισε Κυριος σωτηριαν εἰς καταφυτευσιν καινην, ἐν σωτηριᾳ περιελευσονται ἀνθρωποι, "The Lord hath established safety for the purpose of a new plantation, men shall go about in safety,"—affording another instance, in addition to the many already given, of important variations between the texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint.

* It appears, from the thirty-ninth verse of the thirty-first chapter of Genesis, that Jacob was accountable to Laban, during the twenty years which he served him, for whatever was stolen or missing, of that which had been confided to his care.

† This custom was analogous to that of the Jews in the earliest ages, since we read in the twenty-ninth chapter of Genesis that the patriarch Jacob purchased his two wives Rachael and Leah of their father Laban, by agreeing to serve him for a stated number of years.

‡ The following passage occurs in a MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, entitled 'Miscelanea de la Nueva España,' " Quando algun señor moria como tubiese hermano, heredaba el hermano las mujeres y casaba *con sus cuñadas*, y asi mismo heredaba los bienes del hermano, y no los hijos, que asi era costumbre." The uncles, in such cases, were perhaps constituted the guardians of their deceased brother's children, which would account for their succeeding to the temporary inheritance.

following slight account of the laws of Yucatan; the history of which extensive region, it is to be regretted, he did not more carefully investigate, since there are reasons for supposing, that it was a part of the American continent which was colonized in very early ages both by Jews and Christians, and where it is not impossible they might have reconciled some of the conflicting tenets of their respective creeds; time being, as Lord Bacon observes, a great innovator even in religious matters; and tradition, a very imperfect means of preserving its rites and ceremonies in a pure and uncorrupted state.

" Porque con las provincias de la Verapaz parte sus terminos el reyno grande de Yucatan, dentro del qual se incluyen muchas y grandes provincias, porque tiene cerca de trescientas leguas en torno, y todas de una lengua ó lenguaje solo, cosa no poco de maravillar en aquella tierra firme, que tan immenso numero de gentes como en aquel reyno havia, no tener mas de una lengua, digamos algo de las naciones del, y esto será muy poco por mi gran inadvertencia; que quando estube en aquel reyno, y fue parte de mi obispado, y pudiera ser informado muy de raiz de todo lo que de aquellas gentes quisiera saber, y aun despues muchas veces, tractando con religiosos que alli avian estado y sabian la lengua, no cai en preguntarlo é informarme *.

" Lo que puedo decir de ellas es, que todos eran gentes muy politicas y prudentes: tenian sus reyes y señores grandes á quien obedecian, gran numero de vasallos, porque eran muchas las gentes que en aquel reyno havia; tenian maravilloso govierno, leyes y costumbres buenas, vivian en paz y justicia, y de esto puede por argumento claro bastar la multitud de las poblaciones llenas de gentes pacificas, que se hallaron quando primeramente alli fueron los nuestros, á lo qual ayudava la conformidad y unidad de la lengua. *No tenian mas de una sola muger*, á lo que tenemos entendido, señores ni subditos. Los hombres andavan vestidos con camisetas de colores cubiertas con sus mantas pintadas, con zarcillos en las orejas de oro, y patenas y otras joyas al cuello. Las mugeres cubiertas las cabezas y pechos, y sus faldillas de la cinta abajo hasta los pies, curando siempre que de ellos cosa no se les parezca. Cubrianse unas mantas delgadas como velos en lugar de tovallas ó mantos.

" De tres vicios fuimos certificados carecen mas que otras las gentes de este reyno, del pecado nefando, y de comer carne humana, y de sacrificar hombres. Uno de los que han presumido escrivir las costumbres destas gentes, solamente por oidas sin haver visto cosa de ellas, sino por dicho de quien les iva interese decir lo que á él hacia, este dixo que pocos usaban la sodomia, y que sacrificavan algunos hombres.

" Otro acerrimo infamador de estas naciones, que Dios Nuestro Señor haya, en cuya historia creo yo que tuvo Dios harto poca parte, dixo ser indicio notorio de que aquellas gentes eran contaminadas del vicio nefando por haver hallado en cierta parte de aquella tierra, hechos de barro ciertos idolos uno encima de otro. Como si entre nuestros pintores ó figulos no se finjan cada dia figuras feas y de diversos actos, que no hay sospecha por nadie obrarse, y condenarlos todos por aquello, haciendolos reos de vicio tan indigno de se hablar, no carece de muy culpable temeridad, y asi lo que arriba dije tengo por la verdad, y lo demas por falsos testimonios dignos de divino castigo.

" Ninguno entre ellos hurtava; los mercados en que sus cosas unas por otras truecan ó commutan, simple y fidelisimamente y sin engaño usan. Asi debemos presumir carecer de todos los otros vicios que la razon natural muestra ser prohibidos, y argumento de ello es, lo que Pedro Martir en el capitulo 2º de su Decada 4ª refiere, hablando del descubrimiento de este reyno, lo qual debio de los mismos que lo vieron saber, que el señor de un pueblo de tres mil casas llamado Campeche, donde yo despues estube, mostró á los primeros descubridores un patibulo lugar donde punian los malhechores, que era hecho de esta manera: era como un pie de cruz quadrado de quatro gradas en alto, hecho de piedra ó canteria ó marmor, y encima de lo alto de uno como pulpito no hueco sino macizo, alli estava esculpida una imagen de hombre, y junto á ella dos figuras de animales de quatro pies no conocidos: los parecian que como perros rabiosos acometian el vientre del hombre para lo hacer pedazos: estava luego alli una serpiente de cal y

* It is to be regretted that Las Casas was so negligent, as he here admits; since it appears from the hundred and twenty-third chapter of the Historia Apologetica, that the people of Yucatan were acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity, and that Ycona, Bacab or Bacabab, and Echuac, were the names given to the Three Persons of which it was composed. The account there contained is in substance, and nearly in words, the same as that which will be found in the 160th page of the sixth volume of this Work, and we shall insert it at length in a future note. The fact stated by Las Casas, that the people of Yucatan named Friday *Ymis*, and fasted, from a tradition that Bacab had been crucified on that day, is very singular, and proves that they were acquainted with a week of seven days, as Boturini affirms in the 338th page of the sixth volume of this Work of the people of Chiapa, a province which bordered, it deserves to be remarked, on Yucatan.

canto, labrada tan gruesa como un buey, y de longura tenia quarenta y siete pies, que tragava un leon de marmol: estavan tres vigas grandes hincadas en el suelo, y otras tres que las atravesaban, y muchas flechas ó saetas rociadas con sangre alli echadas: finalmente era cosa admirable, donde parece figurar el rigor de la justicia, para poner temor y freno que no perpetren mal los malos.

" No puede con verdad alguna en contrario de lo dicho decir, que aquel lugar devia ser donde sacrificaban hombres a los idolos; porque ya está esto reprobado por los que mas despues andando el tiempo de las costumbres de estas gentes conocieron, y el que mas se alargo á decir contra estos, no dixo sino que algunos hombres sacrificaban: pero tambien parece falso, pues Pedro Martir que se informó de los que lo vieron, dijo que era lugar no de sacrificio de los dioses, sino para los criminosos de suplicio.

"No es chico indicio de su prudencia y buena policia los admirables y antiquisimos edificios de boveda * quasi piramides, al menos quanto á la grandeza, y sobre montes ó sierras hechas de tierra junta y traida á mano edificados, y *los caracteres y letreros* que tambien alli en ellos se han hallado.

" Ytem la multitud de colmenas y grandes colmenares de abejas domesticas † que daban infinita cantidad de miel y cera, lo qual no se ha visto jamas en alguna parte de las Indias, en todo quanto de ellas se ha andado, sino que la miel y cera que se halla y usa es silvestre y no domestica, porque las abejas la producen y obran algunas en hoyos dentro de la tierra, y otras en los arboles.

" Los hombres de estas naciones eran muy esforzados, valientes y industriosos en las guerras: peleavan con arcos y flechas, lanzas ó varas largas: tenian rodelas y cascos de palo hechos ‡, y con armas de algodon como corazas ó jubones fuertes, y estas armas comunes eran en toda la Nueva España, ó las mas de ellas. Nunca daban batalla ó movian guerra sin hacer primero muchos cumplimientos y cerimonias."

The last code of Indian law which Las Casas notices in his Historia Apologetica is that of the Peruvians, whose criminal jurisprudence he thus briefly describes.

" Los adulterios si eran de voluntad de ambos, á ambos mataban, y si el varon hacia fuerza á la casada, él solo con la muerte hacia pago.

" Los hurtos asperamente se castigaban, porque el primero matava si era cosa notable, como aquellos que menos razon de hurtar tenian, por haber puesto el rey tanto recaudo y provision que los pobres fuesen provehidos en sus

* The ancient use of the arch in the architecture of the New World is here distinctly asserted by Las Casas, and all must agree with that distinguished prelate, that that invention, by whatever means it was introduced to the knowledge of the Indians, was an unequivocal proof of their advanced state of civilization. It has, indeed, been a matter of dispute, whether the Jews, till a comparatively recent period of their history, employed the arch in their architecture, or were even acquainted with the principle of its construction. Parkhurst, however, was of the latter opinion, as appears by his definition of the Hebrew term אבן פנת in the following passage of his Lexicon; from which it would appear that he believed that invention to have been known to the Jews so early as the age of Job: " אבן פנת the key-stone, as of an arch, where both sides of the arch meet, and which looks or is turned towards both: occurrit, Job xxxviii. 6. Upon what are its bases sunk, and who laid אבן פנתה, 'the key-stone thereof'? Compare Psalms xxiv. 2. civ. 5. cxxxvi. 6. and Proverbs viii. 27."

† Oviedo gives a description of these bees in the sixth chapter of the thirty-second book of the inedited portion of his Natural History of the Indies. He says they resembled the Spanish bees, " escepto que en la color estotras son blancas é muy domesticas, porque ni huyen ni hacen mal, é tomando una é mastrujandola entre los dedos huele muy bien." From Oviedo's description it must be inferred that these bees had no stings.

‡ It would appear from the following passage of Gomara's History of the Indies, that the Peruvians wore helmets of metal as well as of wood; which must be considered a proof of their advanced state of civilization. " Las armas que los del Peru comunmente usan son hondas, flechas, picas de palma, dardos, porras, achas, alabardas que tienen los hierros de cobre, plata y oro: *usan tambien cascos de metal*, y de madera, y jubones enbastados de algodon. Cuentan uno, diez, ciento, mil, diez cientos, diez miles, diez cientos de miles, y asi van multiplicando. Traen la cuenta por piedras, y por nudos en cuerdas de color, y es tan cierta y concertada que los nuestros se maravillan. Juegan con un solo dado de cinco puntos, que no tienen mayor suerte." La Istoria de las Indias, fol. cvi. Nieremberg notices the arithmetical skill of the Peruvians, in the following passage of the eighth book of his Historia Naturæ, in which he also states that they were well acquainted with the principles of geometry,—a fact difficult to credit, yet not entirely to be disbelieved, from the high character of the historian who asserts it, who had access to many valuable manuscripts preserved in the Escurial, which other authors had no means of consulting: " Redeo jam ad Peruanorum philosophiam: terram innatare oceano rati, solem dicunt quotidie mergi et veluti strenuum urinatorem exilire ultra: geometriæ, peregrino tamen ritu, doctissimi fuere, satis etiam in geographiâ instructi: arithmeticam quoque eximie docti, at quia ignari litterarum, quibusdam funiculis discoloribus per quosdam nodos numerabant, multiplicabant, partiebant, prout unus positus color ante aut post." Some curious facts are stated by the same author in the fifteenth chapter of the book of his history already referred to.

extremas necesidades*, y mandando que no hubiese vagabundos †, y que todos para tener lo que hubiesen menester, trabajasen. Hurtillos de poco valor, y rencillas livianas, y cosas semejantes, los señores de cada pueblo y gobernadores los castigaban con castigos moderados, como hacerles dar con una piedra ‡ ciertos golpes en las espaldas, y los semejantes.

" Los homicidas que mataban á alguno, sin tener remedio eran con muerte justiciados.

" Los que mentian eran muy castigados § segun la calidad de la mentira, y comunmente á las mugeres que mentian, aunque fuesen las mentiras livianas, por castigo tresquilaban ‖. A los hechizeros y brujos que en las mugeres causaban esterilidad, ó ligavan los maridos que no pudiesen á sus mugeres llegar, ó que con hechizos mataban, cosas que muchas veces se usavan entre ellos por algunas personas malas que debian tener hecho pacto con el diablo, crudelisimamente las mataban, y no donde quiera, sino que aqueste genero de delinquentes los traian á la ciudad de Cuzco, para que alli fuesen justiciados, y su muerte y castigo mas por el reyno se sonase ¶.

" Los delictos que se cometian en perjuicio de la comunidad, y otros graves castigavan los governadores ó mayordomos que tenia el rey Inga en cada provincia, pero pocas veces condenaban estos á muerte sin particular consulta y mandamiento suyo, porque como se ha dicho, quasi toda la jurisdiccion de lo criminal, al menos de pena de muerte, avia para si reservado.

" Los contadores mayores y menores tenian en las cuentas gran facilidad, pero si en alguna cosa les hallaba mentirosos al tiempo de dar las cuentas, luego los mandaba matar.

" Si algun señor deudo del rey, ó de sangre real, cometia crimen alguno digno de muerte, y por privilegio no le queria matar, condenabalo á carcel perpetua, y esta era crudelisima carcel. Tenianla un quarto de legua del Cuzco, y llamabanla Bimbilla, donde lo ponian, y hasta que moria, con esta vida estaba.

" Tenia ley puesta, que hubiese por todos sus reynos *peso* y *medida*,** para que ninguno fuese agraviado ó engañado.

* This was in accordance with the Mosaic law, since charity was prescribed to the Jews in the following ordinance of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus: "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee."

† A special enactment of the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy rendered it an imperative duty on the Jews to relieve the necessities of their poorer brethren; but the admonition of Solomon, "My son, lead not a beggar's life; it is better to die than to beg," would have disposed them to attach ideas of disgrace to the life of a common mendicant.

‡ Perhaps they intended by this punishment to admonish the criminal that if he persisted in the same course of conduct, he would at last be sentenced to be stoned to death.

§ It has already been observed, that the Mosaic law displayed great severities towards liars and false witnesses; and to that severity Solomon alludes in the fifth and ninth verses of the nineteenth chapter of Proverbs, where he twice reiterates the same precept.

‖ This was a Jewish punishment, as the authors of the English Universal History remark, in the 676th page of the first volume of that work; who thus explain the phrase '*uncover her head*,' in the eighteenth verse of the fifth chapter of Numbers,—" The Jews understand by it, shaving her hair, or at least cutting the curls off." The same punishment of shaving off the hair was likewise common amongst the Mexicans, and it is represented in the sixty-fourth plate of the collection of Mendoza.

¶ Besides the enactment "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," in the eighteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Exodus, there are many other ordinances in the Pentateuch which would have disposed the Jews to punish witches and necromancers with extreme severity. The prohibition "Regard not them that have *familiar spirits*, neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them," occurs in the thirty-first verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus; and a similar injunction against using enchantment, and *observing times*, in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter, which must serve to remind us of the superstitious use the Mexicans made of their Tonalametl, or judicial calendar. From the variety of names given to witches and wizards in the Pentateuch may be inferred the variety of persons exercising different branches of the magical art in the days of Moses; and from the variety of laws, the necessity which existed for controlling the pernicious influence which such impostors exercised over the minds of an extremely ignorant and credulous people, such as were the Jews in the time of Moses. Scripture likewise informs us, that at a later period of their history, by some centuries, not only did the Hebrew populace, but even their kings, frequently consult witches and false prophets; and a striking example is afforded us in Saul himself, who when in difficulty did not hesitate to consult the witch of Endor: and hence it is plain that the laws of Moses, however admirably they might have been adapted to the manners of the Jews, failed in producing the end proposed, which could be no other than the reformation of the people for whom they were enacted; who nevertheless, throughout their history, invariably proceeded from bad to worse; and we accordingly find that so far were the laws against witches from attaining the end contemplated by Moses, that it is extremely problematical whether the class of persons designated by the appellation of 'the false prophets' in the Old Testament, did not occupy a middle state between witches and those who are styled in Scripture 'the sons of the prophets,' who were a very numerous class in ages antecedent to the Babylonian captivity amongst the Jews.

** It is said, in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, " Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement, in meteyard, in weight, or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin shall ye have: I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of

" Era tambien ley que ninguno entrase ni saliese puesto el sol ni antes que saliese, en la ciudad del Cuzco*, porque se supiese y cognosciesen todos los que en la ciudad estaban, y de donde venian ó eran.

" Otras muchas leyes y buenas costumbres pueden colegir de la orden y ordenes, que cerca de la governacion arriba en diversos capitulos quedan referidas."

The following were some miscellaneous laws and usages of the Peruvians which are noticed by various Spanish authors, amongst which that relating to blasphemy †, as exemplified in the cruel death to which the Inga Tupac sentenced the missionary Diego Ortiz, is very deserving of notice; it is contained in the following passage of the Preface to the second edition of Garcilaso de la Vega's 'Commentarios Reales de los Incas.'

" Llegaron á Marcanai, y avisaron al Inca Tupac que traian á Frai Diego; pero el no quiso verle; y preguntandole que harian de él, respondió que le matasen *por blasfemia* contra sus Dioses. Llevaronle *arrastrando* ‡ por una ladera cercana á un rio, al sitio llamado la horca del Inca, porque en él eran ajusticiados los malhechores. Alli le bolvieron á açotar y á palear; le metieron por entre las uñas y la carne espinas agudas y cañas delgadas que llaman Chonta, cubriendole despues de flechas. Intentaron ahogarle con humos asquerosos, tapandole la boca y las narices para que no respirase; y viendo que no moria en tantos tormentos, empeçaron á desconfiar los Indios de acabarle la vida, y á gritar Mananguanunca, que significa, en ninguna manera morirá. En esta confusion, Juan Tupac le dió con una hacha dos golpes en el celebro, de que caió en el suelo sin habla. Ya á lo ultimo de la vida le cogieron, y teniendo la cabeça abajo y los pies levantados, le hincaron un palo por las ingles que le sacaron por el celebro á la nuca; y le levantaron en alto, cubriendole *de piedras* y tierra. Sacaronle despues muerto, y le tendieron en

Egypt:" and Solomon alludes to the same commandment when he says, in the first verse of the eleventh chapter of the Proverbs, "A false balance is abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is his delight." We may hence infer that the invention of the balance was known in the earliest ages to the Jews, and it is not surprising that it should have been used throughout the extensive empire of the Ingas, since those arts and inventions which had been the subject of *Hebrew legislation*, such as *battlements* on houses, and *fringes* on garments, were precisely the ones which the Jews who colonized America would have been most likely to have carried over with them to that continent.

* The suspicious fear of strangers which this singular law implies, and which the Jews, wherever they had acquired a temporal dominion, would have been likely to have displayed from a vague tradition of the past persecutions which their ancestors, during a long course of ages, had suffered from Christians, might be accounted for on the maxim of policy which Dido pleaded to Eneas for excluding the Trojans from the Carthaginian shores, who thus excuses herself to the shipwrecked chief of Troy:

" Res duræ et regni novitas me *talia* cogunt
Moliri, et latè fines custode tueri."

It deserves to be remarked, that Montezuma's apprehension of evils likely to result to his kingdom from permitting his subjects to have any intercourse with foreigners, led him to forbid the Spaniards in the most express terms even to approach the city of Mexico.

† Blasphemy was punished capitally by the Mosaic law, as we learn from the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus: "And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, Whosoever curseth his God, shall bear his sin; and he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death, and *all* the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well *the stranger*, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death." It is extremely singular that the Peruvians should have agreed with the Jews in punishing this spiritual offence with death. Polo de Ondegardo states this curious fact in the following passage of his inedited treatise concerning the manners of the Peruvians; wherein he observes, that blasphemy, sacrilege, adultery, and homicide, were four crimes which the Peruvian laws punished with the greatest severity. " En los pleitos criminales tuvieron grandes leyes, y tenian *quatro* delitos que se castigaban asperamente: *la blasfemia* contra él que tenian por Dios, ó contra los Guacas, ó contra el Inga: el hurto especialmente si era cosa de religion, ó cosa que tocase al Inga; y era mas castigado si alguno hurtaba lo que no habia menester: tambien se castigava asperamente el adulterio y el homicidio."

‡ A most edifying note will be found in the ninety-second page of the fourth volume of Blackstone's Commentaries, in which the editor quotes the authority of Sir Edward Coke to show that the punishment which the English law has adjudged to high-treason "is *warranted* by divers examples in Scripture; for Joab was *drawn*, Bigthan was hanged, Judas was embowelled, and so of the rest." (3 Inst. 211.) Notwithstanding the unfeeling and flippant tone of levity which pervades this note, the observation will be found generally true, that most of our penal enactments are founded upon Scripture precedent and the usages of the Jews; neither can it be denied that the traditions of the Pentateuch have been perverted by Christians to as corrupt purposes as ever they were in ancient times among the Jews. History can attest this important truth; and if the ponderous tomes of the state trials and the judicial proceedings of our legal tribunals in past times be examined, it will be found, that Henry the Eighth became the cruel executioner of his subjects and his wives, and justified the atrocities of his bloody reign, by a constant appeal to the Mosaic law; that his daughter Queen Mary dragged heretics to the stake, and illuminated Smithfield with funereal flames, from a persuasion that she was acting agreeably to the written word of God; that Queen Elizabeth deduced many arguments from Scripture to prove that she was justified in *trying* and beheading the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, who unavailingly pleaded in her own behalf the rights of an independent sovereign; and finally, that the puritanical and disloyal subjects of Charles the First were at no loss for weighty reasons of Scripture to vindicate

el suelo, mandando á todos *pasasen sobre él**; y no creyendo que estaba muerto, le cortaron la cabeça y la pusieron en un cerro, y aun dudaban si vivia. Quitolos el recelo D. Diego Aucalli, aconsejandolos que le enterrasen en un hoio, hechando debajo la cabeça, y el cuerpo encima con los pies arriba: asi lo ejecutaron, llenando el hoio de piedras, *salitre*†, chicha, y otras cosas supersticiosas que *usaban* en los castigos de los blasfemos." It is evident from the concluding sentence of the above passage, that the crime for which Diego Ortiz suffered so cruel a death, was that which the Jews, and even Paul himself before his miraculous conversion to Christianity, are represented in the New Testament as being most zealous to punish,—that is to say, blasphemy; and it may readily be imagined, that a missionary might easily have rendered himself obnoxious to such an accusation, when it is recollected that Christ himself was termed a blasphemer by the Jews, who were only restrained from putting him to death by fear of the Romans. The barbarous treatment which the same missionary had previously experienced from the Indians, is described in the following passage of the Preface to Garcilaso de la Vega's 'Royal Commentaries'; and it is very deserving of remark, that a cross was used as an instrument of punishment; which was probably either in allusion to his being a Christian, or because such a mode of punishment in the case of blasphemers accorded with the laws and the ancient usages of the Ingas.

"Le llevaron al cementerio, y le ataron con sogas de cortaderas por la garganta, piernas y brazos á una cruz‡, donde unos le azotaban cruelmente, otros profanaban á su vista los calices y ornamentos §, blasfemando de la Omnipotencia, y otros le robaron quanto tenia en su celda, haciendo *chuspas* ó talegas de sus vestidos, desatinando todos en

their conduct in bringing that ill-fated and too confiding monarch to the block. The custom of wresting Scripture precedent to the most depraved ends, both *in law* and politics, which was so prevalent in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, did not escape the keen penetration of one of the Turkish Sultans, who, professing an inclination to become a convert to Christianity, ironically assigned as a principal reason, that then he should find a precedent in the Bible, which he could not discover in the Coran, for a king's putting to death an elder brother who had a better title than himself to the throne; alluding, it is to be presumed, to the history of Adonijah in the second chapter of the First Book of Kings, who was put to death by his younger brother Solomon, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of his mother to spare his life.

* The Peruvian custom of trampling upon the bodies of their prisoners has already been noticed in the eighty-first page of the Notes annexed to the present Volume, where its resemblance to an analogous Hebrew custom is also pointed out.

† Abimelech is said in the forty-fifth verse of the ninth chapter of Judges, to have "beat down the city (of Shechem), and sowed it with *salt*;" which accompanying act was doubtless to signify that the site of that city was thenceforward accursed. The association of salt in the minds of the Jews and the Peruvians with something accursed, argues an identity of feeling, connected perhaps with some fabulous incident in the early mythology of the former people; which is the more remarkable, since amongst other nations salt and wheat were emblematical of abundance and prosperity, and is therefore a proof of Hebrew traditions having passed over to the New World. We may further remark, in reference to the same chapter of the Book of Judges, that the description of the house of the god Berith in the forty-sixth verse of that chapter singularly agrees with the plan of the Mexican Teocallis, which had platforms above, upon the area of which was built the house of the god to whom the temple itself was dedicated; and which, like the Temple of Jerusalem, served in time of war as strong fortifications, and places of refuge to the besieged citizens.

‡ It might at first appear, that this mode of punishment was resorted to by the Peruvians to mark their contempt for the religion which the unhappy missionary professed; and the supposition itself is by no means improbable. We may however observe, that Zarate affirms that the Spaniards found the crucified bodies of men and boys fastened to crosses in some of the provinces contiguous to Peru; from which circumstance it may be inferred that crucifixion was a mode of punishment introduced into the New World by the Jews. If this conjecture be deemed at all at variance with probability, it should be recollected that the Mosaic law accustomed the Jews to believe that legal penalties could not be too severe; and some of the Rabbis go so far as to recommend pouring melted lead down the throats of criminals. This punishment, it is unnecessary to observe, is nowhere ordained in the Pentateuch; but the following account of it, as a sentence known to the ancient Jews, is taken from the 673rd page of the first volume of the English Universal History,—a work deservedly held in high estimation. "The first kind (of burning to death) they call '*burning of the body*,' and the other '*burning of the soul*'; this last was the most frequent among them, and some of the Rabbis acknowledge no other way but this to have been used, though the places mentioned above imply rather the former. The Talmudists do indeed condemn it, and think it unlawful to burn the bodies of their brethren to ashes. They infer it from what is said of the sons of Aaron, who, though killed by a supernatural fire, yet remained *unconsumed*; since the text says that they were carried dead out of the camp in their coats; but Rabbi Eleazar is said in the Talmud to have disallowed the conclusion, affirming that he *had seen* a priest's daughter burnt to ashes; to which he is only answered, that her judges were ignorant Cutheans, that is, a mongrel kind of Samaritans, who knew nothing of the law." Whether the charge of want of veracity which is here insinuated against Rabbi Eleazar, or of ignorance of the Mosaic law alleged on the part of the Cutheans, be well founded, will best appear by reference to the twenty-first chapter of Leviticus, where the following ordinance occurs: "The daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father: she shall be burnt with fire." It is unnecessary to observe that this passage of Scripture fully corroborates the testimony of Rabbi Eleazar, which would thus receive sufficient confirmation, even although the authority of the Talmud should go for nothing.

§ This was evidently in mockery of Christianity.

locas execraciones contra la religion y Frai Diego, hasta *raspar el suelo* que ocupaba quando rezaba y decia misa; cuio polvo* y los pedazos de los altares que deshicieron, lo arrojaron junto, como *cosa maldita* y ominosa en el rio. Desataronle, y pidió algo de comer, dieronle un poco de vizcocho, tan duro que no pudiendo morderle, bolvió á pedir un poco de agua en que mojarle, y al punto llevaron un vaso de orines, sal, salitre y colpa (yerva amarga como hiel) y se lo dieron á beber: reparó, aunque tan atormentado, en la asquerosa bebida, y escuso probarla; pero los Indios asestandole las lanzas, le decian: Bebe embustero, que si no, hemos de pasarte el cuerpo. Bebiola toda, y luego le apartaron de la cruz, para agujerearle las megillas y la barba. Metieronle una soga de las mismas cortaderas por los agujeros, y tirando de ella como de diestro, le llevaron por las calles hasta llegar donde estaba Doña Angelina†, que no contenta con tanta lastima, le hechó muchas maldiciones, y queriendo algunos de los Indios que la acompañaban lisongearla, siguieron á los que maltrataban á Frai Diego. Llevaronle al pueblo de Marcanay, que dista dos leguas de Villcapamba, donde se estaban celebrando las fiestas de la coronacion de Tupac Amaru, que por muerte de su hermano avia recibido la borla colorada §: distaria de Puquiura, donde empezó el martirio, aquel pueblo doce ó quince leguas Españolas, pobladas de cerros, montes, peñas y pedregales. Si no podia andar, le arrastraban con tanta impiedad, que aviendose parado á verle en el camino Don Alfonso Tipso, Indio principal de Nucuma, con otros, viendolos condolidos, digeron los que llevaban: Qué mirais bestias? Mirad á donde vais, que os

* The idea of the ground and the very dust of the earth contracting pollution from the sins of those who inhabited it, seems to occur in that chapter of the New Testament, in which Christ commands his disciples to shake off the dust from their feet, as a testimony against those cities that refused to receive the annunciation of the Gospel: and that it was a Hebrew custom to cast the powder of accursed things into running streams, is also evident from the twentieth verse of the thirty-second chapter of Exodus, where it is said of Moses, "And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it[1];" and it perhaps may be inferred from the sixth verse of the twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings, where it is said of king Josiah, "And he brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, *unto* the brook Kidron, and burned it *at* the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the children of the people." Sahagun affirms that the Mexicans were accustomed to shake off the dust from their feet as a religious ceremony on one of their festivals; and it is extremely probable, that that ceremony had some connexion with ancient Hebrew superstitions.

† Donna Angelina was a Peruvian lady of high rank, who had been converted to Christianity by the Spaniards, and who afterwards, as was not unusually the case amongst the Indians, relapsed to the religion of her countrymen, and persecuted the missionaries who attempted to proselyte them to their faith.

§ A crimson tassel worn on the forehead was the insignia of royalty amongst the Peruvians, and an analogous ornament suspended from the crown of the head was the mark of distinguished valour amongst the Mexicans.

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[1] Selden informs us, in his disquisition concerning the Golden Calf, that according to an ancient Hebrew tradition, the beards of those Israelites who worshiped the Calf were, on their drinking the water into which Moses threw the powder, into which he had ground the gold of which it was composed, immediately changed into a golden colour, and that in this manner they were miraculously convicted of guilt. The situation of Aaron, whose office obliged him to wear an extremely long beard, that he might appear the more venerable in the eyes of the people, must under such circumstances have been very ludicrous, and was certainly a just punishment for the sin of idolatry, into which it would appear he had been rather reluctantly led, but which under any circumstances was most unpardonable in the brother himself of Moses, and the high-priest of God. The following is the passage of Selden's treatise De Diis Syris, in which this excellent story of yellow beards being produced by drinking golden soup is contained: "Nec præterire visum est ridiculum illud sed *vetustum* Hebræorum commentum, de aureâ illâ potatione quam Israelitis exhibuit Moses, cum redactus in pulverem vitulus potatum ab eo dabatur; inde scilicet natas fuisse aureo colore barbas, apud eos nimirum posterosque eorum, qui, cum vituli cultui maximè fuissent dediti, etiam pulverem illum avidius potando haurientes, et barbas et menta et maxillas superfluo, ut fit, liquore tingebant." The same learned writer closes his account of the Jewish fable with the insertion of an epigram composed by Petrus Rhemensis, of which the following lines may serve as a specimen:—

"Hebræi tradunt Moysen fecisse quod audis,
Ut sciret solos hac ratione reos.
Nam rutilans auro monstrabat barba nocentes
Dum patulo latices fluminis ore bibunt.
Aurum, quod fudit Aaron, descendit eorum
In barbas tantum qui coluere bovem."

Those judges of poetry who with Steevens, the most fastidious of all the critics of Shakspeare, cannot reconcile with their notions of propriety, and the license usually accorded to a poet, the line in the play of Macbeth—

"His silver skin laced with his golden blood,"

descriptive of the murder of Duncan, and the horrid spectacle presented by his wounds,—will perhaps discover somewhat to admire in the above epigram, since there at least the good taste of the reader is not shocked by an antithesis, or too striking a contrast of hues.

haremos pedazos si os deteneis. El descanso que le daban en las noches aquellos barbaros impios, era desnudarle, hiriendole con inumerables azotes, dejandole despues al yelo sin darle de comer; y la ultima antes de llegar á Marcanai, le metieron en una cueva, poniendole al golpe de una canal de agua que caia sobre él, sufriendo con tanta paciencia sobre los immensos dolores que padecia, esta invencion maldita, que no se le oió en toda la noche otra palabra que, sea por amor de Dios, él os perdone y tenga misericordia de mi.

"Quando edifican alguna casa principal de señor cacique poderoso, dura mucho tiempo la obra, pero jamas les faltan ceremonias que hacer, todas dirigidas al demonio*, sol y luna, paraque aquel edificio sea mas fixo y durable †,

* This vituperative epithet is here bestowed upon Pachacamac, the supreme god of the Peruvians; next to whom in dignity was Viracocha, who was adored under the image of the Sun, whilst the homage which they paid to the Moon resembled that which the Jews of ancient times were accustomed to pay to Astarte or Ashtaroth, the renowned goddess of the Sidonians, who is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.

† The passage of Scripture "Except the Lord build the house, the labour of the workman is in vain," might have suggested to the Jews the performance of rites, which in process of time degenerated into the superstitious ceremonies with which the Peruvians celebrated the dedication of their houses. The Mexicans, between whose customs and those of the Peruvians there was great similarity, imitated them likewise in this particular ceremony, as Torquemada informs us in the 139th page of the sixth volume of this Work; whose account is confirmed by the Ode which king Nezahualcoyotl composed on the completion of his new palace in Tezcuco, and which is inserted in Note XLIV. of the present volume. The resemblance which existed between some of the Mexican and Peruvian rites was noticed by the Spaniards, and is incidentally mentioned by Oviedo in the following passage of the fiftieth chapter of the second volume of the inedited portion of his General History of the Indies, who quotes the authority of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first Viceroy of Mexico, in his summary Relation transmitted to the Emperor Charles V., which contains the following curious tradition of the origin of the Mexicans. "Cuanto á la fundacion de Tenuxtitan, que dice que aquel capitan llamado Orchilobos fue de la parte del norte hacia Panuco, é de ahi á Mexico con quatro cientos hombres armados de oro é plata é cuenta la forma que tubo para se hacer señor; é les dio leyes é cerimonias, é orden de sacrificios, é leyes de combates; é que les hizo una habla cuando se quiso ir, prometiendoles de tornar cuando mas necesidad tubiesen; é que se fue hacia Guatemala, é creen que de alli fue al Peru, porque hay relacion que *alla hay vestigios de sacrificios é Orchilobos*; é dice mas una manera de fabula de como fue engendrado Montezuma *de la pluma* del ydolo, que su madre *se metió en el pecho*; é como fue hecho señor por su esfuerzo é gran ser de su persona, é despues su hijo Montezuma; é dice que á Cortes le recibieron los Yndios de la tierra *pensando que era Orchilobos* que volvia á cabo de quatro cientos años que habia que era ido, é que estas é otras historias tienen por figuras en sus libros. E para esto digo, que es muy diferente la relacion que Hernando Cortes escribió al Emperador nuestro Señor, segun el mismo Montezuma le dijo, como mas largamente queda escripto en el capitulo cinco. E alli no dice que de la parte del norte viniese Orchilobos, sino de la parte de levante hacia donde el sol sale; é tambien dice, que ya ese capitan volvió é no le quisieron recebir, é otras cosas muchas é *apartadas de la relacion que se hizo al Visorrey*; é es de creer que Montezuma mejor estaria informado de su generacion é origen que no los nuevos é modernos informadores de agora, cuanto mas que lo que dijo Cortes á Montezuma fue en presencia de los mas principales de su señorio, de los cuales pocos ó ningunos hay al presente de aquellos ancianos é sabios que entonces habia. E mas adelante en el capitulo nono el mismo Montezuma reiterando la misma relacion de su origen á sus vasallos, en publica audiencia en presencia de Cortes é de los Españoles, da razon de como vinieron á la tierra sus antecesores. Demas de eso en la relacion que se tractaba en el capitulo quarenta cinco, se cuenta la forma que Montezuma tubo para se hacer señor de Tenuxtitan, ayudando á la parcialidad de los Mexicanos contra el vando de los que seguian la parte ó apellido Tlatalulco, tomando cautelosamente por yerno al Señor de dicho vando, llamado Samalie, é en una fiesta ó banquete le hizo matar á él, é sus capitanes. Y en la relacion antes de esta del Visorrey, en el capitulo quarenta ocho, dice que el padre é el abuelo de Montezuma vinieron de muy lejos de Tenuxtitan, é conquistaron la tierra ochenta años antes que los Cristianos fuesen á ella. Lo que á mi me parece es, que no se debe creer que el origen de Montezuma fuese Orchilobos él oviese venido de la parte del norte, ni de la del Peru, que está de la Nueva España á la parte del viento sueste, antes se debe sospechar, que fué de la parte de Nicaragua, que es provincia mas oriental que Guatemala, en la costa del Sur, de la misma lengua que se habla en la Nueva España, la cual Guatemala está entre lo uno é lo otro, é los Orchilobos sacrificios, é comer de carne humana, é otros ritos, ansi como sacrificarse las orejas, é lenguas, é miembros generativos, é otras muchas cosas que acostumbran, *todo es de una manera é muy conforme*. E ansi pienso yo, é pensaran los que viesen aquella tierra é leyeren lo que es dicho, que es justo que se piense, que no del Peru, sino de Nicaragua ovieron origen esos Indios é su capitan Orchilobos; é los mismos Orchilobos, ó ques ó templos, ó idolos tienen por aquella costa, é lo del Peru es muy estraño é apartado deso, asi en la lengua como en lo demas. Y este nombre 'Peru' es impropio, porque no es de aquella tierra donde el gobernador Pizarro é Almagro han andado, donde Atabaliba fue señor, *sino muy mas cerca del Darien é de Panama*, como se dirá en su lugar, cuando se tracte de la Tercera Parte desta General Historia. Cuanto á la elecion de Montezuma, me parece pues, que dice esa relacion que habia quatro cientos años que Orchilobos habia ido, no consuena con lo que Cortes é otros dicen que entendieron de Montezuma é otras personas, pues Montezuma dice que tambien su abuelo fue señor de aquella tierra, é que el abuelo é el padre vinieron á ella. Cuanto á lo que dice esa relacion, que viniendo Cortes con los Españoles, los de la tierra los recibieron pensando que era Orchilobos, tampoco se debe creer, porque como la historia ha contado, antes que Cortes fuese, habia ido Juan de Grijalva, é Alvarado é otros, é antes que esos Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, é les habian muerto Cristianos, é lo mismo hicieron á Cortes, é lo echaron de Tenuxtitan mas que de paso á lanzadas, é le mataron la mayor parte de la gente. Aquel sueño que dice de como fue concebibo su padre de Montezuma, me parece mucho al cuento de Rea, madre de Romulo é Remo, virgen vestal, que otros llaman Ilia, é otros Silvia, como mas largamente lo escriben Plutarco é Tito Livio; é la una fabula é

remuneracion y paga que al falso engañador con quien muchas veces hablan, apareciendoles en formas diferentes, sacrifican animales de los mas estimados que tienen, como son venados vivos, carneros de la tierra *, cuies y coca, sacando á estos animales estando vivos los corazones, los quales juntamente con la sangre ante todas cosas ofrecen, y luego se los comen crudos †, y con la sangre untan las paredes ‡ de la casa y con maiz blanco molido y con

la otra se quieren parecer. Oficio es de las malas buscar escusas para encubrir é dorar sus delitos é lujuria, é digo dorar, porque no solamente los encubren, pero *hacenlos milagro.* La madre de aquellos fundadores de Roma, los quiso hacer hijos de Marte dios de las batallas; é esta otra que se durmió con *aquella pluma* en el pecho, quiso hacer *à su hijo divino,* pues dice en esa Relacion, *que Orchilobos era embiado de Dios,* é que dijo cuando se fué de Tenuxtitan, *que retornaba para él.* Por manera que resolviendo mi opinion, los antecesores de Montezuma son de la misma costa del Sur de Nicaragua, é de aquel golfo de Orotina, é de alli abajo hacia el Occidente; é por tierra pudieron ir muchos á su placer á la Nueva España; e no es cosa nueva en el mundo á los capitanes transportarse de unas provincias é partes estrañas en otras, é adquirir nuevos estados é señorios. Cuanto á lo demas en la forma de se enseñorear en la tierra Montezuma é sus progenitores, dicho está lo que he podido entender, aunque diversamente congeture é lea el que quisiere ser bien informado, é tome destas historias lo que viere es mas verosimil."

* The Spaniards named the llamas 'sheep' from the resemblance which they bore to that animal, and from their flesh and wool supplying the Peruvians with food and raiment, like the sheep of the other quarters of the globe. The Jews, on their arrival in America, might for the same reason have substituted the sacrifices of llamas for those of sheep, and the *coca* possibly supplied the place of the salt which they were commanded in the thirteenth verse of the second chapter of Leviticus to offer with all their offerings, since this leaf, mixed with a preparation of *saline* and unctuous clay, was to the Peruvians what the Betel leaf is at present to many nations of the East.

† The Jews were forbidden, in the fourth verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis, to eat *the flesh* with the life, which is there declared to be the blood; since, however, they were strictly enjoined by another special ordinance to refrain from *the blood* of animals, Maimonides supposes that the former prohibition alluded to the cruel custom of cutting flesh from the bodies of living animals, and eating it, as was the practice of some wandering Arab tribes in remote ages, whose example Moses might have thought the Jews likely to follow when pressed by hunger in the desert. This barbarous custom doubtless originated in the inconvenience which resulted to those tribes from carrying entire, or waiting to cut into pieces, so large an animal as an ox, when killed on a rapid journey. The testimony even of modern travellers might be adduced to prove the existence of the same custom amongst some of the African tribes bordering on Abyssinia, who, after cutting portions of flesh from the body of a living animal, plaster up the wounds with clay, and in this manner compel their wretched victim to proceed along with the rest of the camp. We shall here remark, that most commentators on Scripture maintain that the two Mosaic ordinances, forbidding the Jews to eat blood, or to muzzle an ox when treading out the corn, were instituted for the express purpose of teaching that people humanity. Voltaire, however, deduced a different conclusion from the first of these laws, to which he might have been led by the perusal of what is said in the thirty-second verse of the fourteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel, of the Jews after their slaughter of the Philistines 'flying' at the sheep and oxen, and, having killed them, greedily devouring the flesh with the blood, and thereby incurring the displeasure of Saul; and with respect to the second, which contains a prohibition against muzzling an ox when treading out the corn, St. Paul distinctly denies that that law had any reference to humanity; plainly intimating by the question "Doth God take care *for oxen?*" that compassion for the brute creation was not here enjoined, but that the ordinance itself was merely typical, and intended to foreshow that the clergy were entitled to receive tithes from the laity. The passage of St. Paul, in which this interpretation is put upon the latter Mosaic ordinance, occurs in the ninth chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, and is as follows, "Say I these things as a man? or saith not *the law* the same also? For it is written in the law of Moses, *Thou shalt not* muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. *Doth God take care for oxen?* Or saith he it *altogether* for our sakes? For *our* sakes, *no doubt,* this is written: that he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" Notwithstanding the severity of the Mosaic law against eating blood, that law, like many others, such as abstaining from the flesh of swine and circumcision, was abolished by the New Dispensation, although it still would appear from the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and from the second chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, in which he says that he withstood Peter to the face, that both he and St. Peter found it extremely difficult to divest themselves of their old Hebrew prejudices, and that James's sentence, in the nineteenth verse of the first-mentioned chapter, was as much produced by a sense of expediency as by conviction; and hence St. Paul is said, in the very next chapter, to have himself circumcised a young man of the name of Timothy, which was an extraordinary act for a Christian and an Apostle to perform, who was just about to preach to the Jews the abolition of the old law which enjoined that rite. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that whatever prejudices the early Christians might have felt against eating blood, they were likely to have undergone considerable modification from the account of the famous vision of St. Peter in the tenth chapter of the Acts, who, falling into a trance, beheld what resembled a sheet let down from heaven, filled with all manner of beasts and *creeping* things, and heard at the same time a voice exclaim, "Rise, Peter, *kill* and eat;" which on his objecting to do, from a fear that they might be unclean, the same voice answered, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." From that time, there is every reason to suppose that all distinction of meats was done away with amongst Christians, and that blood was henceforward eaten by them without scruple.

‡ It is extremely singular that the Mexicans should have imitated the Jews in the uses to which they applied the blood of sacrifices, which were principally four, and consisted in the ceremony of *pouring* it upon the earth, and *sprinkling* it, of *marking* persons with it, and *smearing* it upon walls and other inanimate things. Maimonides expressly says, in the forty-sixth chapter of the third part of his treatise entitled 'More Nevochim,' that God commanded the Jews to offer him blood *per effusionem,* and not *per collectionem,* in

la coca, persuadidos y engañados del demonio, el qual les hace entender por si y por sus ministros los hechiceros, ser este el sustento de aquel edificio, adonde por su llamado ha de estar con ellos parte del tiempo. Con

the manner of the Gentiles, who, he remarks, were accustomed to collect the blood of their sacrifices in vases, and to sit in a circle round it, and feast on the flesh of the victim, imagining, in this manner, that they acquired a sort of fraternity with the gods, whose portion was the blood, by partaking with them at the same table; and hence the origin of the impious fiction, that the blood of sacrifices was *the beverage* of the gods,—a notion which was analogous to that contained in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Leviticus, where the term 'food' is bestowed upon the fat and kidneys of the offering which Aaron was commanded to burn on the brazen altar, a notion, too, which was common to the Mexicans in the earliest ages, as appears from the following passage, "*and they fed the Sun and the Earth with blood and the flesh of men,*" which occurs in the sixty-second page of the Appendix to the present volume, who might also have believed blood to be the beverage of the Earth, from what is said in the eleventh verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, of the Earth '*opening her mouth*' to receive the blood of Abel, and from the Jews being commanded by Moses to pour the blood of all slaughtered animals upon the earth like water. The passage of the More Nevochim of Maimonides above referred to is so singular, that we shall insert it here, together with another passage of the same author, in which he asserts that it was a Pagan or Zabian custom *to collect* the blood of sacrifices in vases, in opposition to which custom he declares that God commanded the Jews to pour and sprinkle it on the ground. "Attamen et *mundum* pronuntiavit sanguinem Lex, et ordinavit ut quicquid tangeret mundaret, sicut dicitur: 'Atque asperges super Aharon, et super vestes ejus, et super vestes filiorum ejus cum eo, et sanctificabitur ipse, vestesque ejus,' &c. Ita præcepit, ut sanguis super altare *aspergatur*. Omnem vero cultum eo peragendum jussit fieri *per effusionem*, non per collectionem ejus, sicut dicitur: 'Ego autem dedi illum vobis *super* altare ad expiandum animas vestras;' per effusionem scilicet illius, sicut alibi ait: 'Et totum sanguinem reliquum *effundet*,' &c. Item: 'Sanguis autem aliorum sacrificiorum tuorum *fundetur* super altare,' &c. Quin imo universaliter omnium bestiarum quæ mactantur, sanguinem jussit *effundere*, etiamsi non sint oblationes: 'Super *terram*, inquit, *effundetis* illum instar aquæ.' Post hæc, prohibuit quoque convenire vel congregare se circa sanguinem, et ibi epulari, dicendo, 'Non comedetis ad vel apud sanguinem.'..... Porro scito, quod licet sanguis *immundus* et *impurus* admodum fuerit in oculis Zabiorum, tamen ab illis comestus fuerit, eo quod existimarent, cibum hunc esse dæmonum, et quod is qui eum comedit, hâc ratione communicationem aliquam cum dæmonibus acquirat, ita ut familiariter cum illo conversentur, et futura ei aperiant, prout vulgus dæmonibus ista attribuere solet. Fuerunt tamen quidam inter illos, quibus valdè durum et difficile videbatur sanguinem comedere (est enim res, à quâ naturâ homo abhorret); hi mactantes bestiam aliquam, *sanguinem ejus accipiebant, et in vase vel fossulâ aliquâ colligebant, carnem verò mactatam circa illum sanguinem in circulo sedentes comedebant;* imaginantes sibi in hoc opere, ipsis carnem comedentibus, dæmones illum sanguinem comedere, et hunc ipsorum esse cibum, hocque medio amicitiam, fraternitatem et *familiaritatem* inter ipsos contrahi, quia omnes in unâ mensâ edunt, et uno consessu accumbunt. Præterea opinabantur dæmones in somnio sibi comparere, futura indicare, plurimumque prodesse." It is very deserving of remark, that Maimonides in the foregoing passages declares, that the idolaters or Zabians considered blood both unclean and impure, but that the Jews on the contrary deemed it pure, and possessed of a cleansing and sanctifying property; and it is evident that the Mexicans must have been of the latter opinion, or they never would have allowed the walls of their temples to be smeared with blood in the manner related by Bernal Diaz, who states that some Spaniards, entering into the sanctuary of one of their principal temples, discovered with horror that the walls were encrusted nearly two inches thick with the blood of human sacrifices, a fact which they ascertained by piercing the surface with the points of their swords. That the Peruvians, likewise, believed that blood was possessed of a sanctifying and purifying quality, is evident from the following passage of the eleventh chapter of the first book of the Historia de los Ingas, by Juan de Betanzos, a portion of whose inedited History entitled 'Suma y Narracion de los Yngas que los Yndios llamaron Capaccuna' is preserved in manuscript in the library of the Escurial, whose account of the high-priest of Viracocha being consecrated to the sacerdotal office by the Ynga Yupangue marking lines of blood upon his face, is so extremely like the ceremony with which Aaron and his sons are said in the twenty-third verse of the eighth chapter of Leviticus to have been consecrated priests by Moses, that this analogy is very deserving of notice[1]. "Esto hecho, mandó Ynga

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[1] The same analogy forcibly struck Las Casas, who, describing in the 138th chapter of his Historia Apologetica the manner in which the Totonacas consecrated their high-priest, says, that they anointed his head with the blood of *circumcised* children. The following are the words of that prelate: "En la provincia que dijimos de los Totones ó Totonacas, eran puestos en el sacerdocio por eleccion, como antiguamente los pueblos elegian á los obispos, y tambien al sumo pontifice el pueblo Romano: y esto parece por muchos Decretos, y en las historias de los Santos, como de San Silvestre, San Gregorio, San Nicolas y San Ambrosio. Elegidos en aquella provincia seis, el uno en sumo pontifice y Papa, si es verdad que asi lo llamaban, y los otros en sacerdotes de mayor dignidad el uno que el otro, cuanto era mas cercano el numero al mas alto, como diciendo asi: el primero es el sumo, el segundo despues de él era otro, el tercero otro, y asi de los demas; y segun aquel mas ó menos propinquo era en numero, era mayor ó menor en poder ó dignidad. Cuando el sumo pontifice ó Papa moria, celebradas sus obsequias que abajo se diran, sucedia en el sumo pontificado el segundo sacerdote como la segunda dignidad; al qual los otros sacerdotes con gran fiesta que hacian, lo ungian y consagraban con un unguento hecho de un licor que se llama en su lengua 'oles,' *y de sangre de los niños que circuncidaban.* Esto se ponia en la cabeza, y por esta uncion y ceremonia tomaba y aprendia la posesion ó quasi posesion y potestad del pontificado; y luego todo el pueblo le hacia grandisima reverencia y acatamiento, y con gran aplauso le daban gracias porque se encargaba y recibia aquel estado, quasi como agradeciendole que de ellos y de su regimiento espiritual tomaba cuidado. *Este acto y ceremonia de ungir los sacerdotes mandó Dios verdadero á Moises que hiciese á Aron y á sus hijos,* despues de haber edificado el tabernaculo, como parece en el Levitico, capitulo octavo. Estos eran castisimos, y de vida irreprehensible y loable entre ellos, y aun entre nosotros, lo fueran sacada su infidelidad."

lagrimas y sollozos entrañables se debe mucho sentir su desordenada ceguedad; solo se satisfacen con el nombre de Cristianos, favoreciendose y conformandose en las obras con sus ritos y ceremonias antiguas, y asi hasta hoy han Yupangue [1] á los señores del Cuzco, que para de alli á diez dias tubiesen aparejado mucho proveimiento, maiz, ovejas, corderos, y asi mismo mucha ropa fina, y cierta suma de niños y niñas, que ellos llaman *Capacocha*; todo lo cual era para hacer sacrificio al Sol; y siendo los diez dias cumplidos, y esto ya todo junto, Ynga Yupangue mandó hacer un gran fuego, en el cual fuego mandó, despues de haber hecho degollar las ovejas y corderos, que fuesen echados en él, y las demas, ropa y maiz, ofreciendolo todo al Sol, y los niños y niñas que asi han juntado, estando bien vestidos y aderezados, mandólos enterrar vivos en aquella casa que en especial era hecha para donde estubiese el bulto del Sol. Y con la sangre que de los corderos y ovejas habian sacado, *mandó que fuesen hechas ciertas rayas en las paredes de esta casa*; todo lo cual hacia él y los sus tres amigos é otros: todo lo cual significaba una manera *de bendecir y consagrar esta casa:* en el cual sacrificio andaba Ynga Yupangue y sus compañeros *descalzos,* y mostrando gran reverencia á esta casa y al Sol; é asi mismo con la misma sangre el Ynga Yupangue *hizo ciertas rayas en la cara de aquel Señor que era señalado por mayordomo de esta casa,* y lo mismo hizo á aquellos señores sus tres amigos, é á las Mamaconas, monjas que para el servicio del Sol eran: y alli luego mandó que todos los de la ciudad, asi hombres como mugeres, viniesen á hacer sus sacrificios alli á la casa del Sol; los cuales sacrificios que asi la gente como hizo, fue quemar cierto maiz y coca en aquel fuego que asi era hecho, entrando cada uno de estos uno á uno, y *descalzos,* los ojos bajos; y al salir, que asi salian despues de haber hecho su sacrificio cada uno de estos por si, mandó Ynga Yupangue que aquel mayordomo del Sol *hiciese la raya misma que habeis oido con la sangre de las ovejas en los rostros de estos que asi salian*; á los cuales les era mandado, que desde aquella hora hasta que el bulto del Sol fuese hecho de oro, todos estubiesen en ayuno, y que no comiesen carne ni pescado, ni nada guisado, *ni llegasen à muger,* ni comiesen verdura ninguna, y que solamente comiesen maiz crudo y bebiesen chicha, so pena que el que el ayuno quebrantase fuese sacrificado al Sol y quemado en el mismo fuego: el cual fuego mandó Ynga Yupangue *que siempre estubiese ardiendo de noche y de dia,* la leña del cual fuego mandó Ynga Yupangue que fuese labrada y quemada, y mientras el idolo se hiciese, se hiciesen en el fuego sacrificios, los cuales mandó que durante este tiempo hiciesen las Mamaconas del Sol, las cuales asi mismo estaban en grande ayuno, y lo mismo el Ynga Yupangue y los demas señores: y esto hecho y provehido, mandó Ynga Yupangue que viniesen alli los plateros que en la ciudad habia, y los mejores oficiales, y dandoles todo aparejo alli dentro en las casas del Sol, *les mandó que hiciesen un niño de oro mazizo y vaziadizo, que fue del tamaño del niño, y del altor y proporcion de un niño de un año, y desnudo,* porque dicen, que aquel que le hablava cuando él se puso en oracion estando en el sueño, que viniera á él en aquella figura de un niño muy resplandeciente, y que él vino á él despues estando despierto, la noche antes que diese la batalla á Usco Vilca, como ya os hé contado, que fué tanto el resplandor que vió que de él resultaba, que no le dejó ver que figura tenia, y asi mandó hacer este idolo al tamaño y figura de un niño de edad de un año: el cual bulto se tardó en hacer un mes, en el cual mes tubieron grandes sacrificios y ayunos: y este bulto acabado, mandó Ynga Yupangue que aquel señor que habia señalado por mayordomo del Sol, que tomase el idolo; el cual le tomó con mucha reverencia, y vistiòle una camiseta muy ricamente tejida de oro y lana é de diversas labores, y pusole en la cabeza cierta atadura á su uso y costumbre de ellos, y luego le puso una borla segun la del estado de los señores, y encima de ella le puso una patena de oro, y en los pies le calzó unos zapatos, *óxutas* que ellos llaman, asi mismo de oro: y estando asi el bulto, llegó Ynga Yupangue á do el bulto estaba; el cual *iba descalzo,* y como llegase á él, hizole sus mochas y gran reverencia, mostrandole gran respeto; é asi tomó el bulto del idolo en sus manos, y llevólo á do era la casa y lugar do él habia de estar, en la cual casa estaba puesto un escaño hecho de madera, y muy bien cubierta la madera de una pluma de pajaros tornasoles de diversas maneras y colores, de las cuales y con las cuales era muy vistosamente labrado: en el cual escaño puso Ynga Yupangue el bulto del idolo; y siendo alli puesto, hizo traer un brasero de oro, y siendo encendido en el fuego, mandole poner delante del idolo; en el cual fuego y brasero hizo hechar ciertos pajaritos y ciertos granos de maiz, y derramar en el tal fuego cierta chicha: todo lo cual dijo *que como el Sol,* é que haciendo aquello, *le daba de comer*; y de alli adelante se tubo aquella costumbre ordinariamente, lo cual hacia aquel mayordomo de él, asi como si fuera persona que comiera y bebiera, asi se tenia especial cuidado de le guisar de comer diversas comidas y maneras de manjares, y asi las quemaban delante á la tarde y á la mañana braseros de oro y plata, en la manera que ya habeis oido; y dende alli adelante adoraban en aquel idolo, y no entrarian dentro del idolo donde estaba, sino eran los señores principales, entrando con mucha reverencia y veneracion, *los zapatos quitados* y las cabezas bajas; y el Ynga Yupangue entraba solo, y él mismo por su mano sacrificaba las ovejas y corderos [2], haciendo él el fuego, y quemando el sacrificio: y cuando él asi estaba haciendo el sacrificio, ningun señor osaba entrar dentro, y todos se quedaban en el patio y alli hacian ellos fuera sus sacrificios, y sus mochas y adoramientos; y para en que la gente comun adorasen alla fuera (porque no habian de entrar alla dentro, sino fuesen señores, y estos en el patio) hizo poner en medio

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[1] This word signifies 'valiant' in the Peruvian language, and was a name borne by several of the Ingas, as was also Capac, which simply means 'king', and was a title given to Mango Capac the founder of the Peruvian monarchy, by his subjects, whose descendants were styled Capaccuna. Betanzos says, that Yupangue was the patronymic or family name of all the Ingas, and that the signification of the title Capaccuna is 'there is not, nor can there be, a greater,'—*mayor no lo hay, ni puede haber.*

[2] No one excepting the Jewish high-priest was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies, where it was lawful for him alone to offer an atonement for himself and for the sins of the Jewish people. To this ordinance St. Paul alludes in the following passage of the ninth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews: "Now when these things were thus ordained, the priests went always into the first tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God. But into the second went the high-priest alone, once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people." It is probable, however, that the Jewish kings were many of them as unmindful as Uzziah of this command of Moses.

sido muy pocos de los que mas reputacion y renombre han tenido en su vida, que hayan dejado de dar señal de

de la plaza del Cuzco, donde ahora es el rollo, una piedra de la hechura de un pan de azucar [1], puntiagudo para arriba, y aforrada de una hoja de oro; la cual piedra hizo asi mismo labrar el dia que mandó hacer el bulto del Sol; y esta piedra para en que el comun adorase, y el bulto en la casa del Sol los señores: la cual casa era reverenciada y tenida en gran reverencia, no solamente el bulto, mas las piedras de ella, y los servientes y Anaconas de ella eran tenidos por cosa bendita y consagrada; y al tiempo que la edificaban, estando asentando cierta piedra, quebróse de la juntura de la tal piedra un pedazo como tres dedos en ancho y largo, y mandó Ynga Yupangue que luego fuese alli derretida cierta plata, y vaciada de tal manera en la piedra y quebrado de ella, que viniese al justo de lo que de la piedra se quebró; todo lo cual era de canteria, y la juntura de la tal canteria de piedra con piedra era tan sutilmente asentada, que parecia raya hecha con un clavo en una piedra; en la cual casa se enterraban los señores principales en los patios y aposentos, ecepto donde el idolo estaba: y el dia que el idolo se puso en las casas, entraron en la ciudad que no lo saben ni pueden numerar: dicen que la vez que menos ovejas y corderos alli sacrificaron, que pasaban de mas de quinientos." Enough having been said, clearly to prove the resemblance of the ritual observances of the Mexicans and Peruvians, in regard to the blood of sacrifices, to those of the Jews, it is unnecessary to dwell on minuter analogies; we cannot however refrain from observing, that the curious ceremony of sprinkling blood from the nail of the fingers seven times, was observed at some of the Mexican sacrifices, which would seem to be derived from the following ordinance of the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus: "And he shall sprinkle of the blood upon it with his finger *seven* times, and *cleanse* it, and *hallow* it from the uncleanness of the children of Israel." This ordinance related to the atonement which Aaron was commanded to make for the Hebrew altar, by means of the blood of a bullock and a goat. The estimation in which the Jews held the blood of sacrifices may doubtless in a great measure be ascribed to the language which Moses puts into the mouth of God in the following passage of the seventeeth chapter of Leviticus, who forbidding the Jews to taste blood thus explains its nature and properties: "And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood; I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people. For the *life* of the flesh is *in* the blood: and I have given it to you *upon* the altar to make an atonement for your souls: *for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.* Therefore I said unto the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood, neither shall any stranger that sojourneth among you eat blood. And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten; he shall even *pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.* For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is *for the life thereof*: therefore I said unto the children of Israel, Ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh: for the life of all flesh *is the blood* thereof: whosoever eateth it shall be cut off." Without inquiring whether it is not possible that the Jewish belief in the Resurrection might have originated in what is here said of the life being in the blood, we shall merely observe, that the North American Indians with whom Adair was acquainted, resembled the Jews in abstaining from eating blood; and he describes their aversion to it in the following terms: "The Indians, through a strong principle of *religion,* abstain in the strictest manner from eating the blood of any animal, as it *contains the life and spirit* of the beast, and was the very essence of the sacrifices that were to be offered up for sinners. And this was the Jewish opinion and law of sacrifice, Leviticus xvii. 11. 'For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood which maketh an atonement for the soul.' When the English traders have been making sausages mixt with hog's blood, I have observed the Indians to cast their eyes upon them with the horror of their reputed forefathers, when they viewed the predicted abomination of desolation fulfilled by Antiochus in defiling the Temple. An instance lately happened, which sufficiently shows their utter aversion to blood. A Chikkesah woman, a domestic of one of the traders, being very ill with a complication of disorders, the Indian physician seemed to use his best endeavours to cure her, but without the least visible effect. To preserve his medical credit with the people, he at last ascribed her ailment to the eating of *swine's flesh,* blood, and other *polluting* food, and said, that such an ugly or accursed sickness overcame the power of all his beloved songs and physic; and in anger he left his supposed criminal patient to be punished by Loak Ishtohoollo. I asked her some time afterwards what her ailments were, and what she imagined might have occasioned them? She said she was full of pain, that she had *abeeka ookproo,* 'the accursed sickness,' because she had eaten a great many fowls, after the manner of the white people, with the *issish ookproo* 'accursed blood' in them. In time she recovered, and now strictly abstains from tame fowls, unless they are bled to death, for fear of incurring future evil by the like pollution." (Adair's History of the American Indians, cap. xii.) Adair also remarks, in the following passage of the same Work, that the Indians entertained the same degree of abhorrence for the flesh of swine as the Jews; and this double analogy in an arbitrary association of ideas of pollution with blood and eating the flesh of swine, increases in much more than a twofold ratio the probability that the Indians derived their notions of *uncleanness* from the Jews, and were deeply imbued with all the prejudices of the Old Law; it serves likewise to confirm a similar opinion expressed in reference to the Mexicans in the 275th page of the sixth volume of this Work. Having noticed their division of animals into clean and unclean,—under which latter denomination they included hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats, moles, and even the beaver, only excepting the bear from the prohibition which Moses laid in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus on eating any of the species of animals here enumerated,—he adds, that they esteemed the flesh of every kind of eagle, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and owls as unclean, and that they believed that to swallow flies, musketoes, gnats, or worms caused sickness, and that they were also unclean and hurtful. The same author adds: "I have already shown their aversion to eating of unsanctified fruits, and in this Argument that they abstain from several other things, *contrary to the usage of all the old heathen world.* It may be objected, that now they seldom refuse to eat hog's flesh, when the traders invite them to it; but this proceeds entirely from

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[1] A stone of this peculiar shape appears to be represented in the 41st page of the Mexican painting presented to the Bodleian Library by Archbishop Laud.

idolatria en su muerte, dejando hecho ofrecimiento en su memoria al Sol *, ó á algun cerro segun sus inclinaciones,

vicious imitation, and which is common with the most civilized nations. When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they *excluded the criminal from all religious communion*[1] in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the Temple, he was indeed *re-admitted* to his usual privileges. Formerly, none of their beloved men or warriors would eat or drink *with us* on the most pressing invitation, through fear of polluting themselves, they deemed us such impure animals: our eating the flesh of swine and venison with the gravy in it, helped to rivet their dislike, for this they reckon as blood. I once asked the archimagus to sit down and partake of my dinner, but he excused himself, saying he had in a few days some holy duty to perform, and that if he eat evil or accursed food it would spoil him, alluding to swine's flesh. Though most of their virtue hath lately been corrupted in this particular, they still affix vicious and contemptible ideas to the eating of swine's

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[1] Reference to a note in the 389th page of the sixth volume of this Work, will show that the ancient Jewish rite of excommunication was known to the Mexicans, and that they resorted to it particularly in cases where the priests absented themselves from the sacrifices of children; whence it may be inferred, that the Mexican religion was upheld by a system of terror, similar to that which prevailed in former ages in the Synagogue, and which armed the Hebrew theocracy with a temporal and spiritual power, dreadful to the community over which it was exercised, and that human sacrifices was that part and parcel of their law which the Mexican priests were most desirous should not be abolished. This consideration should cause the professors of every creed which arrogates to itself exclusive excellence, to pause in their career of uncompromising intolerance, and to interrogate their own consciences, whether they would wish to see verified in a sense never intended by the Sybil the memorable prediction

". . . . . bella, horrida bella,
Et Tybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno:"

which has in part been fulfilled by the bloody wars growing out of the Reformation which desolated Europe in the sixteenth century, or whether they are eager like true mercenaries for that war of opinion which a late British statesman foresaw and deprecated even more than a transient engagement with the sword, and would wish again, in the event of such a crisis, to introduce the term 'infidel' in a manifesto against France. With respect to the modes of excommunication in ancient times customary amongst the Jews, it is contended by some writers that there were three kinds, although Selden allows but two, which the Hebrew doctors severally named נדוי *separation*, from נדה *to separate*, חרם *an anathema*, and שמתא, which corresponds with the phrase *Maran-atta* used by St. Paul, and which some derive from the Hebrew words שם *there*, and מתה *death*, and others from שם *the name*, meaning God or the ineffable name, and אתה *to come*, or *be at hand*. The authors of the English Universal History give the following description of this last kind of excommunication in the 674th page of the first volume of that work: "But the most dreadful of all their punishments, though not a capital one, was excommunication, especially that which they called Shematta, answering to the Syrian *Maran-atta* used by St. Paul, which signifies in both tongues, 'the Lord comes, or is at hand.' Enoch, the seventh from Adam, is supposed the author of it, because St. Jude quotes that saying of his 'Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgement,' and so on, which must have been at least owing to some tradition among the Jews. However, these fetch the original of it both from those frequent expressions in the Mosaic writings 'That soul shall be cut off from Israel' and 'Thou shalt put away evil from the midst of thee,' and more particularly from the words in Deborah's Song, 'Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants of it.' But without inquiring into the validity of these subtile etymologies, we find a more express form of it in Ezra and Nehemiah, who excommunicated all those that refused to repudiate their strange wives, and exacted an oath from the people to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The same account of it we find in Josephus, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated person were to be confiscated to the holy treasury. It is true, this was done after the Captivity, but we need not doubt that they had precedents and laws for it before that time, for it is said that it was performed in a legal way, and pursuant to the laws of God. As for the form and method of pronouncing it, and in what cases it was to be done, we cannot be certain. Buxtorf hath indeed given us a full account of it from the Talmudists; but besides that we dare not vouch for its antiquity, the form of it is so full of the most dreadful imprecations that they cannot be read without horror. Some of them seem to have been taken from the hundred and ninth Psalm, and improved with all the dire curses both of this world and the next. As excommunication passed from the Jews to the Christians, St. Paul makes use of some other of their expressions besides that of Maran-atta, particularly that of *delivering up to Satan*; but it is plain by what he subjoins immediately after, 'for the *mortifying* of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord,' that it was not used by the primitive Church in that *damning* sense in which the Jews and some *modern* churches understand it." There is, it will be perceived, a candid admission in the above passage, that the imprecations used by the Rabbis on occasions of excommunication, which could not be read without horror, were borrowed from the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament; and by the same process of reasoning it may also be inferred, that some of the punishments disgraceful to humanity, which crept into the Hebrew penal code in the long course of ages, were derived from the Pentateuch, and were thence incorporated into the laws of the New World by the Jewish colonies who first migrated to its shores. And here we

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* Viracocha was typified by the Sun, and it was a Peruvian as well as a Hebrew custom to make choice of hills as places of sepulchre, where the body of the deceased was generally placed in a sitting posture, as was also customary amongst the Mexicans. These two circumstances might have induced the Peruvians, even after they became converts to Christianity, to continue their superstitious offerings to the hills and to Viracocha, by which appellation it is very deserving of remark that Domingo de Santo Thomas designates Christ in his Peruvian Dictionary, who perhaps recollected that the appellation of the Sun of Righteousness is given to the Messiah in the Old Testament.

apartandose del todo de la carrera de salvacion y animandose siempre á lo contrario dañoso y perjudicial para el

flesh, insomuch that *Shukapa* (swine-eater) is the most opprobrious epithet they can use to brand us with: they commonly subjoin *Akanggapa* (eater of dunghill fowls); both together signify 'filthy helpless animals.'" Du Tertre, an old French author, who published a General History of the Islands of St. Christopher, Guadeloupe and Martinique, in the year 1654, remarks in the third section of the first chapter of the fifth part of that work, that the Indians, either of all or of some of these islands, abstained from eating the flesh of swine, and also from many kinds of fish. When it is recollected that the group of islands of which the three above mentioned formed a portion were originally inhabited by the Caribs, from whom they received the appellation of the Caribbean Islands, and that they were peopled from the coast of the adjacent continent, and by the tribes dwelling in the vicinity of the Orinoco, this fact will not appear so extraordinary; since Gumilla declares, in the 273rd page of the sixth volume of this Work, that the Indians of the Orinoco were circumcised, and held the flesh of swine in extreme abhorrence; and we learn from the following passages of the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, that turtle, eels, lobsters, crabs, oysters, periwinkles, and even shrimps, were an abomination to the Jews. "These shall ye eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat. And all that have not fins and scales in the seas, and in the rivers, of all that move in the waters, and of any living thing which is in the waters, they shall be an abomination unto you. They shall be even an abomination unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, but ye shall have their carcases in abomination. Whatsoever hath no fins nor scales in the waters, that shall be an abomination unto you.... These also shall be unclean unto you among the creeping things that creep upon the earth; the weasel, and the mouse, and *the tortoise* after his kind." The following is the passage in which Gumilla's account of the Indians of the Oricono refraining from the flesh of swine, is corroborated by the much earlier testimony of Du Tertre. "Il faut aussi rapporter à une sorte de superstition les jeusnes qu'ils observent pour divers sujets: Quand une fille a atteint l'âge de puberté, quand un garçon entre dans l'adolescence; quand les enfans ont perdu leur pere ou leur mere; quand un mary a perdu sa femme, ou bien la femme son mary; quand ils ont tué quelques-uns de leurs ennemis dans la guerre; quand ceux qui sont nouvellement mariez ont un garçon pour leur premier enfant, c'est icy le plus solennel de leurs jeusnes, ils passent quelquefois cinq ou six jours

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may observe, that the learned writer of this article, who in using the expression 'modern Churches' undoubtedly alludes to the Church of Rome, has, from an aversion to Popery which was extremely natural in his age, softened the signification of the Greek word ὀλεθρον in the fifth verse of the fifth chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, which properly means *destruction* in the most emphatic sense of the word, into the gentler phrase 'mortification'; which he did not, however, borrow from the English version of the New Testament, where 'destruction' is the term actually employed by the translators: he probably thought that if ὀλεθρον was understood in the sense of destruction, as in the above passage, the five first verses of the chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians referred to, would prove, as plainly as language can, that the spiritual heads of the Christian Church exercised, even in the *apostolic* age, dominion over *the bodies* as well as the souls of men, and he therefore assigned it another signification, which cannot possibly, by any forced construction, rightly belong to it. This passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians is so important, as well in a doctrinal point of view, as in affording a refutation to those who contend, with the early Fathers, that all the accusations brought against the primitive Christians by the Pagans were unfounded and the offspring of malice and falsehood, that we shall take the liberty of quoting it from the English translation of the Bible, and likewise from the Greek Testament. "It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, as absent in body, *but present in spirit*, have *judged* already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, *with the power* of our Lord Jesus Christ, *to deliver such an one unto Satan* for the destruction *of the flesh*, that the *spirit* may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." *Ὁλως ἀκουεται ἐν ὑμιν πορνεια, και τοιαυτη πορνεια ἡτις οὐδε ἐν τοις ἐθνεσιν ὀνομαζεται, ὡστε γυναικα τινα του πατρος ἐχειν. Και ὑμεις πεφυσιωμενοι ἐστε, και οὐχι μαλλον ἐπενθησατε, ἱνα ἐξαρθῃ ἐκ μεσου ὑμων ὁ το ἐργον τουτο ποιησας; Ἐγω μεν γαρ ὡς ἀπων τῳ σωματι, παρων δε τῳ πνευματι, ἠδη ΚΕΚΡΙΚΑ ὡς παρων τον οὑτω τουτο κατεργασαμενον, ἐν τῳ ὀνοματι του Κυριου ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου, συναχθεντων ὑμων και του ἐμου πνευματος, ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ του Κυριου ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου, παραδουναι τον τοιουτον τῳ Σατανᾳ εἰς ὀλεθρον ΤΗΣ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ, ἱνα ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ σωθῃ ἐν τῃ ἡμερᾳ του Κυριου Ἰησου.* Upon this passage of the New Testament we shall only remark, that although the crime alluded to by St. Paul was, as he confesses, unknown to the Gentiles, it was committed by the Jews in the earlier and later periods of their history; and no other cause than that is assigned, in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, for Reuben the eldest of the twelve Hebrew patriarchs having been deprived of his birthright, whom Jacob his father thus emphatically cursed a few hours only before his death. "Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power: unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch." In a later age Absalom the son of David, and the aspirant to his crown, is said in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel to have imitated the example of Reuben. "Then said Absalom to Ahithophel, Give counsel among you what we shall do. And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father: then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong. So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines in the sight of all Israel. And the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God: so was *all* the counsel of Ahithophel both with David and with Absalom." From the latter example of Jewish history, the morality of the Jews at the most flourishing period of their history, which the reign of David is allowed to have been, may easily be inferred, and it cannot be doubted that the manners of the Roman populace in the age of Romulus and Tarquinius Priscus would have presented a most favourable contrast to the vitiated taste of the subjects of Solomon the son of David, the glory of the East, and the pattern to all succeeding kings; and would have been much more agreeable to modern notions of reason and virtue.

alma. A estos quadra bien lo que dice Jeremias* en el capitulo primero en nombre del Señor: 'Dejaronme y sacrificaron á dioses agenos y adoraron la obra de sus manos."—*Lope de Atienza.* (*MS.*)

sans manger, ny boire: d'autres plus robustes se contentent pendant neuf ou dix jours d'un peu d'eau; s'ils ne faisoient ces rigoureuses abstinences, ils seroient tenus pour des lasches. Je ne sçay si c'est par religion qu'ils s'abstiennent de manger quelques animaux, comme poulles, œufs, *porcs*, et les plus delicieux *poissons*. Ils croyent l'immortalité de l'ame, mais ils tiennent que chaque personne en a *trois: une au cœur, une à la teste, et l'autre au bras*. Celle du cœur, qui se manifeste par *le battement* d'iceluy, va, ce disent-ils, droit au ciel apres la mort, pour y estre bien-heureuse: celles du bras et de la teste, qui se manifestent par le battement *des poulces*, et par le mouvement *des artères*, deviennent Maboyas, c'est à dire, esprits malins, ausquels ils imputent tout ce qui leur arrive de sinistre et de funeste." It is singular that the Indians of the West India islands should have agreed with some of the Talmudists in the absurd belief that man has three souls, and that one belonged to the heart, whilst the other two were assigned to the head and arms, on account of *the pulsation* of the veins and arteries, which would seem to imply that they thought with the Jews that *the life was in the blood*; nor is it wholly undeserving of notice, that the distinction between the vegetative soul or *anima*, and the *animus*, seems, although disguised by fable, to have been derived to them from the Old Continent. Reference to the last line of the fifty-first page of the Notes subjoined to the present volume will show, that the Peruvians entertained precisely the same notion of the soul quitting the body during sleep, and of dreams being the recollection of what it beheld when wandering on such occasions through the universe. St. Paul also declares in the twelfth chapter of his second Epistle to the Corinthians, that he knew a man, whether in the body or *out of the body* he could not tell, who was caught up to the *third* heaven and saw *visions* of the Lord; and that such was the opinion of the Jews of later ages, will appear from the following passage, which is extracted from the eleventh chapter of a work elsewhere referred to, entitled 'A View of the Jewish Religion.' "Margarita in his Book of the Faith of the Jewes, writes thus, 'The Jews write in their Talmud that every man hath *three* soules, and they fetch it from this place of Esaias: 'Thus saith the Lord God, he that created the heavens and stretched them out, he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it, he that giveth *breath* unto the people upon it, and *spirit* to them that walk therein.' From this text they ascribe *two* soules unto man, which with the true and naturall soule of man make three: they write farther, *that when a man sleeps the two former soules flye away;* the one ascends upwards to God, and there heareth all things that are to come; the other descends downward to the earth, and to flye up and down here and there and to see nothing but vanity, iniquity, sin and foolishnesse. This they call a bruitish soul and irrationall; but that soule that was first inspired into man is alwaies an individual companion *to his heart*, and seeth all things that those two other soules hear, see or doe, that are gone forth of his body; *hence arise all dreams, which therefore are not to be neglected.* But on the Sabath day the *fourth* soule is added as an addition, which stirreth up and moveth the minds of men, that they may give more honour to the Sabath; but when the Sabath ends, *this soule flyes away again*, whence it comes to pass that the mind is troubled; wherefore to refresh themselves they smell to these sweet spices.' Hitherto Margarita, but whence he fetched these things I have not yet found in the bookes of the Jewes; onely this I read in the Talmud, concerning that soule that is added on the Sabath day. 'Rabbi Jose said, from the opinion of Rabbi Simeas, the son of Jechai, all the precepts which God gave to the people of Israel he gave openly and publiquely, if you except the precept of the Sabath, which was privately delivered unto them as it is written, 'It is a sign betweene me and the children of Israel for ever,' which say they is not, as the words sound, a sign *for ever*, but a sign *to be kept secret*, as if he had said, it is kept close and hid from other nations, onely the Jewes are acquainted with it. Here their wise men in Gemara ask and object, that since the Christians and others are ignorant that we have a Sabath day, wherefore then shall they be punished because they keep not the Sabath? Answer, They know that we have a Sabath, nor is this hid from them, and they shall be punished because they observe it not, but they know not *the reward* of the Sabath; God hath kept *this secret* from them; but should they keep the Sabath as they ought, then the reward of the Sabath would be known unto them, but great pity it is that *this cannot be* for want of that soule which God giveth as an addition to the Jewes on the Sabath day, whereby they may rest on both sides and rejoice, and so cast away all care and sorrow out of their mindes. Therefore Rabbi Simeon the son of Lakis prayed, God hath infused into man a superfluous and supernumerary soule, which when the Sabath ends he receiveth againe, as it is written 'when he hath rested on the Sabath, alas he shall lose his soule, namely that soule that was added to him shall be taken from him.' So far the Talmud, where you may observe farther their corrupting the Scripture, for the word *vaii naphesch*, which signifieth properly 'shall be recruited or refreshed,' they are known most filthily by their cabalisticall art which they call 'notaricon,' to break into *vai nephesch*, 'woe to the soul!' as if the meaning were, 'so soon as the soule hath kept the Sabath alas it perisheth,' or 'oh the soule is deprived,' which by anthropopathy is ascribed to God, upon whom by no meanes can fall the spoiling or deprivation of the soule. In such trifles and bruitish fictions of blinded people, is the chiefest wisdome of the Jewes employed. Concerning their superfluous and redundant soule, Rabbi Abraham a Spaniard, in his commentaries on the Pentateuch, disputeth most subtilly, which book he calls *A Bundle of Mirth*."

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* It is surprising how naturally and with what ease the thoughts of the Spanish missionaries, when treating of the superstitions of the Indians, flow in a Hebrew channel. Aguado, for example, in his inedited History of the Conquest of Santa Marta, thus alludes to a remarkable passage of Josephus's History of the Jewish War: "Comian de aquellas carnes humanas tan sin asco ni pavor, como si se huvieran criado en ello; mas no es de maravillar que hombres usasen de este genero de crueldad por remedio contra las angustias del hambre, pues escriviendo Josepho en sus historias, y lo refiere Eusebio en el tercero libro de la Historia Eclesiastica en el capitulo segundo, que teniendo Tito cercado á Jerusalem, y habiendola ya entrado ó tomado, sobrevino tan gran hambre en la ciudad, que una muger que vivia ribera del rio Jordan, de la aldea de Benzob llamada Maria, hija de Eleazaro, muger rica y noble de linaje, hallandose en aquellos dias en Jerusalem, con un cuchillo *por su propia mano* degolló á su hijo, y partiendolo por medio, puso luego la mitad al fuego, y asandola se la comió, y despues vino á comer la otra mitad, cosa por cierto de grande admiracion y que parece escan-

The resemblance between the laws of the Mexicans and the Peruvians and the institutions of the Jews having been sufficiently pointed out in the great outlines of their criminal code, which is that part of legislation, much more than the civil, which receives its form and impress from the religious creed of the nation for which it is framed, we shall proceed to notice some of the enactments of the Mexican civil law, which exhibited a striking conformity with the Hebrew ordinances: these were their laws respecting landed property, slaves and marriages; which from the comprehensiveness of their nature, the universality of their application, and their intimate connexion with the individual interests of every member of the community, must be admitted to constitute the principal elements of civil law, and greatly to affect the state and well-being of society. It is a well-known fact that among the Jews land was held by a very peculiar tenure, and that it could not be alienated by the possessor for more than a certain number of years; at the expiration of which period it reverted again, either to the proprietor himself or to his family, and in no case could be inherited or conveyed *out* of the tribe to which the owner himself belonged, and to which it had been originally granted at the time of the division of the lands conquered from the Canaanites. This tenure is thus described in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, and in the thirty-sixth chapter of Numbers. "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land. If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold. And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it; then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; that he may return unto his possession. But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee: and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession. And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; within a full year may he redeem it. And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established for ever to him that bought it throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee. But the houses of the villages which have no wall round about them shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee." "And the chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the families of the sons of Joseph, came near, and spake before Moses, and before the princes, the chief fathers of the children of Israel: and they said, The Lord commanded my lord to give the land for an inheritance by lot to the children of Israel: and my lord was commanded by the Lord to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters. And if they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance. And when the jubilee of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers. And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the Lord, saying, The tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well. This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry. So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe: for every one of the children of Israel shall keep himself to the inheritance of the tribe of his fathers. And every daughter, that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers. Neither shall the inheritance remove from one tribe to another tribe; but every one of the tribes of the children of Israel shall keep himself to his own inheritance. Even as the Lord commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad: for Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah, and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married unto their father's brothers' sons: and they were married into the families of the sons of Manasseh the

dalizar solo el oirlo." The passage of Josephus, to which Aguado here alludes, occurs in the eighth chapter of his seventh book of the History of the Jewish war, and it is somewhat singular that the expression Θυσια, or *sacrifice*, is the phrase which the Jewish woman uses in reference to her son: ἡ δε ἐμον, ἐφη, τουτο το τεκνον γνησιον, και το ἐργον ἐμον· Φαγετε, και γαρ ἐγω βεβρωκα. μη γενησθε μητε μαλακωτεροι γυναικος, μητε συμπαθεστεροι μητρος. Εἰ δ' ὑμεις εὐσεβεις, και την ἐμην ἀποστρεφεσθε ΘΥΣΙΑΝ, ἐγω μεν ἡμισυ βεβρωκα, και το λοιπον δ' ἐμοι μεινατω. "But she replied, This is my child, and my deed; eat, for I have fed, and be neither more effeminate than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother; but if ye are pious and loathe my sacrifice, I have eaten half, let the rest remain for me."

son of Joseph, and their inheritance remained in the tribe of the family of their father. These are the commandments and the judgments, which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho." This peculiar tenure of land, it is very deserving of remark, could only exist in a theocracy similar to that of the Jewish commonwealth, where every individual of the state held his property from God *in capite**, with a binding covenant to assist him in his wars against the idolatrous nations of the land of Canaan, that being distinctly specified in the twenty-third verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus. "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is *mine*; for ye are strangers and sojourners *with me*." And since the Mexican government was a theocracy, and the Mexicans, like the Jews, were a chosen people, it is highly probable that their inalienable tenure of land, under the denomination of Calpullis, was founded on Scripture precedent and the ancient usages of the Jews, the nature of which tenure is thus explained by Alonzo de Zorita in his official reply to the questions put by Philip the Second of Spain to the Royal court of Audience in Mexico, of which work Dr. Robertson speaks in terms of deserved commendation in one of the notes subjoined to the third volume of his History of America. "La tercera manera de señores se llamaban y llaman Calpullec, ó Chinancallec en plural, y quiere decir *cabezas* ó *parientes mayores* que vienen de muy antiguo, porque calpulli ó chinancalli, que es todo uno, quiere decir *barrio de gente conocida* ó *linage antiguo*, y que tiene de muy antiguo sus tierras y terminos conocidos, que son de aquella cepa y linage y barrio. Y las tales tierras llaman calpulli, que quiere decir *tierra de aquel barrio ó linage.* Estos calpullis ó linages ó barrios son muchos en cada provincia, y tambien tenian estas cabezas ó calpullis las† que se daban á los segundos señores ‡, como se ha dicho, de por vida. Las rentas que poseen fueron repartimientos del comun, de cuando vinieron á la tierra y tomó cada linage ó quadrilla sus pedazos ó *suertes* y terminos señalados para ellos y para sus descendientes, y asi hasta hoy las han poseydo y tienen nombre de calpullis; y estas tierras no son en particular de cada uno del barrio, sino en comun del calpulli, y el que las poseé no las puede enagenar, sino que goze

* Although the origin of the Mexican calpullis, or lands appertaining in common to each separate calpulli or tribe, is not explained by any Spanish author, still all the circumstances of the migration of the Aztecas being taken into consideration, and that they, like their Hebrew ancestors, came to take possession of a promised land, bringing with them an ark supposed to contain the Deity, it is highly probable that the lands conquered by the Aztecas from the Chichimecas, were distributed by them into calpullis, regard being had to the ancient Hebrew precedent under Joshua, whose division of the land of Canaan amongst the twelve tribes of Israel they might have imitated as far as the change of time and circumstances would permit. This opinion receives some confirmation from the following passage of a fragment of a very ancient Mexican Chronicle, the author of which Boturini supposes might have been Ixtlilxochitl. "En el pueblo que se nombra el gran Teotihuacan, y antiguamente se nombró Tolteca, que la pusieron y nombraron Esperanza en los Dioses, porque alli idolatravan y invocaban á sus Dioses los Toltecas, como ahora nosotros los Cristianos tenemos en Roma nuestra casa de mayor adoracion; y gobernando el Tolteca este reyno de los Toltecas, se perdieron y murieron los idolatras con guerras, peste y hambre; y habiendose destruido, los pocos que escaparon, algunos se fueron á vivir á la casa del dios del agua, y habiendose ido, se nombraron Collimaz que habian ido. Y esta tierra que fué de los Toltecas, ahora se nombra Nueva España. Y á los cinco años que faltavan los Toltecas, estaban ya demolidos y desbaratados sus cercados y casas, quando vino Xolotzin, rey y gran señor de los Chichimecas con gran numero de sus vasallos, y la vido ayrosa y que solo era de los Dioses esta tierra en donde vivieron los Toltecas, se apoderó de ella, y se la adjudico y (como dicen los antiguos en el Canto del Reyno de los Chichimecas,) '*Fué el primer humo ó niebla que vino á ponerse en esta tierra,*' y habiendo tomado posesion de ella, luego fué poniendo y dandolos tierras á sus vasallos los Chichimecas, para que le diesen y pagasen sus tributos, y en todas las partes que tenian su oficio le respondian con él al rey de los Chichimecas, y Xolotzin que habia hechado en la tierra de los Toltecas á sus vasallos los Chichimecas, les puso por señores y gobernadores á los dos aquellos principes y señores que trajo de su corte, sus hermanos y parientes; y los otros señores que se nombran de los Colhuas Mixhuaguez, grandes señores que despues vinieron á dar con él. Y á los ciento y tres años que se perdieron los Toltecas, Xolotzin hizo señor á Tochin-Teuhtli hijo de Quetzalmazatl, señor de Quahuacan, y le entregó el gobierno de Huexotla y Oztipac, que ahora pertenece á Tezcuco y á Chiauhtla; y este pueblo de Teotihuacan le dio de una vez con todas sus tierras y vasallos que habia en ellas, y lo casó con la hija de Opanteuhtli señor de Xaltoacan, que se nombraba gran señor de los Otomites y rey de ellos, y se llamaba la muger de Tochinteuhtli, Tomeyauhtzin, que ya era prima hermana de Xolotzin, porque era nieto de Opanteuhtli padre de Tomeyauhtzin.

† The word 'rentas' or 'preeminencias' seems to be here wanting.

‡ Zorita says, there were four descriptions of Mexican lords, the first of whom were supreme, and named Tlatoque, from the verb *tlatoa,* to speak or pronounce judicial sentences, and such were Montezuma in Mexico and Nezahualpilli in Tezcuco: the second class, which comprised nobles of various titles and dignities, were distinguished by the general appellation of Tecutzin, Teutley, Tec, and Uitzan: they were not hereditary, but possessed dignities for life, and are therefore compared by Zorita to those persons who in Spain received *encomiendas* as a mark of favour from the Crown: the third class were the Calpullis; and the fourth were designated Tlatopipiltzin, and Pipiltzin, who enjoyed hereditary dignity and exemption from tribute, but without *encomiendas,* in consideration of their being the sons and descendants of the kings of Mexico and other great men, subordinate to whom were the Tequiuac, who were the sons and descendants of the possessors of *encomiendas,* and considered *hidalgos* or gentlemen.

de ellas por su vida; y las puede dejar á sus hijos y herederos. Calpulli es singular, y calpullec es plural. De estos calpullis ó barrios ó linages, unos son mayores que otros segun los antiguos conquistadores y pobladores las repartieron entre si á cada linage, y son para si y para sus descendientes, y si alguna casa se acaba, muriendo todos, quedan las tierras al comun del calpulli, y aquel señor ó pariente mayor las da á quien las ha menester del mismo barrio, como se verá adelante. Por manera que nunca jamas se daban ni dan las tierras á quien no sea natural del calpulli ó barrio, *que es como los Israelitas, que no podian ni era licito enagenar la tierra de una tribu en otra*, y esta entre *otras* es una de las causas y razones porque algunos se mueven á creer que los naturales de aquellas partes *descienden de los del Pueblo de Israel,* porque *muchas* de sus ceremonias y usos y costumbres se conforman con las de aquellas gentes, y la lengua de Mechoacan *, que era un gran reyno, dicen que tenia muchos vocablos Hebreos, y esta lengua, y casi todas las demas, son semejantes en la pronunciacion á la Hebrea. *Lo mismo afirman los que han estado en las provincias del Peru,* y en las demas partes de Indias, de sus ritos y ceremonias; y lo que en la Nueva España llaman calpullis, es lo mismo que entre los Israelitas llamaban *tribus.* Podianse dar estas tierras á los de otro barrio ó calpulli á renta, y era para las necesidades publicas y comunes del calpulli; á esta causa se permitian arrendarlas, y no en otra manera, porque si es posible, por una via ni por otra se permitia ni permite que los de un calpulli labren las tierras de otro calpulli, por no dar lugar á que se mesclen unos con otros, ni *salgan del linage.* La causa porque querran estas tierras á renta, y no tomanlas en su calpulli de gracia, era porque se las daban labradas, y la renta era poca, ó parte de la cosecha segun se concertaban, ó porque acontecia que eran mejores que las que tenian ó les daban en su calpulli, ó por no haberlas para darselas, ó porque querian y podian labrar las unas y las otras. Si acaso algun vecino de un calpulli ó barrio se iba á habitar á otro, perdia las tierras que le estaban señaladas para que las labrase, porque esta era y es costumbre antiguisima entre ellos, y jamas se quebrantaba, ni habia en ello contradiccion alguna, y quedaban y quedan al comun del calpulli cuyas son, y el pariente mayor † las reparte entre los demas del barrio que no tienen tierras. Si algunas hay vacias ó por labrar en el calpulli, tenian y tienen gran cuenta con ellas, para que otro calpulli no se les entren en ellas, y sobre esto tenian y tienen grandes pendencias por defender cada uno las tierras de su calpulli. Si alguno habia ó hay sin tierras, el pariente mayor con parecer de otros viejos, les daba y dá las que ha menester conforme á su calidad y posibilidad, y para las labrar; y pasaban y pasan á sus herederos en la forma que se ha dicho, y ninguna cosa hace este principal que no sea con parecer de otros viejos del calpulli ó barrio. Si uno tenia unas tierras y las labraba, no se le podia otro entrar en ellas, ni el principal se las podia quitar ni dar á otro. Si no eran buenas, las podia dejar y buscar otras mejores, y pedirlas á su principal; y si estaban vacas y sin perjuicio, se las daban en la forma que se ha dicho. El que tenia algunas tierras de su calpulli, si no las labraba dos años por culpa y negligencia suya, y no habiendo causa justa, como por ser menor, huerfano, ó muy viejo, enfermo que no podia trabajar, le apercebian que las labrase á otro año, y si no, que se darian á otro, y asi se hacia. Por ser estas rentas del comun ó de los calpullis ó barrios, ha habido y hay desorden en las que se han dado y dan á Españoles, porque en habiendo ó teniendo noticia de algunas que no estan labradas, las piden al que gobierna, y el que se nombra porque las vaya á ver, hace poca diligencia en pro de los Indios; y si acierta á nombrar para ello algun buen Cristiano, tiene el que pide las tierras formas para lo impedir, y para que se nombre otro á su contento,

* This observation of Zorita may be understood in a double sense; either in reference to the *words* and grammatical *idiom* of the language of the people of Mechoacan, or to the *phraseology* and *metaphors* which they commonly employed; in which latter sense alone the Mexican language can be said to resemble the Hebrew. When it is recollected, however, that the Jews, according to the prevailing opinion of the most learned of their rabbis, forgot their own language in the comparatively short space of their seventy years captivity in Babylon,—which opinion, nevertheless, is not entitled from its improbability to much weight, except other concurring causes, such as obedience to the absolute commands of the Babylonians, that under pain of death the captive Jews in Babylon should cease to speak the Hebrew language, and should teach their children the Chaldee, can be shown to justify it, it will cause little surprise that no traces of the Hebrew language should have been discovered by the Spaniards after the lapse of so many ages amongst the Mexicans and Peruvians, although the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain does certainly contain many metaphors and figures of speech evidently derived from the Scriptures, and which unequivocally prove the existence, in former ages at least, of the Hebrew language in America. Whether, however, the private language which according to Garcilaso de la Vega was spoken by the Ingas in their intercourse with each other, and which it was death for others than those of their own race to learn, might not have been a corrupt dialect of Hebrew, can only be matter of vague conjecture. It is, however, an undoubted fact, that the laws of the kingdom of Mechoacan, and the dress of the people of that state, which is represented in a manuscript preserved in the library of the Escurial, bore a strong resemblance to those of the Jews, whom they likewise resembled in making use of an *ark* in war.

† The terms *pariente mayor, cabeza,* and *principal,* are here used in the same signification, and refer to the head of the tribe.

en especial si hay algun respeto de por medio que nunca falta, ó interes, y asi siempre dan parecer que se pueden dar al que las pide, porque estan sin perjuicio y no labradas; y aunque hay en ellas muestras de haber sido labradas, y los contradicen los del barrio ó calpulli, aunque aleguen que las tienen para á los que se casen, ó á los que no tienen tierras, no les vale, y dicen que lo hacen de malicia, y asi informaron á Vuestra Magestad algunas personas que debian pretender en ello algun interes, como parece por un capitulo de una carta de Vuestra Magestad, que mandó escribir á la Audiencia de Mexico, por Setiembre de cincuenta y seis; y no hay estancia, ni tierras, que no este muy en perjuicio de los Indios, asi por los daños que reciben, como por haberles quitado sus tierras, y estrechadoles sus terminos, y puestolos en un continuo trabajo de guardar sus sementeras, y aun con todo esto se las comen y destruyen los ganados, y aun algunas veces, aunque tengan poseedor y esten labradas ó sembradas, no les aprovecha para dejar de darles, porque los arguien que maliciosamente las labran porque no se diesen á Españoles; y ha sido todo esto causa de que esten ya en algun pueblo tan estrechos y cercados de labranzas de Españoles, que no les queda á los naturales donde poder sembrar, y en otras partes estan tan cercados de estancia de ganado mayor, y son tantos los daños que de ellos reciben, que lo poco que siembran se lo comen y destruyen, porque anda el ganado sin guarda, y no les valen á los naturales estar ocupados de noche y dia guardando sus sementeras, á cuya causa padecen gran necesidad y hambre todo el año, ademas de otros estorvos que hay para no poder sembrar ni beneficiar lo poco que siembran, como adelante se dirá. Asi que por tener los calpullis ó barrios las tierras de comun, y no entenderlos, ha sido causa de haberlos dejado en terminos que no tienen donde poder sembrar, en especial en los pueblos que estan cerca de los Españoles á donde hay buenas tierras, y en esto hay gran ecceso y desorden, y tambien en el daño que reciben de los ganados de sus encomenderos, que siempre los tienen en sus pueblos. Los comunes de estos barrios ó calpullis siempre tienen una cabeza, y no quieren estar sin ella, y ha de ser de los mismos, y no de otro calpulli, ni forastero, porque no lo sufren, y ha de ser principal y habil para los amparar y defender, y lo elegian y eligen entre si, y á este tenian y tienen como por señor, y es, como en Viscaya y en las montañas, el pariente mayor, y no por succesion, sino muerto uno, eligen á otro, el mas honrado, sabio, y habil á su modo, y viejo, el que mejor les parece para ello. Si queda algun hijo del difunto suficiente, lo eligen, y siempre eligen pariente del difunto, como lo haya y sea para ello. Este principal tiene cuidado de mirar por las tierras del calpulli y defenderlas, y tiene pintadas las suertes que son, y los lindes, y á donde y con quien parten terminos, y quien las labra, y las que tiene cada uno, y quales estan vacas, y quales se han dado á Españoles, y quien y quando, y á quien las dieron; y van renovando siempre sus pinturas, segun los sucesos, y se entienden muy bien por ellas, y es á su cargo, como está dicho, dar tierras á los que no las tienen para sus sementeras; ó si tienen pocas, segun sus familias les dan mas, y tienen cuidado de amparar la gente del calpulli, y de hablar por ellos ante la justicia y ante los gobernadores, y en casa de este se juntan los del calpulli á hacer y tratar lo que conviene á su calpulli, y á sus tributos, y á sus fiestas, y en esto gasta mucho, porque siempre en todas juntas, que son muchas por año, les da de comer y beber, y es necesario para tenerlos contentos y quietos. El provecho que tenian y tienen estos señores, y de que y como pueden sufrir los gastos que hacen con el comun, se dirá adelante en la respuesta del quarto capitulo. En entender la armonia de estos calpullis va mucho para los sustentar en justicia, y para no los confundir, como lo estan casi todos, y tan divisos que nunca tornaron á la buena educacion y orden que en esto tenian; y por no los querer entender, ni hacer caso de ello, se han adjudicado á muchos las tierras que tenian de su calpulli para las labrar en la manera que se ha dicho, por probar que las han poseido y labrado ellos y sus pasados, impuestos para ello por Españoles, y Mestizos y Mulatos, que aprovechan y viven de esto, como adelante se dirá, y no les vale á los principales contradecirlo, y decir que son del calpulli, y clamar sobre ello, porque no son entendidos; y es gran perjuicio de los demas que se queden sin aquel aprovechamiento que pretenden, porque aquellos á quienes se adjudican, las venden y enagenan en perjuicio del calpulli."—*Zorita, Relacion Sumaria.* (*MS.*)*

Of slavery as it existed amongst the Mexicans much has been said in the note subjoined to the 320th page of the

* The following is the title prefixed by Zorita to his Work: "Breve y Sumaria Relacion de los Señores, Maneras y Diferencias que habia de ellos en la Nueva España, y en otras Provincias sus comarcanas, y de sus leyes, usos y costumbres, y de la forma que tenian en les tributar sus vasallos en tiempo de su gentilidad, y la que despues de conquistados se ha tenido y tiene en los tributos que pagan á su Magestad, y á otros en su Real nombre, y en el imponerlos, y repartirlos, y de la orden que se podra tener para cumplir con el precepto de los diezmos, *sin que lo tengan por nueva imposicion y carga los naturales de aquellas partes*; dirigida á la Catolica Real Magestad del Rey Don Felipe Nuestro Señor: Por el Doctor Alonzo de Zorita, oydor que fué de la Real Audiencia, que reside en la muy insigne y gran Ciudad de Mexico de la Nueva España."

sixth volume of the present Work, where its conformity with the several kinds of slavery known in ancient times to the Jews, and its diversity from all other kinds of slavery, have been pointed out. The sentiments of some of its advocates, founded on their interpretation of Scripture, will also be found in the 399th page of the same volume. It may however be observed, that both a domestic and a foreign slave-trade were authorized by the terms of God's covenant with Abraham, on the *one* sole condition, that the slaves should be circumcised immediately after having been purchased by their Hebrew masters; and a privilege accorded in so solemn an instrument must needs have justified slavery * in the eyes of all succeeding generations amongst the Jews †. Since proof of this kind is absolutely conclusive, we shall here

* A more distinct permission was given by Moses to the slave-trade in the following ordinance of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, wherein two things are very deserving of notice; first, that he there made a great distinction between slaves bought by the Jews from each other, and of Hebrew race, and those purchased from foreigners; the former of whom were to be treated in every respect like hired servants, and to be made free on the year of the Jubilee, unless they voluntarily submitted to the ceremony of having their ears bored through with an awl, as described in the sixth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus; whilst the latter were to be the perpetual and *hereditary* slaves of the Jews and their posterity, and to be placed exactly on the same footing with respect to their owners as the negro slaves in the West Indies, in whose behalf such frequent appeals are now made to Scripture, although the condemnation of the slave-trade is nowhere to be found in its inspired pages; but on the contrary, the curse pronounced by Noah on the posterity of Ham, and the sanction accorded to it by the Mosaic law, justified it in the opinion of later times, and furnished Christian states with an excuse for colonizing America with African slaves, and embarking in a slave-trade of gigantic magnitude and unparalleled atrocity in the sixteenth century: secondly, that the Hebrew slave-trade did not, as some writers attempt to prove, originate in the wars of the Holy Land, when massacre was the fate that awaited the vanquished, but was a traffic altogether of a pecuniary nature, and carried on in the slave-markets of Egypt, Tyre, and other countries of the East, as well as in Judea. "And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be *sold* unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a *bond* servant: but as an *hired* servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of Jubilee: and then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold as bondmen. Thou shalt not rule over *him* with rigour; but shalt fear thy God. Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be *of the heathen* that are round about you; *of them* shall ye *buy* bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children *of the strangers* that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye *buy*, and *of their families* that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your *possession*. And ye shall take them as an *inheritance* for your children after you, to *inherit* them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen *for ever*: but over your *brethren* the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with *rigour*." It is scarcely necessary to observe that the above ordinance of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus fixes the year of Jubilee as the year of release for *Hebrew* slaves: but the following ordinance of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus appoints the Sabbatical year for *the same* purpose. How, it may be inquired, are these conflicting laws to be reconciled with each other? "Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them. If thou *buy* an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have *given* him a wife, and she have born *him* sons or daughters; the wife and her children *shall be her master's*, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an aul; and he shall serve him for ever." From the cruelty of the condition annexed to this law, it will be immediately perceived that its operation as regarded the release of Hebrew slaves would have been extremely limited, and that many would have preferred slavery to a lasting separation from their wives and children. The inference from all which must necessarily be that Hebrew slaves were numerous in every age amongst the Jews, and that a great portion of the Jewish population had their ears bored; which curious fact we have already observed in the note subjoined to the forty-third page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present Volume. Whether, however, the prophetic exclamation of Isaiah "Mine ears hast thou *bored*," uttered in reference to the Messiah, might be intended to foreshow that he would remain the *perpetual* servant of God, and would never forsake the church his spouse, or the Jews his children, it is of little importance to the present subject to inquire: we may however observe, that the Song of Solomon is generally understood by the Rabbis allegorically to refer to the Messiah; who add, that although Solomon appears there to speak in his own person, and to address the daughter of Pharaoh, he is in reality speaking in inspired language the sentiments of the Jews respecting the Messiah. It was a remark even made by the Gentiles, that the Hebrew Messiah is represented in Scripture under so many different characters that they appear quite irreconcilable with each other; and hence the Rabbis do not scruple to affirm that the prophets speak of two different Messiahs, the one the son of David and the other the anointed or *adopted* son of God; both of whom they invest with attributes which the New Testament does not assign in the most remote manner to Christ, and which would infinitely better become Hercules or Leda's son than the benign founder of Christianity.

† Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, a Spanish historian of the last century, admits in the following passage of the inedited portion of his Historia del Nuevo Mundo, the unhappy influence which the sanction given to slavery in the Old Testament exercised over the counsels of kings and princes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: "Nada digamos de las inveteradas practicas en orden á esclavos, de la potestad para condenar á servidumbre generaciones enteras, de apropiarse como legitimo el poder de los antiguos Romanos sobre las naciones barbaras, de aplicar á la suavisima ley de gracia ciertos ejemplos de sumo rigor, peculiares del gobierno teocratico de los Israelitas, de

insert God's covenant with Abraham, transcribing it from the seventeenth chapter of Genesis: "And God said unto Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every man child in your generations, he that is born in the house, or *bought with money of any stranger*, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and *he that is bought with thy money*, must needs be circumcised; and my covenant shall be in your flesh for an *everlasting* covenant. And the uncircumcised man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, *that soul shall be cut off from his people*; he hath broken my covenant." That slavery was exceedingly common amongst the Jews of later ages, and in the days of the prophet Amos had attained a frightful pitch of iniquity, must be inferred from the denunciation of that prophet against his countrymen, in the second chapter of his prophecies: "Thus saith the Lord; For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because *they sold* the righteous for silver, and the poor *for a pair of shoes*; that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek." From the prophet's concluding expression, "pant after the dust of the earth *on the head* of the poor," it might be inferred, that so avaricious were the Jews of his time, that they took tribute and offerings from the poor of the smallest things which they possessed, to mark their state of dependence and servitude; not disdaining to receive, when they had nothing else to give, a tribute of filth and vermin: and this would have accorded with a usage of the Mexicans noticed by Clavigero in the following passage of the fourth section of the fifth book of his History of Mexico: "Even beggars, that they might not be totally idle, were enjoined to contribute a certain quantity of those filthy insects, which are the breed of nastiness and adherents of wretchedness*," which kind of tribute is likewise mentioned by Pedro Simon in the fourteenth chapter of the fourth book of his inedited Noticias Historiales, where he treats of the manners of the Indians of Bogota. That the Hebrew law recognised that peculiar sort of slavery which Oriental jealousy has rendered habitual from the earliest ages to the present time amongst the nations of the East, may be inferred from the first verse of the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, and from the nineteenth verse of the thirty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, as well as from other passages of Scripture†; and although there is no express license accorded to it in the Pentateuch, it still should be recollected that it is a legal maxim that what the law does not prohibit it permits, which applies with still greater force where the legislator makes frequent mention of, and the people are known commonly to practise, what the law does not forbid. That the Jews occasionally made merchandize of children must be inferred from the following passage of the twenty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy: "If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandize of him, or selleth him; then that thief shall die; and thou shalt put evil away from among you." That Hebrew parents sometimes sold their

estender á la fuerza armada la compulsion evangelica para entrar al convite. Por ventura se convidó á los Caribes en la forma prescrita por los pios monarcas? se les requirió y exôrtó suficientemente de un modo inteligible y propio para persuadir?" &c. The first volume of Muñoz's Historia del Nuevo Mundo was published at Madrid in the year 1793; and the prologue to that work, although it derogates from the just merits of Peter Martyr and Gomara, cannot be read without interest by those who desire to know what materials may exist in the Spanish libraries for a new history of America.

* The custom of the Ingas exacting tribute for the sake of tribute, without any regard to its value, from the meanest of their subjects, is noticed by Juan de Matienzo in the following passage of the first chapter of the first part of his inedited history, entitled 'Gobierno del Peru': "Tributos pagaban todos sin escusarse ninguno, y les traian á cuestas al Cuzco ciento y duzientas leguas y mas; y los que no tenian que tributarles, hazian que trajesen piojos en unos cañutos, y con ellos venian ciento y duzientas leguas. Finalmente eran mas que esclavos, ni aun eran señores de sus mugeres y hijos, antes el Inga los daba á quien queria." This trait of resemblance in the policy of the Ingas and the Mexican kings is certainly deserving of notice.

† The Oriental practice above alluded to existed amongst the Peruvians, as we learn from the following passage of the inedited third part of Oviedo's Historia General y Natural de las Indias: "El Señor de esta isla de Puna se sirve con mucha pompa, é quando sale de su casa es con trompetas é atabales; tiene porteros ó guardas de sus mugeres, é porque estos no les parezcan bien á ellas, traen cortados los bezos é narizes, é los miembros genitales; é la manera que tienen para cortarles los miembros es, que tendidos les ponen una viga sobre los pechos, é otra sobre los muslos, é despues de haberles cortado aquello, los vuelven de boca en tierra hasta que se desangran, que dicen que aquella sangre se havia de convertir en materia, é luego con dieta é ciertos polvos de yerva que les hechan, sanan." The existence of the above-mentioned custom amongst the Peruvians has scarcely been noticed by Spanish authors; but there are grounds for supposing that the 'corcobados' and dwarfs who waited on Montezuma in the interior of his palace, of whom Diego Duran makes express mention in the sixty-seventh chapter of the first part of his History of Mexico, were slaves who had been subjected to the same description of mutilation.

children, and individuals themselves, to pay their debts, must also be inferred from the words of Isaiah in the first verse of the fiftieth chapter of his prophecies, who would never have introduced the Deity using the language which he does, if such a custom had not been prevalent amongst the Jews: "Thus saith the Lord, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away? or which *of my creditors* is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have *ye sold yourselves*, and for your transgressions is your mother put away." From the concluding declaration of this passage it might be conjectured that the Hebrew law which authorized a husband to divorce his wife on the trivial plea of "not finding favour in his eyes," might have likewise conceded to him the power of putting her away if her children gave him any serious cause of displeasure; nor would such a permission, had it been accorded by Moses, have been at all at variance with the whole spirit of his code, which, at the same time that it made great allowance for the hardness, made scarcely any for the weakness or the errors, of the human heart.

Of the ancient form of solemnizing marriages among the Jews little is said in the Pentateuch; and from the account of the marriage of Boaz and Ruth, in the third chapter of the Book of Ruth, it is almost doubtful whether they were celebrated by any other rite than that described in the ninth verse of the above-mentioned chapter. It would be wrong, however, thence to infer that marriage was regarded by the Jews merely in the light of a civil contract, since we meet in Scripture with many laws of Mosaic enactment immediately connected with the subject of marriage, such, for example, as the license accorded to polygamy, the facility granted to divorces, the obligation imposed upon brothers to marry brothers' widows *, the infamy attaching to their refusal to comply with that precept of the law †,

* Las Casas remarks, in his Historia Apologetica, that the custom of brothers marrying brothers' widows, "quasi ad sustinendum semen fratris," was common in New Spain; and the existence of a similar custom amongst the Peruvians is attested by Pizarro in the following passage of the fifteenth chapter of his valuable inedited History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru, which is preserved in manuscript in the Royal Library of Madrid: "Eran estos Orejones muy sobervios y presuntuosos; tenian por costumbre ellos que las mugeres que habian sido de sus padres, como no fuesen sus mismas madres, las tomaban por mugeres; asi mismo tomaban por mugeres *las de sus hermanos* si morian: tenian otras muchas maldades que por ser muchas no las digo."

† The opinion which the Jews of later ages entertained of the obligatory nature of the Mosaic law which enjoined the next of kin to raise up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman by marrying his widow if he died childless, is exemplified in the following passage of the sixth chapter of the Book of Tobit, where the exhortation of the angel Raphael, and the sentence of "guilty of death according to the law of Moses," which he pronounces against Raguel, should he evade compliance with the letter of the law by marrying his daughter to any other than Tobias, are extremely deserving of notice, and prove how fully established was that custom amongst the Jews, however repugnant to the spirit and letter of all other ancient and modern codes. We may further observe that the same chapter affords grounds for supposing that Hebrew marriages were arranged in the first instance by the intervention of a third party, or 'negotiator,' which, as Sahagun informs us, was also customary amongst the Mexicans: "The angel said to the young man, *Brother*, to day we shall lodge with Raguel, who is thy cousin: he also hath one only daughter, named Sara; *I will speak for her*, that she may be given thee for a wife; for to thee doth *the right* of her appertain, seeing thou only art of her kindred, and the maid is fair and wise. Now, therefore, hear me, and *I will speak to her father*; and when we return from Rages, we will celebrate the marriage; for I know that Raguel *cannot* marry her to another, according to the law of Moses, *but he shall be guilty of death*, because *the right* of inheritance doth rather appertain to thee than to any other. Then the young man answered the angel: I have heard say, *brother* Azarias, that this maid hath been given to seven men, who all died in the marriage chamber: and now I am the only son of my father, and I am afraid lest if I go in unto her I die as the other before; for *a wicked spirit loveth her*[1], which hurteth nobody but those which come unto her: wherefore I also fear lest I die, and bring my father's and my mother's life, because of me, to the grave with sorrow, for they have no other son *to bury them*."

[1] The Spanish historian Pedro Simon has recorded with much gravity, in his Noticias Historiales, an Indian tradition of the devil having become enamoured of one of the wives of the Cacique of Bogota. The good monk who relates this story does indeed exclaim in a tone of great simplicity, "Well may we arch the brows and shrug the shoulders at the inscrutable counsels of God." It is probable, however, that if he had never read the extraordinary narrative contained in the sixth chapter of the book of Tobit, he would, instead of permitting himself to inquire how God could have allowed such things to be, have rejected the whole as an absurd fable. And here we may remark, that the Book of Tobit, although not forming a canonical portion of Scripture, contains a very ancient piece of Hebrew history, and appears to have been of high authority among the Jews. All doubt, however, would be set at rest on this matter if it could be satisfactorily proved that the Sadducees referred to the wife of Tobias in the following passage of the twentieth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, which itself furnishes proof, if the argument which Christ so successfully employed against the Sadducees be held to be valid at the present day, that the resurrection of the body was no less a tenet of the Mexican religion than it was of the ancient Jews; since the unequivocal declaration of the Mexican high priest that Tezcatlipoca was the god of the Mexican lords Quitzieguaguatzin, Maceuhcatzin and Tlacavepatzin, and of other famous chieftains who had *died* in war, which occurs in the prayer addressed to that deity in the third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, leads, by parity of reasoning, to the conclusion that he was not a god of the dead but of the living, conformably with the signification of his name, *Ipalnemoani*, and that the Mexicans believed in *the resurrection of the body* as well as in the immortality of the soul: "Then came to him certain of the Sadducees, which deny that there is any resur-

and the manner of their release from the obligation *, the punishment of adultery by stoning to death, and the prohibition against marrying within certain degrees † of consanguinity ‡; to which may be added two other Hebrew laws immediately connected with marriage, which we shall here transcribe, because they were closely allied to similar laws existing amongst the Mexicans and the Indians of Bogota, and were intended to guard against the evil consequences that might possibly result to wives from the jealous dispositions of their husbands. These laws are taken from the fifth chapter of Numbers and the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, and were as follow: "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, If any man's wife go aside, and commit a trespass against him, and a man lie with her carnally, and it be hid from the eyes of her husband, and be kept close, and she be defiled, and there be no witness against her, neither she be taken with the manner; and the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be defiled: or if the spirit of jealousy come upon him, and he be jealous of his wife, and she be not defiled: then shall the man bring his wife unto the priest, and he shall bring her offering for her, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal; he shall pour no oil upon it, nor put frankincense thereon; for it is an offering of jealousy, an offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance. And the priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord: and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle the priest shall take, and put it into the water: and the priest shall set the woman before the Lord, and uncover the woman's head, and put the offering of memorial in her hands, which is the jealousy offering: and the priest shall have in his hand the bitter water that causeth the curse: and the priest shall charge her by an oath, and say unto the woman, If no man have lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness with another instead of thy husband, be thou free from this bitter water that causeth the curse: but if thou hast gone aside to another instead of thy husband, and if thou be defiled, and some man have lain with thee beside thine husband: then the priest shall charge the woman with an oath of cursing, and the priest shall say unto the woman, The Lord make thee a curse and an oath among thy people, when the Lord doth make thy thigh to rot, and thy belly to swell; and this water that causeth the curse shall go into thy bowels, to make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to rot: And the woman shall say, Amen, amen. And the priest shall write these curses in a book, and he shall blot them out with the bitter water: and he shall cause the woman to drink the bitter water that causeth the curse: and the water that causeth the curse shall

* A curious analogy between the Peruvian mode of celebrating marriages by means of a sandal fastened on the foot of the bride, and that which appears to have been the custom in ancient times amongst the Jews, has already been noticed in the tenth page of the first part of the present volume; and the account there given by Acosta is, as far as relates to the putting on the *otoia*, or sandal, confirmed by Brulius in the following passage of the second chapter of the first book of his Historia Peruana: "In Peruviâ sponsus ad sponsæ ædes deferebat ponebatque *calceum*; ex lanâ, si virgo esset; si corrupta, ex juncis, quo facto constabat matrimonium."

† The marriage of a man with his mother-in-law, was named by the Mexicans *totetzauh*, which phrase signifies 'abomination', and corresponds exactly with the Greek term βδελυγμα, an expression occasionally made use of by Moses in the Pentateuch.

‡ The languages of several South American nations are extremely copious in terms expressive of the different degrees of consanguinity; nor indeed is this surprising, since religion never fails to convey its meaning in appropriate terms, and has augmented the vocabularies of most languages. We shall in a subsequent note insert a long list of names for the various degrees of consanguinity formerly known amongst the Muizcas. They are preserved in a manuscript dictionary of the language of that forgotten and now almost extinct people. This dictionary, which is inscribed "Mariquita, 1788," professes in the title-page to have been copied "de los unicos MSS. originales que conserva Don Jose Celestino Mutis." M. de Humboldt has observed in his dissertation on the ancient calendar of the Muizcas, inserted in the second volume of his American Monuments, that the language of that nation is now unknown.

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rection; and they asked him, saying, Master, Moses wrote unto us, If any man's brother die, having a wife, and he die without children, that his brother should take his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. There were therefore seven brethren: and the first took a wife, and died without children. And the second took her to wife, and he died childless. And the third took her; and in like manner the seven also: and they left no children, and died. Last of all the woman died also. Therefore in the resurrection whose wife of them is she? for seven had her to wife. And Jesus answering said unto them, The children of this world marry, and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage: neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection. Now *that the dead are raised*, even Moses showed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. *For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.* Then certain of the Scribes answering said, Master, thou hast well said. And after that they durst not ask him any question at all. And he said unto them, How say they that Christ is David's son? And David himself saith in the book of Psalms, The Lord said unto *my Lord*, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David therefore calleth *him* Lord, how is he then his son?"

enter into her, and become bitter. Then the priest shall take the jealousy offering out of the woman's hand, and shall wave the offering before the Lord, and offer it upon the altar: and the priest shall take an handful of the offering, even the memorial thereof, and burn it upon the altar, and afterward shall cause the woman to drink the water. And when he hath made her to drink the water, then it shall come to pass, that, if she be defiled, and have done trespass against her husband, that the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her, and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot: and the woman shall be a curse among her people. And if the woman be not defiled, but be clean; then she shall be free, and shall conceive seed. This is the law of jealousies, when a wife goeth aside to another instead of her husband, and is defiled; or when the spirit of jealousy cometh upon him, and he be jealous over his wife, and shall set the woman before the Lord, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. Then shall the man be guiltless from iniquity, and this woman shall bear her iniquity."

"If any man take a wife, and go in unto her, and hate her, and give occasions of speech against her, and bring up an evil name upon her, and say, I took this woman, and when I came to her, I found her not a maid: then shall the father of the damsel, and her mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity unto the elders of the city in the gate: and the damsel's father shall say unto the elders, I gave my daughter unto this man to wife, and he hateth her; and, lo, he hath given occasions of speech against her, saying, I found not thy daughter a maid; and yet these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. And they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city. And the elders of that city shall take that man and chastise him; and they shall amerce him in an hundred shekels of silver, and give them unto the father of the damsel, because he hath brought up an evil name upon a virgin of Israel: and she shall be his wife; he may not put her away all his days. But if this thing be true, and the tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel: then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she die: because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house: so shalt thou put evil away from among you."

The resemblance of the former of these ordinances to the description given by Pedro Simon, in the 87th page of the present volume, of the trial of jealousy in use amongst the Muizcas, and the cruel ordeal to which they subjected a woman accused of adultery, will appear by the perusal of the following extract, which is the literal translation of the passage referred to. "It is true that after marriage they strongly resented adultery, and the women whom they suspected of it they compelled to swallow a large quantity of Indian pepper, which caused them to feel burning torture within, exhorting them at the same time *to confess* their guilt, which very frequently they did from the intensity of the pain, and even that of which they were not guilty. They gave them on confession water, with which they mitigated the ardent heat of the pepper, and sentenced them to death, together with the adulterer, agreeably to the law. Other women would not confess, and were cleared of the charge, by the torment of the ordeal which they had undergone, in whose honour they made great feasts." The latter ordinance exhibits such a striking conformity with an analogous usage of the Mexicans, that it is only necessary to peruse the following extract from the third chapter of the second volume of Echevarria's inedited History of the Origin of the Indians of New Spain, descriptive of the marriage rites of the Tultecas, which nearly resembled those of the Mexicans, to feel convinced that both nations were indebted to the Pentateuch for a legislative enactment, traces of which it is impossible to discover in any other civilized code*. "El

* The existence of a similar custom amongst the rude tribes of Western Africa cannot be considered in the least at variance with the truth of this assertion, since the well-attested fact of their practising circumcision, their universal belief in dreams and witches, and their accustomed ordeal of drinking *red water*, to which they resort on the most common occasions, though frequently attended with fatal consequences, seem sufficiently to point out the true source from which these various superstitions are derived. Lieutenant Matthews thus describes the former custom at page 118 of his Voyage to Sierra Leone. "In the evening the bridegroom retires to his wife's apartment. If he finds room to suspect she has before admitted the embraces of a man, he immediately leaves her, which is no sooner known by her friends than they instantly abscond, shouting and howling with shame and confusion; but if he is satisfied, he remains with her all night. Great rejoicings are then made by her friends, who carry the tokens of her virginity, according to the Mosaical institution, in wild procession through the streets. In either case he is at liberty to retain her; but should he send her back, he must send everything she brought with her." The same author, after describing, in his sixth letter, the nature of the above-mentioned ordeal, takes occasion to comment in the following terms on its pernicious consequences on the community at large: "The collusion between the parties concerned in this curious ceremony is so obvious, that it appears astonishing to me the common people have not as yet discovered it, though it has existed time immemorial. I am told that in the interior parts of the country they found suffering the people to drink red water upon every trifling occasion was attended with such fatal consequences as would in time depopulate the country; and although they could not entirely sup-

año de este desposorio le señalan con el geroglifico de Siete Cañas, que corresponde segun las tablas al de 1135, seis años despues de la muerte de Xiuhtemoc: y diciendonos que tomó el medio de casar á su hija con Pochotl para sosegar la inquietud de algunos nobles que llevaban á mal su exaltacion al trono, parece que esta debió ser por estos tiempos, y pasados yá algunos años de la muerte de Xiuhtemoc, como dejo sentado. Con motivo de estas bodas, nos dicen los historiadores las ceremonias de que usaban yá por estos tiempos los Tultecas * en sus desposorios y eran las siguientes: prevenian una pieza de la casa y aseada, que colgaban y aderezaban por el techo, paredes y suelo con ramos † de arboles y multitud de flores colocadas con proporcion y simetria, de suerte que hiciesen una especie de colgadura que todo lo cubriese. En medio de la pieza levantaban un pequeño fogon, en que encendian fuego ‡; y estando todo preparado, el padrino, acompañado de los parientes y amigos del novio, le conducia á aquella pieza, y poco despues la madrina llevaba á la novia acompañandola § sus parientas y amigos con el mismo orden. Sentaban

press it, as the common people, and particularly the women, are strongly prepossessed in favour of its infallibility, they have hit upon a method that has greatly lessened the practice. When a person is to drink red water, the friends of both parties assemble, armed as in a Polish diet, and the instant the poison operates either in causing them to vomit or fall down dead, the friends of the accused immediately attack the other party, either to revenge their injured innocence or death."

* The Mexican marriage ceremony differed very little from that in use amongst the Tultecas, from which nation they were by intermarriages descended, and the manners of both nations bore a striking resemblance to those of the Jews.

† The Hebrew custom of rejoicing with branches of trees, and welcoming the arrival of distinguished guests by strewing them on the roads, is noticed in the New Testament, in connexion with one remarkable incident in the life of Christ; analogous to which, likewise, was that of celebrating rejoicings in private houses by adorning the walls with garlands of flowers, and spreading green boughs on the floors. This observation leads us to remark that the reception of Cortes by Montezuma, who, relying on ancient prophecies, believed him to be Quetzalcoatle, and went out of the city of Mexico to meet him accompanied with a great multitude of the citizens, carrying branches of trees in their hands, was not unlike the Jews' reception of Christ, as described by St. John in the twelfth chapter of his Gospel: "On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord. And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written, Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt." It may be proper to remark that Saint Matthew declares, in the twenty-first chapter of his Gospel, that the people strewed the way with branches; but says nothing of their carrying branches in their hands. But it is likewise material to observe that neither St. Matthew nor St. John adopt the Septuagint reading of Zechariah's prophecy respecting the Messiah, which occurs in the ninth verse of the ninth chapter of his prophecies, and to which they both appeal in proof of Christ having verified the ancient prediction that the king of the Jews should enter Jerusalem upon an ass. The conjecture is obvious that the Mosaic ordinance respecting the feast of tabernacles, and the Hebrew custom of rejoicing on certain festivals with branches of the palm tree and willows of the brook, would have naturally led the Jews to associate ideas of festivity with the display of branches of trees, which practice we learn, from the first volume of the Religious Ceremonies of all Nations, the modern Jews still retain at their weddings.

‡ This fire is represented in the sixty-second plate of the Collection of Mendoza, descriptive of the marriage rites of the ancient Mexicans; and it would appear from the following passage of the sixth chapter of the book of Tobit, that to burn incense in a marriage chamber was an ancient Hebrew custom: "Then the Angel said unto him, Dost thou not remember the precepts which thy father gave thee, that thou shouldest marry a wife of thine own kindred? Wherefore hear me, O my brother, for she shall be given thee to wife, and make thou no reckoning of the evil spirit, for this same night shall she be given thee in marriage. And when thou shalt come into the marriage chamber, thou shalt take *the ashes of perfume,* and shalt lay upon them some of the heart and liver of the fish, and shalt make a smoke with it. And the devil shall smell it and flee away, and never come again any more; but when thou shalt come to her, rise up both of you and pray to God, which is merciful, *who will have pity on you and save you*: fear not, for she is appointed unto thee *from the beginning,* and thou shalt preserve her, and she shall go with thee. Moreover, I suppose that she shall bear thee children. Now when Tobias had heard these things, he loved her, and his heart was effectually joined to her." We may here remark that the concluding exhortation of the angel Raphael to Tobias might have led the Jews, in process of time, to practise all those religious austerities, consisting of vigils, fasts, and penance, with which the Mexicans celebrated their marriages; whilst the declaration, "She is appointed unto thee from the beginning," unequivocally proves that the Jews resembled the Mexicans in believing that *marriages* were *predestined* by the Deity.

§ The twenty-third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain gives a minute description of the various rites which accompanied the celebration of Mexican marriages; and it is really amazing to find how many Hebrew customs and superstitions were mixed up with that ceremony. That it was a Hebrew custom to solemnize marriages with feasts, and for the guests to indulge freely in wine, is evident from the miracle recorded of Christ in the second chapter of St. John, whose conversion of water into wine at a marriage feast, in Cana of Galilee, would have been likely to perpetuate the custom of marriage feasts amongst Christians of later ages. The latter custom is likewise described by Sahagun as extremely prevalent amongst the Mexicans, who, although they were forbidden on other occasions to drink wine, were allowed at such festivals to drink to excess, and even paid a sort of superstitious reverence to the wine which was used on such occasions, for in that sense the words of the above-mentioned author, "*este vino era adorado,*" must be understood. Agreeably, likewise, to Jewish usage, the bride was conducted *by torch-light* to the house of the bridegroom attired in her richest apparel;

al novio en una silla al lado derecho del fogon, y á la novia en una estera en el suelo al lado siniestro. Entonces un anciano, á quien daban el nombre de *Cihuatlanqui* *, que interpretan 'casamentero,' que hacia el papel principal en estas funciones, y no faltaba uno de ellos en cada pueblo, comenzaba una especie de platica, en que declaraba á los desposados las obligaciones del estado que tomaban, la obediencia † que debia tener la muger al marido, y la atencion y cuidado con que este debia mirarla, obligandose á mantenerla y sustentarla y á la prole que tuviesen, criando y educando á los hijos á su lado ‡, y enseñandoles todo lo que segun su esfera debian saber para ser utiles á la republica y no ociosos y vagabundos; que la muger por *su parte* habia de trabajar para *ayudar* § al marido y contribuir á su propia subsistencia y la de su familia en aquellas labores que acostumbraban las de su sexo y calidad, que habian de guardarse mutua fidelidad, que habian de mantener entre si paz y buena armonia, *sufriendose* recíprocamente uno á otro sus defectos para hacer tolerables las pensiones de la vida, considerando *que este vinculo no habia de poderle romper mas que la muerte* ‖. Estos y otros semejantes consejos *de la mas sana moral* eran los que contenia la platica del anciano. Concluida esta se levantaban los desposados, y el mismo anciano ataba la punta de la manta del hombre á la de la muger, que la llevaba sobre la cabeza á manera de manto, quedando siempre uno á cada lado del fogon, en el que al mismo tiempo echaban varios perfumes, como ámbar, *incienso*, copalli, y otros con que los perfumaban, y al mismo tiempo les echaban al cuello cadenas de flores y les ponian en las cabezas ¶ guirnaldas ** muy vistosas. Esta costumbre subsiste todavia en nuestros dias, y la hé visto practicar en la capilla

and if young, her face was painted with yellow ochre, named in the Mexican language, *tecoçahuitl*. She was accompanied likewise by many of her female companions and relatives, who followed her in procession, imitating, as it were, the description of the Psalmist in the following passage of the forty-fifth Psalm: "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house. So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty: for he is thy lord; and worship thou him. And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall entreat thy favour. The king's daughter is all glorious within: her clothing is of wrought gold. She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needlework: *the virgins her companions that follow her* shall be brought unto thee. With gladness and rejoicing shall they be brought: they shall enter into the king's palace. Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth." Notwithstanding the doubts of some commentators, it is extremely probable that the above Psalm was composed on the occasion of Solomon's nuptials with the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Eygpt; and the Queen, his mother, may be supposed in the passage above quoted to address her daughter-in-law. The sixth verse of the same Psalm: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre," would seem to refer to the anticipated durability of the Jewish monarchy under the successors of David; and the language employed agrees surprisingly with the Mexican notion, that the *throne* on which Montezuma and his predecessors sat belonged to the Deity, whose vicegerents they were, and was a seat of judicature, from which they pronounced judgements conformable to the revealed will of God, and prompted by his direct inspiration. This extraordinary belief of the Mexicans is fully developed in the speech of the Mexican orator in the sixteenth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, where its conformity with the declaration of Scripture, that God elevates kings to thrones, and again debases them when he thinks fit, is extremely deserving of notice, and serves to remind us of the history of Saul and David.

* It would appear from the sixth chapter of the Book of Tobit, that the angel Raphael discharged the duties of this office for Tobias.

† Passive obedience on the part of the wife to the husband was in a peculiar manner inculcated by the religion of the Jews. This doctrine was grounded on the curse which God pronounced on Eve, in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis: "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and *he shall rule over thee*."

‡ Attention to the education of their children of both sexes was amongst the Jews and the Mexicans considered an imperative duty on parents. The opinions of the ancient Jews on this point may be collected from the following passage of the seventh chapter of the book of Ecclesiasticus: "Hast thou children? instruct them, and bow down their neck from their youth. Hast thou daughters? have a care of their body, and show not thyself cheerful towards them."

§ Eve is named in the eighteenth verse of the second chapter of Genesis '*the help meet*' of Adam, to which expression there is probably here more than an accidental allusion.

‖ The doctrine here inculcated very much resembles the language of St. Paul in the seventh chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians, which chapter, it is deserving of remark, laid the foundation of the monastic institutions of Europe, and imposed celibacy as a matter of conscience, if not of duty, on the clergy.

¶ A similar custom is perhaps alluded to in the following passage of the third chapter of the Song of Solomon, "Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him *in the day of his espousals* and in the day of the gladness of his heart."

** It was customary in former ages amongst the Jews as well as the Greeks to wear garlands at festivals, and to adorn their persons and dwellings with flowers; and to this usage there is an allusion in the following passage of the second chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, which breathes the voluptuous sentiments of Epicurus: "Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let no

de los Indios de la santa Iglesia catedral de la Puebla, de suerte que para asistir á la misa nupcial les ponen á los desposados guirnaldas de flores, y tanto á ellos como á los padrinos les dan tantas de ellas que tengan en las manos con las velas. Concluidas estas ceremonias de sus antiguos desposorios, reposaban un rato y recibian los parabienes y enorabuenas de los concurrentes; y luego se formaba una danza al son de sus instrumentos, que eran tamboriles ó teponaztlis, chirimias y flautas de varias hechuras, y con esta danza* y acompañamiento llevaban á los desposados al templo, á cuyas puertas salian á recibirles sus Tlamacaxques ó sacerdotes, y quedandose toda la comitiva abajo, solo subian las gradas del templo los desposados, cada uno con su padrino, y los padres y madres de entrambos si los tenian. El sacerdote estaba revestido con sus ropas de ceremonia, y un incensario en la mano con los mismos perfumes, con el que luego que llegaban los incensaba†. Poniase luego en media de los dos, quedando el hombre á la derecha y la muger á la izquierda, y tomandolos por las manos, los llevaba de esta suerte hasta el altar‡ ó ara de su idolo, rezando varias deprecaciones. Llegados al altar, le ponia á cada uno de ellos una manta muy fina y vistosa,

flower of the spring pass by us: Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered." The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus remarks, in the two hundred and twenty-ninth page of the sixth volume of this work, that the Mexicans were extremely fond of flowers; and the celebrated Spanish naturalist Hernandez commends their great skill in horticulture in his Historia Plantarum Novæ Hispaniæ.

* The Mexicans and the Jews were accustomed to celebrate their religious festivals with dances in the courts of their temples; and we read in the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Chronicles of David bringing up the ark of the Lord into the city of Jerusalem with dances and the sound of vocal and instrumental music. It is probable that these religious dances, having in course of time degenerated into scenes of profane debauchery, were suffered to fall into disuse; but that they originally constituted a very *essential* feature in the rites of the Jewish religion, as they did also of the Mexican, no one will attempt to deny.

† To burn incense before persons of distinction was a usage of the ancient Jews, some traces of which have been preserved in the existing rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

‡ The rites with which the Mexicans celebrated their marriages, and the reasons which they assigned for believing the marriage contract to be indissoluble, furnish the strongest argument for concluding that they were of Jewish origin, and grounded on the traditions of the Hebrew Pentateuch. We in fact find, on a nearer comparison of their peculiar tenets with the doctrines of the Jews, that the reasons which they employed to give validity to their system were precisely the same as those contained in the early chapters of the book of Genesis; viz. first, that God had in the beginning created man *in his own image*, and made them male and female; secondly, that Adam and Eve were of the same flesh; thirdly, that woman was formed out of the rib of man; and fourthly, that God himself had united them together in the bonds of matrimony. These doctrines, resting on the basis of historic truth, necessarily led to the same moral results in both hemispheres, and we accordingly find that the relative duties of husband and wife were considered the same by the Mexicans and the Jews, and that the submission of the wife to the husband was equally enjoined as a religious duty by both nations. The proof of that which is here asserted is briefly exhibited in the following extracts from the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, each of which considered separately is to a certain degree conclusive, whilst the whole collectively presents such a mass of evidence as irresistibly to force conviction on the mind. The first passage which shall be quoted from the above historian in proof of its being a doctrine of the Mexican religion, that God having created mankind in the beginning male and female, marriages were necessarily indissoluble, and polygamy highly offensive to him, is the following, which is taken from the twenty-first chapter of the sixth book of that author's history: "Nota, hijo mio, lo que te digo; mira que el mundo ya tiene este estilo de engendrar y multiplicar [1], y para esta generacion y multiplicacion *ordenó Dios*, que una muger usase de un varon, y un varon de una muger." "Consider, my son, the words which I address to you; know that this is the mode of multiplying and increasing in this world, and that God ordained for the sake of progeny and increase, *that one woman should be the wife of one man, and one man the husband of one woman.*" The second passage in proof of the Mexicans subscribing to the incomprehensible Jewish dogma, that a man and his wife were by virtue of marriage mysteriously converted into the same body, and were no longer twain but one flesh, a doctrine which St. Paul declares, in the thirty-second verse of the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians, to be a *great mystery*, and to which he again reverts in the sixteenth verse of the sixth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, occurs in the same chapter of the same book of Sahagun: "Nota otra cosa, hijo mio, que ya que te cases en buen tiempo y en buena sazon tomes muger, mira que no te des demasiadamente á ella, porque te echara á perder, aunque és asi que és tu muger *y és tu cuerpo*." "Be mindful also, my son, after thou hast married early and taken a wife in good season, not to become intemperately addicted to her, for she will lead thee into perdition, although so it be that she is thy wife and *is thy body*." The third argument in proof of the Mexicans entertaining the peculiarly Jewish notion, that the first woman was formed out of the rib of the first man, is of an inferential nature, and derived from the expression "y és tu cuerpo" in the foregoing passage. It is also founded upon analogy, and deducible from the curious

[1] The style of expression here made use of by the Mexican orator extremely resembles the language employed by the eldest daughter of Lot in the thirty-first verse of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, the subject of which chapter, if the testimony of the Mexican historian Axayaca is to be relied upon, was painted upon the wall of the *Teotlatollitecpan*, or court of criminal audience, in the city of Tezcuco: "And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come in unto us *after the manner of all the earth*."

tegida y matizada de varios colores, pero que en el medio tenia pintado un esqueleto, ó imagen de la muerte, para

fact of the comparatively rude and uncivilized tribes of the Orinoco being acquainted with the history of the formation of Eve from the rib of Adam while he slept, who also, according to the Abbé Gilii, agreed with the Mexicans in believing *that light was created before the sun*, which likewise was a Hebrew doctrine founded on the history of the creation of light in the third verse of the first chapter of Genesis, and was one so opposed to the philosophical opinions of the heathen world, that the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus does not scruple to affirm, in the two hundred and fourth page of the sixth volume of this Work, that the Mexicans had either derived the knowledge of it from the devil, or were a people descended from the Jews. Both the facts above alluded to are recorded by Gilii in his Saggio di Storia Americana, the former in the following remarkable passage, which occurs in the thirty-seventh page of the Supplementary Notes to the present volume: "Ma è mirabile ciò che siegue; *dormendo* l'uomo, Purrùnaminari gli recise una costola, e ne formò la donna." "But that which I am going to relate is wonderful; whilst the man slept, Purrunaminari took one of his ribs, and formed out of it a woman." The third passage of Sahagun's History of New Spain, which evidently proves that the Mexicans believed that God was the prime institutor of marriage, who had himself joined together in the persons of our first parents all married persons, and therefore that marriages should be indissoluble, is the following, which is taken from the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of the same author's History: "Por ventura las olvidaré, ó ambos las olvidarémos yo y mi marido, el qual aqui está, que és vuestro siervo y criado N., *á los quales ambos nuestro Señor nos há juntado*, por ventura con descuido lo olvidaré." "Perhaps I may forget thy words, or we both may forget them, I and my husband N., who is here present, who is thy servant and suitor, *who have both been joined together by our Lord*, perhaps I may through negligence forget them." From this doctrine of the Mexicans doubtless originated the ancient Mexican custom of solemnizing marriages by knotting together the garments and joining the hands of the two parties in the manner represented in the sixty-second plate of the Collection of Mendoza. The latter ceremony is expressly mentioned in the following passage of the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, where a married woman is thus supposed in tender terms to allude to her husband and the infant still within her womb: "Aqui está presente vuestro siervo y criado; siempre andamos juntos como *trabados de las manos*, no sé si lo vera, no sé si lo conocerá, no sé si verá la cara de lo que de su sangre se ha hecho." "Thy servant and suitor is here present; we always accompany each other wherever we go as persons who have been *joined together by the hands*; I know not whether he will behold it, I know not whether he will know it, I know not whether he will look upon the features of the babe which has been fashioned from his blood." The doctrine which Christ inculcated in the Gospels upon the subject of marriage and divorce as opposed to the opinions, or at least to the practice of the Jews of his own age, and even to the sentiments of some of his disciples, and yet derived from the Mosaic history of the creation, is explained in the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where his injunction that *a man should forsake his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife*, wonderfully accords with the Mexican precept, that *a woman should forsake her father and mother, and cleave unto her husband*, as contained in the following passage of the twenty-third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain: "Ya te has de apartar de tu padre y madre, ya los has *de dejar del todo*. Hija nuestra, deseamos que seas bienaventurada y prospera." "Now thou must separate thyself from thy father and mother, *now thou must wholly forsake them*. My daughter, we desire thy happiness and prosperity." "The Pharisees also came unto him, tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for *every* cause? And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. *What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.* They say unto him, Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? He saith unto them, *Moses* because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. And *I say* unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and *whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.* His disciples say unto him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry. But he said unto them, All men cannot receive this saying, save they *to whom it is given.* For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and *there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.* He that is *able* to receive it, let *him* receive it." It must strike every one as an extremely singular fact, that upon the subject of divorce the provisions of the Mexican code should have agreed exactly with those of the Mosaic law. Amongst the Jews it was unlawful for a husband to remarry, or to take back a divorced wife, to which prohibition Christ annexed another clause, viz. that it should be unlawful for any *other* man to marry her; which latter enactment of the founder of Christianity, although respected in Catholic countries, is not considered binding upon English Protestants; or, to speak more technically, is not *part and parcel* of the law of England. The above curious coincidence is particularly pointed out by Torquemada in the following passage of the fourth chapter of the twelfth book of his Monarquia Indiana: "Al marido que tenia acceso con su muger *despues* de haverle faltado en la fe conjugal, le castigaban, y esto era en algunas partes y es cosa *mui de notar*." This passage deserves to be compared with the following ordinance of the twenty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy: "When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found some uncleanness in her, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife. And if the latter husband hate her, and write her a bill of divorcement, and giveth it in her hand, and sendeth her out of his house; or if the latter husband die, which took her to be his wife; *her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, after that she is defiled*; for that is *abomination* before the Lord, and thou shalt not cause *the land* to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance." It only remains to be observed, in addition to the analogies already pointed out in the usages of the Mexicans and the Jews in regard to

que entendiesen, *que su matrimonio habia de durar hasta la muerte, sin que pudiesen separarse el uno del otro.* Luego los marriages, that as among the Jews the history of the creation of Adam and Eve, as recorded in Genesis, gave the greatest weight and authority to the enactments of the Mosaic law which regulated marriages, having probably been expressly written for that purpose, so amongst the Mexicans the history of the creation of man was made subservient to the purposes of legislation, and invested their legal code with the authority and sanction of the Deity. That it was the belief of the Mexicans that man was originally created in the image of God, is clearly expressed in a passage already quoted from the seventh chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; and its existence furnishes the strongest evidence of the true source from which it was derived, for what other nation, we may ask, but the Jews and the Mexicans, together with the Peruvians, entertained a doctrine which would have shocked the piety of the wisest of the ancients, who, impressed with a truer sense of religion, repudiated the thought, as highly derogatory to the Deity, that the form of the creature *could* resemble that of the Creator, or that He could have an image and likeness who was essentially of a spiritual and incorporeal nature? and from whom but the Jews could the Mexicans and Peruvians have derived that doctrine? It is, however, deserving of remark, that this ancient Jewish notion seems to have induced the Mexicans to ascribe *human features* and the *image* of a man whom they represented under the form of a youth of perfect beauty and comeliness, and named Telpuchtli, or 'The Youth'[1], to Tezcatlipoca, whilst at the same time they designated him "El invisible é incorporeo UNICO," "The invisible and incorporeal *One*;" a mode of expression quite Scriptural, significative of the unity of the divine essence, and enunciative of a *name* as proper to the Deity in the Bible as Yao or Jehovah, God being frequently designated in the Old Testament as the Holy One of Israel[2]. The proof of the Mexicans

[1] The combination of youthful beauty and a beardless face with godlike force of attitude and limb, is finely described by Mr. Milman in his Ode on the Statue of the Apollo Belvidere, which justly admired poem was printed some years ago at Oxford, and is inserted in the collection of Oxford Prize Poems.

[2] The apparent inconsistency in the belief of the Mexicans that their supreme deity Tezcatlipoca possessed a bodily form, and was at the same time an incorporeal spirit, involves no more real contradiction than those passages of the Old Testament in which Jehovah is described as *a man*, with all the attributes of a man, and as appearing to the prophets in a *bodily* form, while he is also declared to be an incorporeal spirit; and those discordant ideas are reconciled with each other in precisely the same manner, namely, by supposing the Deity himself to be an incorporeal spirit, but that when he conversed in visions with mortals *they spoke with his shade.* In this latter sense Moses must be understood, in the tenth verse of the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, to have "known God *face to face*," and this peculiar figure of speech to harmonize with the declaration of God himself in the twentieth verse of the thirty-third chapter of Exodus: "Thou *canst not see my face*, for there shall *no man* see me and live:" and in the same sense the prophet Amos must be presumed, in the seventh verse of the seventh chapter of his Prophecies, to have seen the Lord standing upon a wall with a plumb-line in his hand; for although God is named in a variety of passages of Scripture *a man*,—for example, in the third verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, where Moses in his Song of Triumph exclaims, "The Lord is *a man* of war, the Lord is his name;" and he is again so described in the following passage of the seventy-eighth Psalm, "Then the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and like *a mighty man* that shouteth by reason of wine;" and he is expressly declared, in the twenty-seventh verse of the first chapter of Genesis, to have created man in his own image and likeness, which would reasonably have favoured the belief that he was not without a form, and therefore *could* be represented by a likeness, and might have led the Mexicans to adore Tezcatlipoca under the image of a slave, whom they sacrificed in his honour on one of their most solemn festivals,—yet Christ himself emphatically says, in the twenty-fourth verse of the fourth chapter of St. John, "God is a spirit;" and in the thirty-seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the same Gospel he declares that neither his shape nor *his voice* had been seen or heard *at any time* by the Jews; thus glancing, as it were, at the promulgation of the Mosaic law from Mount Sinai: "And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me: *ye* have neither *heard his voice* at any time, nor seen his shape:" and we may feel assured, from the foregoing passages of Scripture, that the Jewish doctrine on this point was precisely the same as that of the Mexicans, as explained more at length in the following passages of the second chapter of the third book, and the seventh chapter of the sixth book, of Sahagun's History of New Spain: "El dios llamado Titlacavan, decian que era Criador del cielo y de la tierra, y era todo poderoso, el qual daba á los vivos todo quanto era menester de comer y beber, y riquezas; y el dicho Titlacavan era invisible y como obscuridad y aire, *y quando aparecia y hablaba á algun hombre, era con su sombra,* y sabia los secretos de los hombres que tenian en los corazones, *y le clamaban* y le rogaban diciendole ....." "They affirm that the God named Titlacavan was the Creator of heaven and earth, and that he was omnipotent, who bestowed upon mortals the daily sustenance which they stood in need of, as likewise riches; and that the said Titlacavan was invisible, and resembled *obscurity and air*[a]; and that when he appeared and spoke to any man *it was by his shade*; and that he knew the secrets of men which lay hidden within their hearts; and that they *called upon him*[b], and entreated him, saying ....." Omitting the insertion of the prayer which immediately follows, the beginning of which bears much resemblance to the Lord's Prayer, and leaving to others the task of determining whether the visions of the Lord which Ezekiel declares, in the first verse of the first chapter of his Prophecies,

[a] They therefore named him *Yoalliehecatl*, which appellation means literally 'night and wind.' Acosta's ignorance of the true signification of this epithet led him into the error of asserting that the Mexicans *adored the night and winds* on one of their principal festivals.

[b] The practice of calling upon the name of the Lord is said, in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, to have commenced in the days of Enos the son of Seth. This declaration might at first appear to involve the assumption of great irreligion on the part of Adam and Eve for a long period after their expulsion from Paradise; but since the above-mentioned chapter of Genesis treats of the origin of human arts, it seems rather designed to give prayers a place amongst the earliest *inventions* of mankind.

volvia á perfumar con el incensario, y los conducia por el mismo orden hasta la puerta del templo, donde los recibia

believing that man was created in the image of God will be found in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the ninth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain: "Hijo nuestro, ya hemos visto y entendido tu deseo y lo que pretendes, lo cual con lagrimas nos has

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he saw by the side of the river Chebar in Babylon, might not have been the *shadow* of Jehovah, described in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter as "*the likeness as the appearance of a man,*" which figure of speech it must be confessed is very suitable to the description of a shadow, we shall transcribe another passage from the same chapter, which is extremely curious, as showing that the Mexicans ascribed not only the same attributes to Tezcatlipoca, but gave him the same name as the Jews did to Jehovah, that is to say, the great ineffable name contained in the tetragram, of which the Rabbis relate so many marvels, every letter of which constitutes a separate charm, and the complete enunciation of its syllables a spell of sufficient potency to bind men and devils, and which to suppose that the Devil could have ventured to assume to himself in the New World, in order to imitate God, or, as the superstitious Spanish historians of the sixteenth century assert, to remedy or substitute himself for God, "*remediar á Dios,*" involves much more inconvenient consequences than the supposition of his having counterfeited the rite of circumcision amongst the Mexicans, and having led them forth, like the Israelites, on a pilgrimage in search of a promised land. The great name above alluded to, it is scarcely necessary to observe, was יהוה, the true pronunciation of which was not *Jehovah,* as erroneously translated by the earliest interpreters of the Scriptures from the Hebrew, whose error might have proceeded from an unwillingness to commit it to writing, but *Yao,* as is evident from the thirteenth verse of the last chapter of the Revelations, where the declaration "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last," undoubtedly refers to the *true pronunciation* of the great name, since to suppose that this remarkable passage has no other reference than to the fortuitous order of the letters of the Greek alphabet, would be absurd; nor would it at all explain, even on such a supposition, why the Greek should have been preferred to the Hebrew alphabet. The Rabbis however, with their usual tone of indifference, do not scruple to affirm that they have long lost the true pronunciation of the divine name; and happy shall we feel to enlighten their ignorance by the suggestion that the Mexican term Yaotzin in the following passage is the divine name, with the reverential particle *tzin,* added, as is usual in Mexican proper names. "El dicho Titlacavan tambien se llamaba Tezcatlipuca, y Moyocayatzin, y *Yaotzin,* y Necocayautl, y Necaoalpilli. Llamabanle Moyocayatzin, por razon que hacia todo quanto queria y pensaba, y que ninguno le podia contradecir á lo que hacia, ni en el cielo ni en este mundo; y enriquecia á quien queria, y tambien daba pobreza y miseria á quien queria; y mas decian, que el dia que fuese servido destruir y derribar *el cielo,* que lo haria, y los vivos se acabarian; y al dicho Titlacavan todos le adoraban y rogaban, y en todos los caminos y divisiones de calles le ponian un asiento hecho de piedra para él, que se llamaba *momitztli,* y le ponian ciertos ramos en el dicho asiento por su honra y servicio cada cinco dias, allende de los veinte dias de fiesta que le hacian; y asi tenian la costumbre y orden de hacerlo siempre." "The said Titlacavan was likewise named Tezcatlipuca, and Moyocayatzin, and *Yaotzin,* and Necocayautl, and Necaoalpilli. They named him Moyocayatzin because he did whatsoever he pleased or thought fit, and none could resist him in heaven or on earth; and he enriched whom he would, and likewise sent poverty and affliction on whom he pleased; and they further add, that on the day he shall think fit to destroy and cast down heaven he will do it, and that the living will have an end; and the said Titlacavan was worshiped and entreated by all, and they placed a stone seat for him in all the highways and divisions of the streets, which they named 'momitztli', and strewed it with branches of trees every five days, to serve and honour him, exclusively of the twenty days of the feast which they dedicated to him; and this was their constant custom and practice." The significations of some of the epithets here bestowed upon Tezcatlipoca will be found in the 128th page of the sixth volume of this Work, to which may be added that of Necaoalpilli, which means 'the god of fasting', an appellation which bore particular allusion to Tezcatlipoca having instituted *the fasts* of the Mexican calendar. The curious custom likewise of placing stone seats for the same deity in the streets and highways may be explained by supposing that they were typical of his being the god of sabath, or of *rest,* and of his having chosen Mexico as the seat of his continual habitation, in order to verify, as it were, the prophecies of Ezekiel respecting New Jerusalem, which city it was foretold should enjoy the continual presence of the Lord. This conjecture derives increased probability from the following passage of the seventh chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, which contains the exhortation of a Mexican priest to a penitent, to whom he had administered absolution, and whom he thus addresses, forcibly admonishing him to lead *a new life.* "And now thou hast confessed all thy sins unto our Lord, who is the protector of all, and the pardoner and the purifier of all sinners. Account not this a thing to be jested at, for in truth thou hast entered into the fountain of mercy, which resembles the limpid water with which our Lord God, the protector and favourer of all *who are converted unto him,* washes away the defilements of the soul. Thou hadst cast thyself into hell, and now thou hast returned to life in this world like one who comes back from another. Thou hast lately become regenerate; thou hast now begun to live a new life. Our Lord God now gives thee light, and a new sun. Now thou newly beginnest to blossom and to bud, like a pure and faultless gem which is taken from the womb of the parent, where it grew. And this being the case, endeavour to live with great caution and circumspection henceforward, as long as thou shalt live in this world under the power and dominion of our most gracious, most bountiful, and most magnificent Lord God; and weep and feel contrition, walking with humility and meekness, and with a lowly and inclined neck praying to our Lord. Take care lest thou become proud in thine own conceit; encourage not feelings of pride within thee, for shouldest thou do so, thou wilt displease our Lord, *who sees the hearts and the thoughts of all men.* Of what value dost thou account thyself? What dost thou esteem thyself? What is thy stay and support? Upon what foundation dost thou stand? It is plain that thou art nothing and canst do nothing, and art nothing worth; for our Lord will accomplish on thee whatsoever he thinks fit without any one venturing to restrain his hand. Will it be necessary peradventure that he should instruct thee in the things with which he punishes, and with which he afflicts, that thou mayest look upon them with thine eyes in this world?

el concurso y con las danzas y fiestas los volvian á su casa. A esto seguia á su hora el banquete mas ó menos abun-

significado. Avisamoste que no te ensoberbezcas ni altivezcas, ni desprecies á nadie: ten reverencia á los viejos y viejas, aunque sean pobres; y á la otra gente baja y pobre haz misericordia con ella; dales que vistan y con que se cubran, aunque sea la que tu deseches;

No, truly; for the torments and dreadful sufferings with which he torments in another world are *invisible,* and those who live in this world cannot behold them. Or perhaps he will condemn and cast thee into the universal house of hell; and thine own house in which thou now livest will fall and will be destroyed, and will become like a sink of filth and uncleanness; that in which thou hast been accustomed to live much to thine own content, awaiting that which our Lord and protector, the invisible and incorporeal One, may dispose concerning thee, and when it may be his pleasure and he may think fit to level the walls of thy house, and the hedges and ditches with which, with much labour, thou hast encompassed it; wherefore I entreat thee to arise and to use thy utmost diligence not to be in future that which thou hast been heretofore. *Take a new heart* and *renew thy life,* and be very mindful not to return to thy past sins. Consider that thou *canst not behold with thine eyes* our Lord God, who is invisible and impalpable. This Tezcatlipoca and this Titlacavan is a youth of perfect perfection, and without spot. Apply thyself strenuously to the task of sweeping and cleansing and repairing thy whole house[a]; and[b] thou wilt offend extremely the most gracious youth, *who continually visiteth our dwellings* and *the places of our abode,* taking his pleasure and his pastime amongst us, and diligently searcheth out *his friends* to comfort[c] them, and to comfort himself with them. Lastly, I charge thee to go and employ thyself in cleaning and removing the dung and the sweepings from thine house[d], and purify thyself, and procure a slave for a sacrifice before God, and prepare a banquet[e] for the chief men of the city, and let them sing the praises of our Lord. It is likewise fit that thou shouldest *perform penance,* labouring a year or more in the house of God; and there thou must bleed thyself, and pierce thy body with thorns of the aloe, drawing forth thy blood. And in order that thou mayest do penance for *the adulteries* and other filthy acts which thou hast committed, thou wilt have twice each day to pass rods, once through thine ears, and once through thy tongue, and to do this not only as a penance for the above-named sensual sins, but likewise as a penance for the evil and slanderous words with which thou hast *injured* and *maligned thy neighbours* with thine *evil tongue*[f], and for the ingratitude which thou hast shown

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[a] A very obscure verse of the twelfth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew would seem to receive elucidation from this singular passage in the exhortation of the Mexican priest to the penitent, who had just received absolution of his sins; since if for a moment we contrast the relative situations in which an absolved sinner and a man from whose body a devil had been cast out may be supposed to be placed with respect to the Deity, and likewise consider that the Jews believed that the entrance of an evil spirit into a man was a punishment for sin, and that the Mexicans agreed with them in believing in the imaginary disease of devils, as we have already observed in the 248th page of the sixth volume of this Work, and that in each case it would have been natural for the priest to recommend to the person who had so lately experienced the divine mercy the performance of some act agreeable to the Deity and conformable to the religious usages of his countrymen, the fact will be accounted for why the man from whom the unclean spirit had departed found his house *swept and garnished* in the manner described in the chapter of St. Matthew above alluded to: "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return into my house from whence I came out; and when he is come, *he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished.*" To the objection which may be taken to the proposed explanation of this abstruse passage of the New Testament, viz. that the exorcised Jew *found,* but did not *cause,* his house to be swept and garnished, we have only to reply, that he might have both found and caused the sweeping and garnishing of his former dwelling-place, which must have become unclean by being the habitation of a person possessed by an unclean spirit, and which therefore, according to Jewish notions, *ought* to have undergone cleansing and purification.

[b] We must suppose, in order to render this passage intelligible, the omission, after the word 'and', of some phrase equivalent in meaning to 'shouldst thou not do so'.

[c] It deserves to be remarked, that the Holy Ghost is called in Scripture the Comforter, and Christ is named the consolation of Israel in the twenty-fifth verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke. The language of the New Testament being borrowed from the Old, and the attributes of the second and third persons of the Trinity predicable also of the first, it is evident that the Mexicans, in assigning the office of *a comforter of his people* to Tezcatlipoca, agreed with the Jews in believing that this was an office peculiarly belonging to the Deity.

[d] The reiteration of the *injunction* here given to the penitent to cleanse his house, clearly proves the importance which was attached, in a religious point of view, by the Mexicans to the performance of that ceremony, whilst it is equally deserving of remark that it immediately precedes a command to the sinner to purify *himself.*

[e] It was customary amongst the Mexicans to eat the flesh of their sacrifices of atonement; and we have adduced many reasons in the 309th page of the sixth volume of this Work, all derived from Scripture, for supposing that this custom degenerated into cannibalism in the New World. The remark is true that to different races and sects of mankind belong different habits of thinking; but a disciple of Pythagoras, an ancient Egyptian, or a modern Hindoo, would feel very much disposed, on meditating on the ancient Hebrew sacrifices, to fancy that he beheld a mysterious decree of Providence, which, vindicating the ways of God to the irrational portion of his creatures, doomed the sacrificers in their turn to be sacrificed, and the devourers of the flesh of victims themselves to be eaten by their own species.

[f] The tongue is a part of the human body against which there are very severe denunciations in Scripture; these denunciations, which might possibly have induced the Mexicans to invent the cruel penance of *passing it through with rods,* in the manner represented in the third plate of the Second Part of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, are contained in the following passage of the third chapter of the

dante en comida y bebida segun la posibilidad de los desposados, pero siempre duraba la fiesta todo el dia, hasta dales de comer y de beber, *porque son imagines de Dios*. Por esto te acrecentará Dios los dias de la vida: si vivieres largos dias, sino hicieres lo que te aconsejamos, *cegarás*, ó te *tullirás*, ó te pararás contrahecho; y estó tu mismo te lo buscaras, y Dios te lo dará, porque

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for the favours which our Lord hath conferred upon thee, and for the inhumanity which thou hast displayed towards *thy neighbours* in offering them no portion of the goods which have been given thee by God, nor in *sharing with the poor* those temporal goods which have been bestowed upon thee by our Lord. Thou wilt have to offer paper and incense, and likewise *to give alms* to the hungry and needy, who have not anything to eat nor to drink, nor wherewithal to clothe themselves, although thou be obliged to deprive thyself of thine own proper sustenance to give it to them, and strive *to clothe the naked* and destitute. Consider that their flesh is as thine, and that they are men like thee, especially the sick, *for they are the image of God*. I have nothing more to say to thee; *go thy way in peace*, and I pray God *to assist thee* to fulfill that which thou art bound to do, since he is the favourer of all." The above passage, which reflects much light on the religious opinions of the Mexicans, must bring to recollection many of the attributes which Scripture ascribes to the Deity; and the moral precepts which it inculcates are nearly the same as those enjoined in the Gospels, including even the *new* commandment which Christ gave to his disciples. There is one epithet, however, which so little accords with what are generally considered the Jewish notions of the Deity, that it may be proper to observe that it was applied by the Mexicans to Tezcatlipoca, with a strict regard to Scripture accuracy and the ancient opinions of the Jews; it is the phrase 'mancebo,' or 'the youth', as applied to the Supreme Being, that at first seems derogatory to his divine nature; the corresponding term for which in the Mexican language was 'Telpuchtli,' which Sahagun has translated in Spanish by the phrase "mancebo," and which Torquemada supposes in the 128th page of the sixth volume of this Work, to bear allusion to what is said of the Deity in the twenty-seventh verse of the hundred and second Psalm, to which passage St. Paul refers in the twelfth verse of the first chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews: but the familiar manner in which the Mexicans describe the Deity as frequenting the habitations of men, and visiting his people, is quite in accordance with the Jewish traditions of what took place under their theocracy, and with the preference which they believed that God manifested for their nation above all other nations of the earth; whilst the Mexicans boasted likewise that they were God's peculiar people, and pleaded in their behalf the same prescriptive right to make war with and exterminate neighbouring and inferior states. It agrees likewise with what is said in innumerable passages of Scripture of God's frequenting the habitations of Mount Sion, and dwelling in the streets of Jerusalem: for example, with what is said in the following passage of the sixty-eighth Psalm, where the distinction which is made between the *heads* of God's enemies and their *scalps*, and the allusion in another book of Scripture to David's cutting off a portion of the skin of the flesh from the dead bodies of the Philistines as a trophy of victory, has induced Adair and some other authors equally desirous of discovering analogies between the customs of the Indians and the Jews, to suppose that the American custom of scalping prisoners taken in war was derived from the Jews, and originated in the cruel wars undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land, the recollection of which might have rendered their posterity still more ferocious in their wars with the idolaters of another hemisphere. "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them, *as in Sinai, in the holy place*. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive: thou hast *received gifts for men*; yea, for the rebellious also, *that the Lord God might dwell among them*. Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with benefits, even the God of our salvation. Selah. He that is our God is the God of salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the issues from death. But *God shall wound the head of his enemies*, and the hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his trespasses. The Lord said, I will bring again from Bashan, I will bring my people *again* from the depths of the sea: that thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, *and the tongue of thy dogs in the same*. They have seen *thy goings*, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary. The singers went before, the players on instruments followed after; among them were *the damsels*[a] playing with timbrels." God is, however, more expressly declared to delight in visiting the habitations of men in the following passage of the eighth chapter of the Proverbs, where Wisdom is thus supposed to apostrophize her mighty parent: "When he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth: then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him; rejoicing in the *habitable* part of his earth; and *my delights were with the sons of men*;" and in the third chapter of the Book of Baruch, which, being a book of apocryphal authority, can only be supposed to contain Jewish sentiments respecting the Deity, without possessing any claim to divine inspiration: "This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterwards did he show himself upon earth, and *conversed with men*." Isaiah likewise alludes in negative terms to the Deity rejoicing himself with the sons of men, in the seven-

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General Epistle of St. James, "And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity: so is the tongue among our members, that it defileth the whole body, and *setteth on fire the course of nature*; and it is set on fire of hell."

[a] It has been supposed by some authors that women were not dedicated to the service of Jehovah, and did not reside within the precincts or sacred inclosure of the temple. That they did not officiate in the ranks of the priesthood, or discharge any of the levitical functions, will at once be conceded; but the opinion that virgins were not set apart for a certain ministry in the temple, militates against probability no less than the sentiments of many learned Rabbis, and is at variance with the express words of Scripture in the nineteenth verse of the third chapter of the second book of Maccabees, where the phrase κατακλεισται παρθενοι, in allusion to the virgins who were shut up either within the walls of the temple or in convents scattered through the city of Jerusalem, must be supposed to refer to religious female congregations existing among the Jews.

que yá entrada la noche los padrinos llevaban á los novios á otra pieza separada, donde los dejaban solos, en-

sus ojos penetran las piedras y los maderos, y no te podrás esconder de él. Mira, que no *desees la muger agena*; comienza á vivir bien: con esto que hemos dicho, cumplimos contigo, no mas." "My son, we have now seen and understood thy desire, and what thou

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teenth verse of the ninth chapter of his Prophecies: "Therefore the Lord shall have no *joy in their young men*, neither shall have mercy on their fatherless and widows." And the doctrine of his having his chosen friends and his elect, to whom he more particularly revealed his will, perpetually recurs in the Old Testament. It would be easy indeed to prove, from a comparison of passages of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain with parallel passages from Scripture, that *all* the attributes which the Jews ascribed to the Deity, including his unity, ubiquity, and omniscience, and many other qualities much more characteristic of the peculiar tenets of the Jewish faith, were ascribed by the Mexicans to Tezcatlipoca, whose titles and epithets, *agreeing* with those of Jehovah, whose history of the creation of the world, and his taking unto himself a chosen people, being *nearly the same*, and whose standard of moral rectitude, as displayed *in the code of laws* which he gave to the Mexicans, which, harmonizing with a scheme of final retribution and a future state of rewards and punishments, annexed the same penalties as the Jewish code to the same kinds and degrees of guilt,—thus placing him before our eyes in the same light as a moral agent,—constitute such a chain of corroborative evidence as clearly to demonstrate that the God worshiped by the Mexicans under the name of *Yao* was the same as the Hebrew Jehovah. It is however in the more mysterious combinations of the divine attributes, and in their apparent *oppositions*[a], that a perfect resemblance may be traced, without any *characteristic* difference, between the notions which the Mexicans and the Jews formed to themselves of the Deity, who, it need scarcely be observed, *can* only be known to man by his attributes, his essence being alike inscrutable to all. In pursuance, therefore, of this line of argument, we shall proceed to point out those attributes in which these oppositions are most strikingly displayed to our view. The Mexicans, for example, believed that Tezcatlipoca was *the creator* of heaven and earth, and that nevertheless the period would arrive when he *would destroy* the one and *cast down* the other; and that the Jews believed in like manner that God would, previously to the day of judgement, destroy his whole work of creation, including the earth and the material heavens, is evident from the prediction of the prophet Joel in the third chapter of his Prophecies, and from the sixth verse of the second chapter of the prophet Haggai: "For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will *shake* the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come;" to the accomplishment of which prophecy, and to that contained in the fourth verse of the thirty-fourth chapter of Isaiah,—"And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and *all their host shall fall down*, as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree,"—St. Peter alludes in the tenth verse of the third chapter of his second General Epistle: "But *the day of the Lord* will come *as a thief*[b] in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, *shall be burnt up*;" and St. Paul, in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews,—"But now he hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, *Yet once more*, signifieth the *removing* of those things that *are shaken*, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear: for our God is *a consuming fire*." The Mexicans believed moreover that Tezcatlipoca *tempted* men to sin, and yet *punished them* for sinning; and God is declared in Scripture to have frequently accomplished his designs by means of temptations: for instance, he is said to have tempted and proved the Israelites in the wilderness; to have tempted Pharaoh; to have tempted or permitted the temptation of Job; to have tempted David; to have sent a lying spirit to tempt Ahab, of which a more particular account will be found in the twenty-second chapter of the First Book of Kings; and to have tried King Hezekiah in the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, as expressly stated in the thirty-first verse of the thirty-second chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles; whilst the clause in the Lord's prayer, "*lead us not into temptation*, but deliver us from evil," shows that Christ himself maintained precisely the same doctrine. It may, indeed, appear surprising to some persons that the Deity should, under any circumstances, tempt men to sin, that he should deceive his prophets, should cause evil, should punish children for the sins of their parents, or one generation for the crimes of a preceding, should be a stirrer up of strife, and should jest at the misfortunes of mankind; and yet the Mexicans ascribed all these dispositions, whether good or evil, to

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[a] St. Paul, to whom the wisdom of the Greeks appeared *foolishness*, would seem, by his earnest exhortation to Timothy to avoid the oppositions of science, falsely so called, *αντιθεσεις της ψευδωνυμου γνωσεως*, to have entertained a very salutary dread of the effects which the study of the Aristotelian logic might produce upon the minds of his converts. Yet certainly, if ever there was a science calculated to assist human reason in discriminating between the nature of truth and falsehood, it is that for the invention of which mankind are indebted to the divine genius of Aristotle, who himself first reduced the opposition of propositions to an art (*τεχνη*), and by the phrase *δει δε εκ των εναντιων σκοπειν*, which perpetually recurs in his writings, strove as much as in his power to convince his readers of the importance which he attached to the study of the oppositions of science as a means of attaining the certain knowledge of truth. The exhortation of St. Paul above alluded to occurs in the twentieth verse of the sixth chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy.

[b] The sign of Quecalcoatle was *Four Earthquakes*, on which sign the Mexicans believed that the world would be destroyed by fire. His other sign was *One Cane*, which the Mexicans supposed was extremely propitious to the *temacpalitotique*, or thieves who engaged in midnight robberies. Of this class of thieves a curious account will be found at page 71 of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume. We may further observe, in reference to the phrase "*the day of the Lord*," that a day or *a sign* are synonymous terms when understood to refer to the Mexican calendar, since the latter was merely the symbol or representative of the former.

cerrandolos por la parte de á fuera hasta la mañana siguiente que venian á abrirles, y todo el concurso les repetia las proposest to thyself, which, with tears, thou hast signified to us. We advise thee not to become proud or elated, nor to despise any one. Reverence the old of both sexes, although they be poor; and be compassionate to other poor people of humble station;

Tezcatlipoca, whom nevertheless they believed to possess every perfection with which human imagination could invest the Deity: they represented him as merciful and long-suffering, yet at the same time named him Necocyautl, or the stirrer up of strife, and a God of vengeance and of battles: he was the creator of every living thing, and likewise Ipalnemoani, or the giver of life: and yet he required that the blood of sacrifices should be continually streaming on his altars: he was just and righteous in judgement, and yet he adjudged light offences in erring human estimation to everlasting punishment in hell: he was the acceptor of repentance and the forgiver of sins, and yet he required a vicarial atonement and expiation for sin, and pardoned the guilty only in consideration of the blood of the innocent: he was a God whose essence was unity, and yet he had associates in divine majesty, and Quetzalcoatl and Tlaloc participated with him in the government of the universe. That the unity of Tezcatlipoca formed an essential article of the Mexican creed, is evident from various passages in the 354th, the 357th, and the 370th pages of the fifth volume of this Work, of which one will be sufficient to adduce as an example here; and yet their belief in that unity was not inconsistent, as it would appear, with their acknowledging, like the Jews, a plurality of Gods, and sinking into the grossest excesses of idolatry. The above unity is unequivocally declared in the following passage of the third chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, where the Mexican high priest thus addresses Tezcatlipoca in his character of the God of armies or of hosts, and the bestower of victory: "En conclusion lo que ruego á vuestra magestad, que soys nuestro Señor humanisimo y nuestro Emperador invictisimo, és que tengais por bien que los que murieren en esta guerra, sean recebidos con entrañas de piedad y de amor de nuestro padre el Sol, y nuestra madre la Tierra, porque *vos solo* vivis y reinais, y sois nuestro Señor humanisimo." "Lastly, that which I entreat of thy majesty, who art our most gracious lord and invincible emperor, is, that it may be thy good pleasure that those who die in this war be received with *bowels of compassion* and of love by our father the Sun and our mother the Earth, for *thou alone* livest and reignest and art our most gracious lord." The other attributes which the Mexicans assigned to Tezcatlipoca, and which identify him with the God of the Jews, are the following, which, for the sake of brevity, we shall only refer to here without inserting the particular passages in which they occur. A comparison of these attributes with those assigned to Jehovah in Scripture affords the most convincing proof of a perfect agreement between the religious notions of the Jews and the Mexicans respecting the Deity; the corollary from all which is, that if the Mexican god Yao was not the same as the Hebrew Jehovah, it must of necessity be admitted that the knowledge of the attributes of the Deity, such as they are revealed in Scripture, could be attained by human reason, unaided by divine inspiration, and *therefore* that revealed Scripture was not absolutely necessary for imparting to man the knowledge of God; but if this conclusion be at variance with all received doctrine, it necessarily follows that the supposition on which it proceeds is false, and that the contradictory proposition will be true, and consequently the conclusion dependent upon it, which is that the God of the Jews and the Mexicans were one and the same. The following attributes are inserted, without any particular regard to classification, and merely in the order in which they occur. The number of the line, reckoning from the upper margin of the leaf, has been added for the sake of reference to that of the page. The belief of the Mexicans in the unity and spiritual nature of the Deity having been already pointed out in the present note, with a distinct enumeration of the passages in which this belief is expressed, it is unnecessary to revert again to that important article of their creed, or to attempt to prove that their acquiescence in those general attributes which all nations and ages of mankind have ascribed to the Deity, such, for example, as infinite wisdom, goodness, greatness, power, glory, excellence, majesty, and duration, followed as a matter of course; but it is more important to point out those attributes which the Jews, either exclusively or peculiarly, or in a transcendant sense, ascribed to Jehovah, and in which the Mexicans agreed with them; and these are included in the following list, which we shall insert in the form of an index, with a particular reference to the page and line in which they occur in the fifth volume of the present Work. The Mexican deity Yao, then, is described as The Giver of revealed Scripture, Vol. V. page 488, line 6; as The Ruler of Kingdoms, pp. 392, 393, ll. 8, 21; as The Requirer of account for human actions, p. 490, l. 4; as The Forgiver of sins, pp. 368, 369, ll. 30, 35; as The Possessor of an ark of mercies, p. 443, l. 19; as A Just Judge, p. 352, l. 7; as The Enjoiner of rectitude and justice to mankind, p. 383, l. 8; as The Trier and Prover of hearts, p. 370, l. 15; as The Promoter to dignities from the meanest and most abject condition, pp. 355, 407, ll. 13, 14; as The Predestinator of all things, p. 444, l. 17; as The Father of mankind, p. 471, l. 15; as The Elector of kings, and Bestower of kingdoms, p. 409, l. 29; as The Absolute Disposer of dignities, p. 409, l. 9; as The Holder of all things in his hand, pp. 383, 392, ll. 31, 28; as He in whose sight no man is perfect and free from sin, p. 355, l. 22; as He who takes away from the mighty, and gives to the humble and meek, p. 354, l. 29; as The God of a chosen people, p. 359, l. 8; as The only Supreme God, p. 354, l. 15; as He who has power to kill both the body and soul, p. 369, l. 10; as He who stirs up war against disobedient states, p. 382, l. 24; as The Shelterer of the people beneath his wings, p. 349, l. 1; as He who chastizes the sins of the multitude by the infliction of great national calamities, p. 387, l. 21; as He in whom we live and breathe and have our being, p. 454, l. 15; as The Creator of man in his own image, p. 371, l. 18; as He who ordained that man should live by the sweat of his brow, p. 464, l. 15; as The Sender of his own spirit upon men, and the Giver of inspiration, p. 453, l. 19; as He who jests at human affairs, and turns men into derision, pp. 383, 360, 474, ll. 29, 8, 6; as He who has favourites among men, and persons after his own heart, pp. 354, 425, ll. 31, 24; as He who accounts the good and the virtuous amongst mankind his children and sons, p. 407, l. 10; as The Disposer and Ordainer of all things, p. 350, l. 25; as The Confounder of his enemies, and He who makes them to stagger like drunken men, p. 351, l. 11; as The Bestower of wisdom, p. 477, l. 20; as The Supreme Lord of the Universe, p. 362, l. 23; as He who requires that men should serve

enorabuenas, suponiendo yá consumado el matrimonio. En los tiempos posteriores se introdujo una fea costumbre,

give them what is needful to cover and clothe themselves with, although it be the apparel which thou strippest from thyself; give them meat and drink, *for they are the images of God*; for this God will increase *the days of thy life*. If thou shouldst live long and fail

him with all their hearts and with all their strength, p. 411, l. 16; as He who is an omnipresent God, p. 481, l. 10; as A severe and righteous Judge, p. 370, l. 21; as The Father, Creator, and Lord of all, pp. 476, 483, ll. 8, 23; as He who bids men hope and trust in him, p. 473, l. 10; as A perfect God, p. 370, l. 32; as The Ordainer of marriage, p. 428, l. 34; as The Joiner together of all married persons, p. 449, l. 25; as The Appointer in heaven of all marriages which take place on earth, p. 416, ll. 4, 17; as He who fashions children in their mother's womb, p. 449, l. 8; as The Giver of children, p. 443, l. 2; as The God of a blameless and chosen people, p. 475, l. 5; as He who has infinite ways of chastising the disobedient, p. 382, l. 27; as The Punisher of the wicked in a lake of everlasting misery, p. 369, l. 21; as The Sender of the wicked to hell, p. 370, l. 22; as He who punishes the children for the sins of their parents, p. 351, l. 16; as He who gives length of days, p. 464, l. 15; as The Elevator of kings from the lowest among the people, p. 400, l. 21; as A God of battles, p. 358, l. 22; as A God of war, and Stirrer-up of strife, p. 356, l. 24; as The Devourer of his enemies, p. 350, l. 21; as The Hater of hypocrites, p. 425, l. 28; as The Lover of the meek, p. 425, l. 24; as The Abhorrer of haughtiness and pride, p. 425, l. 18; as The Enjoiner of humility, p. 425, l. 31; as The Loather of all sensual sins, pp. 428, 489, ll. 26, 22; as He who requires an account from men *of their thoughts* as well as of their actions, p. 487, l. 25; as The God of prayer and supplication, p. 411, l. 33; as The God of psalms and thanksgivings, p. 399, l. 35; as The Appointer and Knower of times, p. 404, l. 18; as The Former of man from the earth, p. 462, l. 28; as He who bestowed a body and the *breath of life* upon man, p. 398, l. 17; as The God of sacrifices, p. 371, l. 2; as The Acceptor of meat offerings and drink offerings, p. 489, l. 26; as The Requirer of importunity in prayer, p. 474, l. 4; as He from whom favours can be extorted by much importunity, p. 400, l. 2; as The God who resides above the *nine* heavens, p. 483, l. 22; as He who knows the secrets of hearts, p. 369, l. 24; as The Acceptor of vows, p. 465, l. 10; as The Acceptor of the intercession of saints and holy persons deceased, p. 462, l. 33; as He who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, p. 351, l. 16; as He from whom proceeds the art of divination, p. 452, l. 29; as Ipalnemoani, or He who breathed into man the breath of life, p. 482, l. 6; as He who punishes the just for the unjust, or the innocent and the guilty in a confused mass, p. 432, l. 17; as He who commands men to honour their parents, p. 438, l. 6; as He who accepts vows made by parents dedicating infants, when they should have attained a fit age, to his service, p. 488, l. 31; as He who enjoined mankind to practise charity towards each other, and to love their neighbours, p. 371, l. 12; as The Favourer and Protector of midwives, p. 453, l. 19; as The Forgiver of sins, pp. 368, 369, ll. 30, 35; as The God of confession, and Acceptor of the penitent, pp. 368, 369, ll. 11, 34; as The Imposer of penance for the expiation of sin, p. 371, l. 4; as The Hater of adulterers, pp. 371, 420, ll. 6, 11; as The Exactor of the vows of parents from their children, p. 465, l. 27; as The Lover of children, young men and maidens, p. 426, l. 12; as The Lover of the chaste, p. 427, l. 24; as The Giver of eloquence, p. 378, l. 17; as The Giver of inspiration, pp. 453, 379, ll. 19, 6; as The Giver of all gifts to men, p. 390, l. 13; as He who imparts his word to men, p. 392, l. 22; as He who sends his peace on men, p. 368, l. 33; as He whose will should be done, and in whom all men should put their trust, p. 473, l. 9; as The Predestinator of all things, p. 454, l. 14; as The God whose vicegerents kings are upon earth, p. 379, l. 21; as The Decreer of all things both in heaven and in hell, p. 381, l. 12; as He who deems all men unprofitable servants, and imputes no merit to any man, p. 470, l. 31; as The God who awards retribution in another world, for all good or evil actions performed in this, pp. 369, 370, ll. 18, 21; as The God who delights in good works, p. 490, l. 4. Those who have acquired, by an attentive study of Scripture, a general notion of the revealed attributes of the Deity, will immediately perceive that in the above list are contained the most material attributes which the Old Testament assigns to him, some of which are very peculiar and characteristic of the God of the Jews, and are justly entitled to a comparison with the following passages of the Bible, in which the approximation of ideas is very remarkable, although the parallel has not been extended as far as the subject itself would have admitted. Jehovah, for example, is represented as a God of unity in the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, so often cited by the Jews against the Christians who confess the doctrine of the Trinity: "Hear, O Israel; The Lord our God is *one* Lord." As a terrible God, in the third verse of the sixty-sixth Psalm, "Say unto God, How terrible art thou in thy works! through the greatness of thy power shall thine enemies submit themselves unto thee." As a jealous God, in the fifth verse of the seventy-ninth Psalm, "How long, Lord? wilt thou be angry for ever? shall thy jealousy burn like fire?" As a God of war, in the third verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name." As a consuming fire—which notion the Mexicans ascribed to Huitzilopochtli, of whom Sahagun says in the first chapter of the first book of his History of New Spain, "*en las guerras era como fuego vivo*," "in war he was as it were a living fire,"—in the twenty-fourth verse of the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God." As the destroyer of his enemies, in the seventh verse of the third Psalm, "Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone; thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly." As a God of battle, in the eighth verse of the twenty-fourth Psalm, "Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." As the God of armies or of hosts, in the eighteenth verse of the thirty-second chapter of Jeremiah, "Thou showest loving-kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them: The Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of hosts, is his name." As a God who avenges his people on their enemies, in the fortieth verse of the eighteenth Psalm, "Thou hast also given me *the necks* of mine enemies; that I might destroy them that hate me." As a rock and refuge of his chosen people, —a name which the Mexicans emphatically betowed upon Huitzilopochtli,—in the second verse of the ninety-first Psalm, "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God; in him will I trust." As the God of religious warfare, in the sixth verse of the

de que me es preciso dar noticia, tanto para la integridad de la historia, como porque subsisten en nuestros dias

to do that which we advise thee, thou wilt become blind, or lame, or deformed; and thou thyself wilt draw down this upon thee, and God will send it, for his eyes penetrate stocks and stones, and thou canst not hide thyself from him. *Take care that thou*

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hundred and forty-ninth Psalm, "Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people." As the destroyer of children on account of the iniquities of their parents, in the eighth verse of the hundred and thirty-fifth Psalm, "who smote the firstborn of Egypt, both *of man* and beast." As the devoter of the infants of his enemies to destruction, in the eighth verse of the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us. Happy shall he be that taketh and *dasheth thy little ones against the stones*." As the God of saints, and in whose sight the relics of martyrs were precious,—a doctrine of the Jewish religion, which the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus supposes, in the 227th page of the sixth volume of this work, might have led the Mexicans to canonize the bones of those who had been offered in sacrifice or slain in war,—in the fifteeenth verse of the hundred and sixteenth Psalm, "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." As a God to whom belonged the dedication of spoils taken in battle, in the twenty-seventh verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, "Out of the spoils won *in battles*, did they dedicate to maintain the house of the Lord." As a God to whom human victims were occasionally devoted and put to death, in the twenty-eighth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus, "Notwithstanding no devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that *he hath*, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted which shall be *devoted of men*, shall be redeemed; but shall *surely* be put to death." As a God of sacrifice, throughout the chapters of Leviticus; as a God of offerings and of vows, in the twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus; as a God of circumcision, purification, and atonement, in the twelfth chapter of Leviticus. As the bestower of children, in the ninth verse of the hundred and thirteenth Psalm, "He maketh the barren woman to keep house, and to be a joyful mother of children." As the fashioner of children in their mother's womb, in the thirteenth verse of the hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm, "For thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast covered me in my mother's womb." As the favourer of midwives, who among the Mexicans were under the special protection of Tezcatlipoca, in the twenty-first verse of the first chapter of Exodus, "And it came to pass, because the midwives *feared God*, that he made them houses." As the God who assists women in childbirth, an office which the Mexicans ascribed to Tezcatlipoca, in the sixth verse of the seventy-first Psalm, "By thee have I been holden up from the womb: thou art he that took me out of my mother's bowels: my praise shall be continually of thee." As a God who accepts the intercessions of children, a belief which the Mexicans likewise entertained of Tezcatlipoca, in the second verse of the eighth Psalm, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." As the requirer of a clean heart and the renewal of a right spirit in sinners who prayed for the forgiveness of their sins, which was likewise affirmed of Tezcatlipoca, in the tenth verse of the fifty-first Psalm, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me." As the God of *the spirits* of all flesh, a phrase which agrees with the Mexican epithet Ipalnemoani, which was one of the titles of Tezcatlipoca, in the twenty-second verse of the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, "And they fell upon their faces, and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?" As the God of all flesh, a phrase which agrees with the Mexican epithet Tonacatecutli, which was likewise one of the titles of Tezcatlipoca, in the twenty-seventh verse of the thirty-second chapter of Jeremiah, "Behold, I am the Lord the God of all flesh; is there anything too hard for me?" As the interpreter of dreams, in the eighth verse of the fortieth chapter of Genesis, "And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it: and Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations *belong to God*? Tell me them, I pray you." As the revealer of secrets to his prophets, in the seventh verse of the third chapter of Amos, "Surely the Lord God will *do nothing*, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets." As the bestower of eloquence, which the Mexicans believed also to be a gift proceeding from Tezcatlipoca, in the fifteenth verse of the fourth chapter of Exodus, where God thus familiarly accosts Moses, "And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth, and I will be with thy mouth and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do." As the bestower of all necessary things, in which sense the Mexicans styled Tezcatlipoca Teiocoianitehimatini, in the ninth verse of the hundred and forty-seventh Psalm, "He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry." As a God of rain, in the ninth verse of the sixty-fifth Psalm, "Thou visitest the earth and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the *river* of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn when thou hast so provided for it." As a God of fertility, pestilence and drought, in the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy. As a God before whose presence the earth shook, as the Mexicans fabled was the case[a] on one of the festivals of Tezcatlipoca when the blood of the human sacrifice was first poured out on the altar, in the eighth verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm, "The earth shook; the heavens also dropped at the presence of God." As a spiritual God, in the twenty-fourth verse of the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, "God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." As the father of mankind, or in a more peculiar sense of the Jewish nation,—by which appellation, as well as that of the *infinite* God, Tezcatlipoca is addressed in the hymn inserted in the 113th page of the present volume,—in the sixteenth verse of the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah, "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not." As the scorner of mankind in a more general sense, and the lover of the Jewish people in particular, in the fifty-sixth verse of the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Esdras, "All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world for our sakes: as for the *other* people, which *also* come of Adam, thou

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[a] The fable recorded by Josephus of the gates of the temple of Jerusalem shaking and miraculously opening during the latter days of the siege was a prodigy of this description.

algunas reliquias de ella, á pesar de los esfuerzos con que *los parrocos* por su parte, y *las justicias seculares* por la

dost not covet another man's wife: begin to live well: we have discharged our duty by thee in saying what we have done: enough." Its particular application to the poor in contradistinction to the rich, is the more deserving of attention because Christ expressly says, "How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven!" And the sentiment to which he there gives utterance might

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hast said that they are nothing, but be like *unto spittle,* and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel." As a jester at human affairs, in the twenty-third verse of the ninth chapter of Job, "If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent." As a leader into temptation, which the Mexicans deprecated as a divine scourge in their solemn prayers to Tezcatlipoca, in the Lord's prayer. As the destroyer of promiscuous multitudes without distinction of sex or age, in the twenty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, "And he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that *which grew*[a] upon the ground." As the destroyer of the giants, a fact recorded by the Peruvians of their god Pachacamac, in the seventh verse of the sixteenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, "He was not pacified toward the *old giants,* who fell away in the strength of their foolishness, neither spared he the place where Lot sojourned, but abhorred them for their pride." As the hater of hypocrites, in the sixteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Job, "He also shall be my salvation, for an hypocrite shall not come before him." As the knower of thoughts, in the twenty-seventh verse of the twenty-first chapter of Job, "Behold, I know your thoughts, and the devices which ye wrongfully imagine against me." As the seer of hearts, in the fifty-fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter of the Second Book of Esdras, "Behold, the Lord knoweth all the works of men, their imaginations, their thoughts, and their hearts." As a God of judgement, in the seventeenth verse of the first chapter of Deuteronomy, "Ye shall not respect persons in judgement; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgement is God's: and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it." As the ruler in conjunction with kings of their kingdoms, in which capacity the Mexicans peculiarly recognised Tezcatlipoca, in the seventeenth verse of the fourth chapter of Daniel, "This matter is by the decree of *the watchers,* and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it *the basest* of men." As the exalter and deposer of kings, and the elevator of the lowest persons to the regal dignity, in the seventieth verse of the seventy-eighth Psalm, "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds." As the raiser up of the poor, in the eighth verse of the second chapter of the First Book of Samuel, "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them *inherit the throne of glory;* for *the pillars of the earth* are the Lord's, and he hath *set the world upon them.*" As the detester of pride, which in the opinion of the Mexicans was a deadly sin, throughout the Psalms and the other books of the Old Testament. As a respecter of the vows of the sorrowful and contrite, which was also a characteristic of Tezcatlipoca, in the seventeenth verse of the fifty-first Psalm, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." As the abhorrer of presumptuous sins, in the thirteenth verse of the nineteenth Psalm, "Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me: then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the *great* transgression." As he whose majesty no temple could contain,—an attribute which the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus ascribes, in the 198th page of the sixth volume of this work, to the Mexican god Tonacatecotle, who was the same as Tezcatlipoca, and which would rather refer to the *omnipresence* than to the majesty of the Deity,—in the first verse of the sixty-sixth chapter of Isaiah, "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?" As the Most High,—an appellation which nearly resembled the title of Chalchiuhtlato, or the Lord of Heaven, which the Mexicans bestowed on Tezcatlipoca,—in many passages of the Psalms. As a judge and an avenger, in the first verse of the ninety-fourth Psalm, "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself. Lift up thyself, thou judge of the earth: render a reward to the proud." As the Lord God, to which the title *Teo-Yao-Tlato,* which the Mexicans gave to Tezcatlipoca, exactly corresponds, in many passages of Scripture. As the accepter of vows and presents, in the eleventh verse of the seventy-sixth Psalm, "Vow, and pay unto the Lord your God: let all that be round about him, bring presents unto him that ought to be feared."

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[a] Garcilasso de la Vega remarks in the thirteenth chapter of the third book of his 'Comentarios Reales de los Incas' that the Inca Capac Yupanqui commanded that the trees of those towns and villages which he sentenced to utter destruction should be rooted up from the soil. The account of the above-mentioned author receives some corroboration from the following passage of the first chapter of the first part of Juan de Matienzo's inedited treatise concerning the government of Peru: "Que gente ha habido en el mundo tan cruel como estos Ingas? Pues dicen sus mismos deudos y descendientes, y se halla por sus quipos, que uno dellos mató quinientos hombres en un lugar junto á Paita, y se les hizo sacar los corazones y cercar la fortaleza dellos, crueldad nunca oida, y Guascar Inga, hijo de Guaina Capa, mató junto á Xaquilla Guana en los pueblos del Quequoi y Chiles y Ache todos quantos varones en ellos avia, aunque estubiesen en el vientre de sus madres, abriendolas los vientres para los sacar dellos, por lo qual aquellos pueblos se llaman el dia de hoy '*pueblos de hembras*' en memoria de tan gran crueldad. Tambien Guaina Capa hizo matar todos quantos varones hubo en Otabalo y el Arango, dejando vivos solamente los muchachos, y asi se llaman oi dia Guamaraconas, que quiere decir 'ahora sois muchachos', segun refiere Cieza en la primera parte de la Coronica del Peru. Finalmente eran tan crueles que á los que delinquian no solamente mataban, mas aun todos sus parientes, y demas de esto sacrificaban á sus idolos muchos muchachos, y enterraban, y consentian enterrar con los principales sus mugeres vivas y sus criados, cosa horrenda, y excedieron en crueldad á Lucio Silla y á Neron, y á todos los tiranos de el mundo."

suya, han procurado abolirla*. *Quando la novia estaba en reputacion de doncella,* á la mañana siguiente del desposorio entraban los padrinos á la pieza en que habian quedado encerrados los desposados, y requerian la camisa de la

have accorded with the opinions of the Jews of his own age, since if they understood in a moral and not in a literal sense the passage of Genesis declaratory of man's being created in the image of God,—which conjecture, it must be confessed, involves an improbable supposition, from the inclination which the Jews have always manifested to interpret Scripture in a literal sense,—it is evident that the claims of the poor to be considered the image of God would have been far greater than those of the rich, who did not in an equal degree enjoy the divine favour; and the sense of both the above passages would become quite intelligible, while all that shocks us in the discourse of the Mexican priest to the penitent whose confession he had received, and to whom he had granted absolution, is, that he should have recommended him, in one and the same breath, to repent of his past sins, to lead a new life, to clothe and feed the hungry and the sick, who were the image of God, and to make an atonement for his sins by sacrificing a slave to Tezcatlipoca, and, according to the prescription of the Mosaic law, eating the flesh of the sin offering, in order to perfect the sacrifice. And yet those who have carefully studied the history of the Jews in the Old Testament, will immediately perceive that it presents the same compound of good and evil, of virtue and vice, of humanity and cruelty, and of piety blended with the most revolting superstition.

* A surprising conformity in the manners of the Jews and the Mexicans is discernible not only in their nuptial ceremonies, but in many other circumstances incidental to and connected with their marriages. Clemens Alexandrinus remarks of the ancient Jews, in the tenth chapter of the second book of his Pædagogus, that their wives, when pregnant, separated themselves from their husbands, in compliance, as he supposes, with a particular enactment of the Mosaic law; and it would appear from the eighth verse of the first chapter of the prophet Hosea, that this period of separation was sometimes prolonged till after the mother had done suckling her child, since in the passage "Now *when she had weaned* Loruhamah, she conceived and bare a son," an effect seems to be explained by assigning its cause, which renders the above passage the more conclusive; whilst the long period which the Jewish women were sometimes accustomed to suckle their children, is incidentally alluded to in the following passage of the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees: "But she, bowing herself toward him, laughing the cruel tyrant to scorn, spake in her country language on this manner, O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee nine months in my womb, and gave thee suck *three years,* and nourished thee, and brought thee up unto this age, and endured the troubles of education." The former of these Hebrew customs seems to be inculcated in a rhetorical style of reasoning in the first section of the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; and the evidence of the existence of the latter custom amongst the Mexicans, will be found in the following passage of Alonzo de Zorita's inedited treatise concerning the civil government of the ancient Mexicans. "En criar sus hijos, asi de los Señores y principales, como de los plebeyos, y doctrinar y castigar, habia gran vigilancia y cuidado, y por la mayor parte los hijos de los Señores, los criaban *sus madres,* si estaban para ello, y si no, buscaban quien les diese leche, y para ver si era buena, echavan unas gotas en la uña, y si no corria por ser espesa, tenian por buena. La madre ó el ama que les daba leche, *no mudava el manjar* con que los comenzaba á criar; algunas comian carne, y algunas frutas sanas: *dabanles quatro años leche,* y son tan amigas de sus hijos y los crian con tanto amor, *que las mugeres por no tornarse á empreñarse entre tanto que les dan leche, se escusan quanto pueden de juntarse con sus maridos,* y si enviudan y quedan con hijo que le dan leche, por ninguna via se tornan á casar hasta haberlo criado, y si alguna no lo hacia asi, parecia que hacia gran traicion. A los hijos de los Señores los criaban con un solo manjar, y habia gran cuidado en ello." Amongst the ruder American tribes of the Orinoco and the Caribs who inhabited the islands adjacent to the sea-coast, a custom prevailed which has been noticed by several ancient writers, and which one Spanish author supposes, not without some reason, might possibly have existed amongst the Mexicans, although Spanish authors in general are silent respecting it, since it is thought to have had some connexion with Hebrew traditions, and might therefore have been shadowed forth in some of the Mexican rites. On the birth of an infant, whether male or female, the father of the child immediately commenced a severe fast, and performed many extraordinary acts of penance; and this, in the opinion of some Spanish missionaries, with the intention either of expiating the original sin of the infant, or to share, as a matter of religious duty, in the curse pronounced by God in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis, upon Eve. "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children." That the Mexicans were acquainted with the doctrine of original sin, has already been proved in the eighteenth page of the Notes forming the appendix to the present volume; and that the prophecy respecting the enmity which was to exist between the seed of the woman and of the serpent, was likewise known to them, may be inferred from the painting in the seventy-fourth page of the lesser Vatican MS., where a serpent is represented in the act of biting the *heel* of a man, who is himself bruising its *head* with a staff. That, like the Jews, they employed water to wash away the defilements of sin from infants as well as from grown-up persons, which usage is stated in the fifth verse of the third chapter of St. Matthew to have been very general in the age of Christ, is likewise a well authenticated fact, and is an analogy deserving of the most serious attention. There was another custom, however, of which an example has been recorded by Diego Duran in the sixth chapter of the First Part of his inedited Historia de la Nueva España, which savours in the strongest degree of Judaism, and was so evidently founded on patriarchal precedent, that it is extremely deserving of notice; it was that of a woman, who was herself childless, avoiding the disgrace which, amongst the Jews attached to that particular class of women, by practising a device similar to that recorded of Rachel in the thirtieth chapter of Genesis: "And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister, and said unto Jacob, Give me children, or else I die; and Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel, and he said, Am I in God's stead, *who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb*? And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah: go in unto her, and *she shall bear upon my knees,* that I may also have children by her. And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife, and Jacob went in unto her." The following is the passage of the author above alluded to, and the story it contains is related of Yllancuietl, the

novia: si la hallaban manchada de sangre, salian con ella con gran jubilo, y puesta en un palo la manifestaban á todo el concurso en testimonio de que era virgen la novia, y luego se formaba un baile que andaba por todo el lugar, llevando en el palo la camisa, y á esto llamaban 'bailar la camisa.' Pero si esta no se hallaba manchada, se convertia la fiesta en lagrimas y amargura: llenaban de oprobios y injurias á la pobre desposada, y el novio era libre para repudiarla*. Despues que entró la Ley Evangelica se há trabajado mucho en desterrar esta costumbre, y

wife of Acamapichtli, the first king of Mexico. "Pero porque no dejemos á la principal muger del rey sin hacer mencion de ella, al principio tubo tanta tristeza y pesar de verse asi menospreciada, que sus ojos eran fuentes de dia y de noche. El rey viendo su tristeza, teniendola en mucho y amandola estrañablemente, la consolaba todo lo que podia, y ella viendo que el rey tanto la amaba, pidiole una merced, y fué *que ya que el Señor de lo criado la habia privado de fructo de bendicion,* que para que *el pueblo perdiese aquella mala opinion que de infecunda della tenia,* que aquellos hijos que de las otras mugeres naciesen, que en naciendo, *ella los meteria en su seno, y se acostaria, fingiendo ser parida, para que los que entrasen á visitalla le diesen el parabien del parto y nuevo hijo.* El rey inclinado á su ruego mando asi se hiciese, *y asi en pariendo que paria alguna de aquellas mugeres, acostabase ella en la cama y tomaba el niño en sus brazos y fingiase parida, recibiendo las gracias y dones de los que la visitaban,* y aunque en realidad de verdad no era ella la parida, quedaba en opinion de ello, y el dia de hoy la hay, y contradicen este punto con diferente informacion, la cual no tube por verdadera y cierta, por ser muy contraria de la comun opinion, que es la que tengo referida. Pero como quiera que sea, esta Señora quedó en opinion del vulgo por madre de todos aquellos hijos que dijo referidos, los cuales fueron origen, cepa, y sucesion del señorio de Mexico."

* The testimony of Echevarria, who here speaks as an eye-witness respecting the existence of the above Hebrew rite amongst the Mexicans, is confirmed by Herrera in the 63rd page of the sixth volume of this work; and Oviedo mentions it in the following terms in the third chapter of the fourth book of the Third Part of his inedited General History of the Indies, where, describing the marriages of the Indians of Nicaragua, he observes: "Quando se han de juntar en uno, toma el cazique al novio é á la novia por los dedos meniques ó auricularios de las manos izquierdas con su mano derecha, é metelos á entrambos en una casa chiquita que para ello tienen, é dizeles, mirad que seais bien casados, é que mireis bien por vuestra hazienda, é que siempre la aumenteis, é no la dejeis perder: é dejalos alli solos con un fuego pequeño que baste á darles claridad de unas astillas de tea; é los novios estan quedos mirando como aquella poca tea se quema; é acabada, quedan casados é ponen en efecto lo demas: é luego el dia siguiente comen con mucha fiesta é plazer los parientes é los que alli van, é les dan de lo que tienen. Pero antes desta comida, si el marido hallo virgen la novia, dizen que esta buena, y acuden con una gran grita los parientes é del vando de ella, en señal de vitoria, *é si no la hallo tal, sale muy enojado, é embiala á casa de su padre, é busca otra con que se case.*" To the foregoing testimonies we may add that of Diego Duran, who in the fifth chapter of the Second Part of his valuable inedited History of Mexico, which is preserved in manuscript in the Royal Library at Madrid, thus corroborates the much later testimony of Echevarria: "Primeramente el sacerdote toma por la mano á los novios y les pregunta si se quieren casar, y sabida la voluntad de ambos, tomaban la manta de él y la manta ó camisa de ella, y atabanlos haciendo un ñudo; y asi atados llevabanlos á la casa de ella, donde tenian un fogon de fuego encendido, y á ella hacianle dar *siete* vueltas al rededor de aquel fogon; dadas las siete vueltas, sentabanlos juntos en una estera nueva junto al mismo fogon, y dejabanlos alli, donde consumian el matrimonio. Ponian la estera nueva y que nunca se hubiese estrenado, por cerimonia del nuevo acceso á la nueva muger, y donde se manifestasen las muestras de la virginidad de ella, lo cual entre los principales y señores era muy mirado y celebrado. Y si parecia no estar virgen, para que se conociese su mal recado asi de ella como *de los padres*[a], horadaban todos los cestillos por abajo con los que daban la comida en el banquete, y *horadaban* las escudillas y platos, y asi conocian todos los convidados haber ido no virgen al talamo, lo cual sentian mucho los padres y lo lloraban: empero si estaba como habia de estar, habia ofrendas á los dioses y *gran banquete,* uno en casa de ella y otro en casa de él, cuando la llevaban á su casa, *y ponian por memoria lo que él tenia asi de joyas como de provision de casa, tierras y casa,* y en *otra memoria* lo que ella traia, *las cuales memorias guardaban los padres de los desposados y señorcillos de los barrios,* porque si por ventura se viniesen á descasar, *como era uso y costumbre entre ellos en no llevandose bien pedir divorcio,* hacian *particion de los bienes* conforme á lo que cada uno trujo, poniendo á cada uno en libertad, dando á él los hijos y á ella las hijas con todo el recaudo mugeril de su casa, dandoles licencia para poderse casar con otro y él con otra, mandandole estrechamente que no tornase á juntarse con aquella muger mas, *so pena de la vida*[b] y asi se guardaba con mucho rigor. Tambien tenian estos sacerdotes otra cerimonia que hacian á los niños que eran recien nacidos, que era *sacrificalles las orejas y el miembro genital á manera de circuncision,* especialmente á los hijos de los señores y reyes[c] á los quales en naciendo, si era varon lo lavaban los mismos sacerdotes, y lavado ponianle en la mano derecha una

[a] It was doubtless with a view of punishing the father's want of proper attention to the moral education of his daughter, that the Mosaic law commanded the damsel with whom the tokens of virginity were not found, to be stoned to death by the men of her city at her own father's door. This aggravation of punishment would, except on the assumption of such a supposition, have been cruel in the extreme, and would justify the epithet of sanguinary, which the French philosophers of the last century hesitated not to bestow on the Mosaic code.

[b] This extreme severity of the Mexican law in punishing a fictitious rather than a real crime with death, surprisingly accords with the old prejudices and opinions of the Jews, as is aptly illustrated in the following passage of the third chapter of the Prophet Jeremiah, who there ascribes the pollution of a *whole* land to the *single* cause of a wife who had been divorced and married to another man, returning to live with her former husband, "They say, if a man put away his wife, and she go from him and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land *be greatly polluted*? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to *me,* saith the Lord.

[c] The Mexican custom of circumcising their children within a few days after their birth was known to the Spanish author Urreta, who

aunque se há conseguido estorbar la publicidad de estos bailes, no dejan de hacerse muchos en el secreto de sus casas, de que cada dia tienen denuncias los parrocos y los jueces. Pero aunque no hagan el baile, no por eso dejan los padrinos y los padres del novio ó parientes inmediatos de ir á reconocer la ropa de la novia al dia siguiente del desposorio, y si la hallan manchada, se regocijan y se dan mutuamente los parabienes; pero si no es asi, injurian y maltratan á la novia, y le ponen á la puerta de la casa una olla desfondada, ó un comali de barro, que és una especie de tortera, agujerado por el medio, ó otras piezas semejantes agujeradas por el fondo, para darla á entender que ya no era doncella, y aunque el dia de hoy no las repudian los maridos, por lo comun pasan muy mala vida, siempre maltratadas y injuriadas de ellos, de que *tengo larga esperiencia* en las ocasiones que hé sido juez."

Note XLVI. Page 332.

The pertinacity with which Acosta denies that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews, and the reasons which he assigns for combating the popular opinion, have already been noticed in the 332nd page of the sixth volume of this Work; whilst a slight insinuation has been elsewhere thrown out that that celebrated Jesuit did not express his own sentiments with all the sincerity which became his learning and sacred profession, but had strongly imbibed the spirit of that party which did not think that it was for the interests of religion that the truth should be promulgated throughout Europe, that the Jews had for many ages revived the old law in America, introducing amongst the Indians all the idolatries of the land of Canaan. Further researches in the wide field of American literature have verified and confirmed our previous suspicions to an extent which we should scarcely have deemed probable; and unfortunately for the fame of that eminent man, one manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid, convicts him of three offences, each of no inconsiderable magnitude in the estimation of men of letters, namely, of plagiarism, disingenuousness as a writer in not avowing the name of the author from whose inedited History of Mexico he might be said to have transcribed that portion of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies which related to the ancient history of the Mexicans, and, worse than either, of garbling the very history which he servilely followed by passing over in silence the contents of the first chapter, which from the beginning to the end advocates the theory which Acosta labours to subvert, he doubtless being conscious of the dilemma in which he would have been placed by admitting the premises, and yet at the same time denying the conclusion to which that chapter necessarily led, and therefore dissimulating his knowledge of its contents. We must here observe, that the name of the author whose original History of Mexico is preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid was Diego Duran *, from whose work we transcribe the introductory chapter, annexing to it a literal translation.

"Para tratar de la cierta y verdadera relacion del origen y principio destas naciones Indianas, á nosotros tan abscondido y dudoso, que para poder poner la mera verdad fuera necesaria alguna revelacion divina ò espiritual de

espada pequeña, y en la otra una rodela chiquita. Esta cerimonia hacian al niño cuatro dias arreo: ofrecian los padres por él grandes oblaciones, y si era hija, despues de lavada cuatro veces, ponianle en la mano un aderezo pequeño de hilar y tejer con los dechados de labores; á otros niños ponian á los cuellos carcajes de flechas y arcos en las manos; á los demas niños de la gente vulgar les ponian las insignias de lo que por el signo en que nacian: si su signo le inclinaba á pintar, ponianle un pinal en la mano, si á carpintero dabanle una azuela, y asi de los demas."

* The following brief notice of the life and writings of Diego Duran is taken from the 814th page of Padilla's Historia de la Provincia de Mexico: "F. Diego Duran, hijo de Mexico, escrivió dos libros, uno de historia, y otro de antiguallas de los Indios Mexicanos, la cosa mas curiosa que en esta materia se ha visto. Vivió muy enfermo y no le luzieron sus trabajos, aunque *parte* dellos estan ya impressos en la Philosofia Natural y Moral del Padre Joseph Acosta, á quien los dió el Padre Juan de Tovar, que vive en el Collegio de la Compañia de Mexico; murió este padre año de 1588."

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in the sixth chapter of the second book of his Historia de la Etiopia, printed at Valencia in 1610, ascribes the invention of that rite to the Devil: "Una de estas fue la circuncision, queriendo el demonio remedar á Dios en esta costumbre; como lo avemos visto en las Indias, donde los de Yucatan, los Totones de la Nueva España, los Mexicanos, los de la Isla de Acuzamil, se circuncidavan. Y no tengo por verdadero, sino por muy falso, dezir que los Indios vienen de los Judios de aquellos diez tribus que llevo cautivos Salmanasar á la Asiria; los quales entrando poco á poco por la Tartarea, llegaron á Tendue, al mar Oriental, donde travessando el estrecho llamado Annian, entraron en la tierra de Quivira, que es tierra firme de Mexico; todo esto es imaginacion." To the foregoing observations we may add, that connected with the above rite, as practised by the Jews and of divine institution, was an ancient mode of swearing,

Dios, que lo enseñara y diera á entender; empero faltando esto, será necesario llegarnos á las sospechas y congeturas á la demasiada ocasion que esta gente nos dá con su bajisimo modo y manera de tratar, y de su conversacion tan baja, tan propia á la de los Judios, que podriamos ultimadamente afirmar ser naturalmente Judios y gente Hebrea; y creo no incurriria en capital error él que lo afirmase, si considerado su modo de vivir, sus ceremonias, sus ritos y supersticiones, sus agüeros y iproquesias, tan emparentadas y propias á las de los Judios que en *ninguna* cosa difieren; para probacion de lo cual, será testiguo la Sagrada Escritura, donde clara y abiertamente sacaremos ser verdadera esta opinion, y en algunas razones bastantes que para ello darémos. Cuanto á lo primero, tendremos por principal fundamento el ser esta nacion y gente Indiana advenediza de estrañas y remotas regiones, y que en su venida á poseer esta tierra hizo un largo y prolijo camino, en el cual gastó muchos años y meses para llegar á ella, como de su relacion y pinturas se colige, y como de algunos viejos ancianos de muchos dias hé procurado saber, para sacar esta opinion en limpio. Y dado caso que algunos cuenten algunas falsas fabulas, conviene á saber, que nacieron de unas fuentes y manantiales de agua, otros que nacieron de unas cuevas, otros que su generacion es de los dioses, &c. lo cual clara y abiertamente se vé ser fabula, y que ellos mismos ignoran su origen y principio, dado caso que siempre confiesen aver venido de tierras estrañas, y asi lo hé hallado pintado en sus antiguas pinturas, donde señalan grandes trabajos de hambre, sed y desnudez, con otras inumerables aflicciones que en él pasaron, hasta llegar á esta tierra y poblalla: con lo cual confirmo mi opinion y sospecha de que estos naturales sean de aquellos diez tribus de Israel que Salmanasar rey de los Asirios cautivó y transmigró de Asiria en tiempo de Ozeas rey de Israel, y en tiempo de Ezequias rey de Jerusalem, como se podrá ver en el cuarto libro de los Reyes, cap. xvii., donde dice, que fue trasladado Israel de su tierra á los Asirios, hasta el dia de hoy, &c.; de los cuales dice Esdras en el libro cuarto, capitulo xiii., que se pasaron á vivir á una tierra remota y apartada que nunca habia sido habitada, á la cual habia largo y prolijo camino de año y medio, donde agora se hallan estas gentes de todas las Islas y tierra firme del mar oceano hacia la parte de Occidente. Otra autoridad de la Sagrada Escriptura se puede traer para probar esta opinion, y és, que á estos diez tribus, que abajo dejo dicho, tenia Dios prometido por Ozeas, cap. i., y ii., y iii., hasta el xiii., que los avia Dios de multiplicar como las arenas de la mar, lo cual clara y manifiestamente se vé cuan grande aya sido el multiplico, pues han ocupado gran parte del mundo. Pero dejando lo demas y viniendo á lo que vimos en esta tierra, cuan espantoso y de gran admiracion fué el numero de gente que en ella se halló, como al principio vieron los que antes de aquella gran mortandad que el año veinte y cinco huvo, donde murió tanto numero de gente, que no quedó la tercia parte de los Indios que en la tierra habia, no dejando de contar la inumerable gente de hombres y mugeres y niños que los Españoles habian muerto pocos años antes en la conquista della. De la autoridad dicha resultan otras muchas, como el curioso lector podrá ver y notar en el Deuteronomio,c apitulo iv., y xxviii., y xxxii.; Isaias, xx., xxviii., xlii. capitulos; Jeremias, Ezequiel, Miqueas, Sophonias, donde se hallara el castigo rigurosisimo que Dios prometió á estos diez tribus por sus grandes maldades y abominaciones, y nefandas idolatrias, apartandose del culto de su verdadero Dios, de quien tantos beneficios habian recibido: por pago de la tal ingratitud, les promete Dios en los lugares acotados un azote y castigo rigurosisimo, cual le vemos cumplido en estas miserables gentes: conviene á saber, que les avia de ser quitadas sus tierras, casas y tesoros, sus joyas y piedras preciosas, sus mugeres é hijos, y llevados á vender á tierras estrañas, gozando otros de sus haciendas. Pareceme que aunque no diera mas autoridad ni razon, para que entendieramos que estos Indios son y proceden de los Judios, que lo dicho bastava, viendo que aviendose multiplicado como las arenas de la mar, siendo en su transmigracion numero breve, y los muchos años de su peregrinacion, despues de haber poblado este mundo tan grande cansado Dios de sufrir sus abominaciones y hechos nefandos y idolatrias, trugese Dios gentes estrañas, como aguila que viene de los fines de la tierra, que sin tener respeto á los viejos ni á los mozos, á los niños ni á las mugeres, los destruyó y consumió sin ninguna piedad, teniendolos en hambre, en sed y desnudez, y en cansancio perpetuo, hasta que fuesen apocados. Y es mucho de notar, que sobre los demas males que Dios á esta gente promete,

expressly mentioned in the second verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis, and the twenty-ninth verse of the forty-seventh chapter of the same book, and indirectly alluded to in other passages of Scripture, which Voltaire explaining in a manner which accords with the notions of the Rabbis, at the same time drew down upon himself the charge of scurrility against religion. Mendes da Costa, a learned Jew, whose family came over from Holland to this country in the eighteenth century, thus notices it in his Cursory Remarks on Jewish Antiquities: "The ceremony mentioned in Genesis, of Abraham's servant swearing by putting his hand under his master's thigh, is a custom mentioned in no other place: this act of Abraham's servant laying his hand under his master's thigh as an oath, was *swearing by the covenant of God,* i. e. the circumcision; the Rabbins thus elucidate it."

es un corazon cobarde y pusilanimo y temeroso, para que ellos siendo muchos huyesen de los pocos; cosa cierto de notar, que desembarcando el Marques del Valle en esta tierra con solos trecientos hombres, que la mitad dellos eran gente de la mar, ejercitada en aquel menester mas que en ardides de guerra, se atreviesen á acometer á millones de Indios que en la tierra habia, encaminado todo por la mano del Supremo Señor, que fué su divina voluntad se cumpliese lo á estas gentes prometido en la Sagrada Escriptura; y que trecientos hombres acometiesen á tantos millones de gentes, y que todos aquellos millones de gentes tubiesen un corazon tan asombrado y cobarde, que huyesen de los trecientos: el cual oy en dia le tienen tan temeroso y asombrado, que en ninguna cosa osan fiarse de nosotros, ni acaban de darnos credito, aun en las cosas de nuestra santa Fé Catolica, y tocantes á su salvacion. Pero, Señor y Dios nuestro, ya vemos cumplidos en estas miseras naciones todos los trabajos y aflicciones y castigos, que por sus maldades y abominaciones y idolatrias merecieron. Veamos, Señor, la divina misericordia y verdadera conversion á tu santa Fé Catolica, que en la misma Sagrada Escriptura se les promete con renombre y alabanza delante de todos los pueblos, pues con tanta liberalidad y voluntad recibieron la santa Fé Catolica. Desatada esta duda por las autoridades traidas, de que estas naciones sean Hebreas y de nacion Judaica, por el consiguiente quiero por razones claras manifiestamente probar la misma opinion, que no haran menos fuerza que las autoridades referidas de la Sagrada Escriptura. Cuanto á lo primero, es de saber, que sobre la relacion que estos dan para venir á poseer y habitar esta tierra, hallo á cada paso gran diferencia entre los ancianos que la dan, de los sucesos, trabajos y aflicciones de su camino; de suerte, que contandolo unos de una manera y otros de otra, vienen á dar consigo y á traer con sus varias relaciones aquel largo y prolijo camino que los hijos de Israel anduvieron desde Egipto á la tierra de promision, tan al propio y tan al vivo, que bastara trasladar aqui el Exodo, ú el Levitico; si el evitar proligidad no me lo estorvara; pero como no pienso seguir el orden conforme á la variedad de relaciones, solo quiero recitar lo que para salir con mi opinion me fuerza, contando algunos acontecimientos de trabajos y infortunios, hambres y pestilencias, que en su camino cuentan que pasaron, en lo cual notaremos que en realidad de verdad no és sino noticia de la Sagrada Escriptura que sus antepasados les dejaron; donde és de saber que tratando de un gran varon, de quien no poca noticia se halla sobre ellos, me contaron que despues de haber pasado grandes aflicciones y persecuciones de los de la tierra, que juntó toda la multitud de gente que era de su parcialidad, y que les persuadió á que huyesen de aquella persecucion á una tierra donde tuviesen descanso, y que haciendose caudillo de aquella gente se fué á la orilla de la mar, y que con una vara que en la mano traia dió en el agua con ella, y que luego se abrió la mar, y entraron por alli él y sus seguidores, y que los enemigos viendo hecho camino se entraron tras él, y que luego se tornó la mar á su lugar, y que nunca mas tubieron noticia dellos. Que mas clara razon se puede dar de que estos sean Judios, que ver cuan manifiestamente y al propio relaten la salida de Egipto, el dar Moises con la vara en la mar, el abrirse y hacer camino, el entrar Pharaon con su egercito tras ellos, y volver Dios las aguas á su lugar, donde todos quedaron en el profundo ahogados? Y si esto no satisface, quiero traer otro acontecimiento que dicen habelles acontecido en su largo camino, y és, que estando alojados junto á unos grandes cerros, vino un grande y espantoso temblor de tierra, y que á ciertos hombres de mal vivir que entre ellos venian, se abrió la tierra en aquel lugar y se los tragó; de lo cual la demas gente recibió gran temor y espanto. En viendo que vide yo esta pintura y lo que significaba, se me ofreció el capitulo diez y seis de los Numeros, donde tragó la tierra á Core y á Datan y Abiron; y porque no es justo callar otra potissima y manifiesta razon para probar lo dicho, quiero contar lo que en la misma pintura vide, y és, que tenian pintado como llovia sobre ellos una arena ú granizo muy menudito, y queriendome satisfacer que fuese aquello, me digeron que muy gran tiempo les llovió arena del cielo á sus padres en el camino que para esta tierra trugeron, la cual, si no me engaño, deve de ser el mana con que Dios los sustentó en el desierto, como lo cuenta el capitulo diez y seis del Exodo: y porque no dejemos nada por contar, quiero empeza á contar la Sagrada Escriptura, pues el salir con mi opinion me fuerza, y quiero tomar mi tema desdel primer capitulo de Genesis, y decir, en el principio crió Dios el cielo y la tierra, como me empezó á contar un viejo natural de Chulula de edad de cien años, que de puro viejo andaba ya inclinado hacia la tierra, açaz docto en sus antiguallas, al cual rogandole me alumbrase de algunas cosas para poner en esta mi obra, me preguntó, que de que materia queria me tratase? Yo como topé con lo que deseaba, le dige, que desdel principio del mundo en lo que á su generacion Indiana tocaba, y tenia noticia; el cual me respondió, toma tinta y papel, porque no podras percibir todo lo que yo te diré; el cual empezó desta manera. En el principio antes que la luz ni el sol fuese criado, estaba esta tierra en obscuridad y tiniebla, y vacia de toda cosa criada, toda llana sin cerro ni quebrada, cercada de todas partes del agua,

sin arbol ni cosa criada, y luego que nació la luz y el sol en Oriente, aparecieron en ella unos hombres gigantes de disforme estatura, y poseyeron esta tierra, los cuales deseosos de ver el nacimiento del sol y su ocasu, propusieron de lo ir á buscar, y dividiendose en dos partes, los unos caminaron hacia Poniente, los otros hacia Oriente: estos caminaron hasta que la mar les atajó el camino, de donde determinaron volverse al lugar donde habian salido, y vueltos á este lugar que tenia por nombre 'Yztacculinyneminian', no hallando remedio para poder llegar al sol, enamorados de su luz y hermosura, determinaron de edificar una torre, tan alta, que llegase su cumbre al cielo; y llegando materiales para el efecto, hallaron un barro y betun muy pegadizo, con el cual á mucha priesa empezaron á edificar la torre, y aviendola subido lo mas alto que pudieron, que dicen parecia llegar al cielo, enojado el Señor de las alturas, dijo á los moradores del cielo: Aveis notado como los de la tierra han edificado una alta y soberbia torre para subirse acá, enamorados de la luz del sol y de su hermosura? Veni y confundamoslos, porque no es justo que los de la tierra viviendo en la carne, se mezclen con nosotros. Luego en aquel punto salieron los moradores del cielo por los cuatro partes del mundo, asi como rayos, les derribaron el edificio que avian edificado, de lo cual asombrados los gigantes y llenos de temor se dividieron y derramaron por todas las partes de la tierra. Bien creo no será necesario advirtir al lector que note el capitulo primero y segundo del Genesis, en lo que hemos venido tratando, pues tan manifiestamente vemos relatar á un Indio la creacion del mundo, y lo que en el capitulo sexto del mismo libro se trata de los gigantes y de la torre de Babilonia, y del como la edificaban los hombres codiciosos de llegar al cielo, movidos solo para celebrar su nombre, por lo cual fueron confundidos de Dios; y asi me persuado, y deseo persuadir, que los que dan esta relacion la oyeron de sus ascendientes y antepasados; y á estos naturales, como son de la linea de aquel pueblo escogido de Dios segun mi opinion, por quien Dios obró grandes maravillas, ha venido la noticia y pinturas de mano en mano de las cosas de la Biblia y misterios della, para atribuillo á esta tierra y que aconteció en ella, ignorando el principio: y no niego, ni puedo negar, que aya havido gigantes en esta tierra, pues como testigo de vista lo puedo afirmar, pues los connoci en algunos lugares della de disforme estatura; y porque creo habrá quien desto se acuerde, en Mexico en la procesion del Corpus Christi, vi sacar un Indio de estos gigantes vestido de tafetan amarillo, con una partesana al hombro y una celada en la cabeza, que sobre todos sobrepujaba una vara de medir. Tambien creo, que en tan largo y proligo camino como para llegar á esta tierra trugeron, pasasen grandes trabajos; cuentan hambres, pestilencias, sed, tempestades, guerras, langostas que los afligian, granizos que les destruian sus sementeras que por esos caminos venian sembrando, con otros mil maneras de trabajos y angustias que hallo en sus historias. Tambien es de creer, que traian caudillos y sacerdotes que los guiaban y industriaban en ceremonias; pero creer que no sea cosa sacada de la relacion de la Biblia, viendola tan enparentada y propia á lo de la Sagrada Escriptura, no puedo dejar de en alguna manera persuadirme: para probacion de lo cual, y para que clara y manifiestamente se vea, quiero que se considere los ritos, las idolatrias, las ceremonias y supersticiones que tenian, el ir á sacrificar á los montes, debajo de los arboles sombrios, á las cuevas y cavernas de la tierra obscuras y sombrias, el encender y quemar incienso, el matar sus hijos y hijas y sacrificallos y ofrecellos por victimas á sus dioses, sacrificar niños, comer carne humana, matar los presos y cautivos en la guerra, todo ceremonia Judaica de aquellos diez tribus de Israel dichos, todo hecho con las mayores ceremonias y supersticiones que se puede pensar. Y lo que mas me fuerza á creer que estos Indios son de linea Hebrea, es la estraña pertinacia que tienen en no desarraigar de si estas idolatrias y supersticiones, yendo y viniendo á ellas como se vé de sus antepasados, como dice David en el Salmo cvi. que en viendose atribulados de Dios clamaban á él, y perdonaba los con su misericordia, pero luego olvidados se volvian á idolatrar, y á sacrificar sus hijos y hijas á los demonios, derramando la sangre de los inocentes, la ofrecian á los idolos de Canan: pero porque la noticia que tengo de su origen y principio no es mas, ni ellos saben dar mas relacion sino desde aquellas Siete Cuevas, donde habitaron tan largo tiempo, las cuales desampararon para venir á buscar esta tierra, unos primero que otros, otros despues, y otros muy despues, hasta dejallas desiertas. Estas Cuevas son en Teoculuacan, que por otro nombre la llaman Aztlan, tierra de que todos tenemos noticia caer acia la parte del Norte, y tierra firme con la Florida. Por tanto desde este lugar de estas Cuevas, daré verdadera relacion de estas naciones y de sus sucesos, dado que la que queda dicho de mi opinion de su origen no sea muy dudosa, aunque en todo me someto á la correccion de la Santa Iglesia Catolica."

"To give a true and authentic account of the origin and early history of these Indian nations, so doubtful and mysterious to us, would be a task which, duly to be performed, would require special divine revelation rightly to comprehend it. In the absence, however, of such aid it will be necessary to recur to suspicions and surmises, availing

ourselves of the surprising handle afforded to us by this nation, whose extremely vile mode of living and conversation, and the style of their dealings in their intercourse with each other, so mean, so like that of the Jews, would warrant the assertion that they are descended from the Jews and of Hebrew race; and I believe that he will not commit any great error who should assert this to be the case, attention being paid to their manner of living, their ceremonies, their rites and superstitions, their signs and omens, so similar and conformable to those of the Jews that they in no respect differ from them. The testimony of Holy Scripture shall be adduced in proof of this fact, whence we shall draw clear and convincing proofs of the truth of what has been above stated, grounded on just and sufficient reasons. And first I shall offer, as a leading argument, that this Indian race *was* a colony which proceeded from remote and foreign parts, and which, previously to its arrival in this territory, performed a long and wearisome pilgrimage, in which many years and months were spent on the way, as their traditions and their paintings alike inform us, and as I have succeeded in learning from some very old persons of whom I made inquiries, with the intention of relieving this question from its present difficulties; and granting that some relate fables, such as that their ancestors were the offspring of fountains and springs of water, or, according to others, proceeded from caves, whilst others say that they were descended from the gods, which is evidently all fabulous, and proves that they themselves are ignorant of their real origin and lineage, yet they invariably confess that they came from a distant country, as I have found it recorded in their ancient paintings, in which they note down the great hardships from famine, thirst, and nakedness which they endured on the way, with many other sufferings which befell them until they arrived in this country and fixed their habitation in it. The consideration of all which circumstances confirms me in my opinion, and the suspicion which I entertain, that the people of this country are descended from the ten tribes of Israel which Salmanazar, king of Assyria, led into captivity and transplanted beyond Assyria in the time of Hosea, king of Israel, and in the time of Hezekiah, king of Judah, as is recorded in the seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of Kings, where it is said that Israel was removed from his own land to that of the Assyrians, where he continues to dwell to the present day; of whom Esdras declares, in the thirteenth chapter of his fourth book, that they went to inhabit a land remote and situated apart, which had never been inhabited, to which there was a long and tedious way of a year and a half's journey, where at present we find these nations dispersed throughout all the islands and over the whole continent of the ocean sea to the furthest west. Another authority may be adduced from Holy Scripture in proof of the same conjecture, which is this, that God declared to the ten tribes, already mentioned by Hosea in the first, second, and third chapters of his prophecies as far as the thirteenth inclusive, that he would multiply them like the sand of the sea; and it is plain and evident how greatly they have been multiplied, since they have peopled a large portion of the globe: but omitting all irrelevant matter, and directing our attention solely to that which we behold in this territory, how surprising and amazing was the amount of its population, such as the Spaniards beheld it in the beginning, before the great mortality which occurred in the year twenty-five, when such multitudes of the natives died, that not even the third part of the Indians who before inhabited it survived, without taking into account the infinite number of men, women, and children whom the Spaniards massacred but a few years before in the course of the conquest of it. Besides the authority already quoted, many more passages of Scripture might be adduced, as the curious reader will be enabled to perceive by referring to the fourth, twenty-eighth, and thirty-second chapters of Deuteronomy, to the twentieth, twenty-eighth, and forty-second chapter of Isaiah, and to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah, and Zephaniah, where he will find mention of the rigorous chastisement with which God threatened to visit these ten tribes on account of their great iniquities, abominations, and impious idolatries, withdrawing themselves from the worship of the true God, from whom they had received so many favours; in return for which ingratitude he threatens them in the chapters above mentioned with a scourge and most severe chastisement, such as we see* has been fulfilled upon these miserable nations, namely, that they should be stripped of their lands, houses and riches, their jewels and precious stones, their wives and children, and that they should be carried away to be sold in strange lands, and their possessions be enjoyed by the stranger. It appears to me that, even if I allege no other authority or grounds to justify the conclusion that these Indians are Jews and descended from the Jews, those which have been adduced would be sufficient, perceiving as we do that they have multiplied like the sand of the sea, being at the period of their migration but few

* How easy it is to find the seeming accomplishment of prophecy in the annals of all nations, when the interests or wishes of parties prompt them to put their own interpretations upon plain historical facts!

in number, and also considering the many years which they employed in that migration, and that after having peopled this vast continent, God, becoming weary of their abominations, execrable deeds, and idolatries, brought a strange nation against them, like an eagle from the ends of the earth, who, paying no regard to the old nor to the young, to women nor children, destroyed and consumed them without any pity, keeping them in a state of hunger, thirst, and nakedness, and in continual disquietude, until their number was diminished. It is likewise very deserving of remark, that one amongst the many evils with which God threatened to afflict them was a faint and trembling heart, so that being many they should flee from a few; and it certainly is a fact worthy of special notice, that when the Marquis of the Valley landed in this territory with only three hundred men, the half of whom were mariners, better acquainted with their own profession than with military tactics, they should have ventured to attack the millions of Indians who inhabited it, all doubtless being ordered by the hand of the Supreme God, since it was his divine will that that which had been denounced in the Holy Scriptures against these nations should be fulfilled, and that three hundred men should attack as many millions, and that all those millions should have hearts so timid and so faint as to flee from three hundred men; who even still are so much under the impression of fear that in the most trivial matters they dare not confide in us, nor can prevail on themselves to credit us even in things relating to our holy Catholic faith and appertaining to their own salvation. But, O Lord God! since we now behold all the evils, afflictions, and chastisements accomplished upon these miserable nations, which they merited on account of their iniquities, abominations, and idolatries, let us also behold, O Lord, the display of thy divine clemency and their true conversion to thy holy faith, which is promised to them in the same Holy Scriptures, with honour and applause in the eyes of all nations, since they received so freely and with such readiness the holy Catholic faith. All doubt having been removed by the authorities cited as to whether these nations are of Hebrew origin and a Jewish race, I shall proceed to demonstrate the truth of that proposition by arguments no less convincing than the authorities cited from Holy Writ. With respect to the first point it is fit that I should remark, in reference to the account which they give of their coming to possess and to inhabit this land, that it is impossible to advance a step without encountering great discrepancies in the accounts which the ancients give of the trials, hardships, and afflictions which they endured on the road, which they nevertheless describe in such a manner, that some recounting them in one way, and some in another, their different relations all square with each other, and substantially agree with that long and tedious pilgrimage which the Israelites performed on their quitting Egypt to proceed in search of the promised land, so exactly, indeed, and to the letter, that I need do no more than transcribe Exodus or Leviticus were I not anxious to avoid prolixity. Since, however, it is not my intention to notice here the variety of relations, I shall content myself with selecting what is absolutely necessary to prove the reasonableness of my conclusion, detailing for that purpose the vicissitudes which they say they suffered from famine and pestilence, and other casualties which befell them on their journey, of which we may remark, that in point of truth it is nothing more than a confused acquaintance with Holy Scripture, which they derived from the traditions of their ancestors, where what is chiefly worthy of observation is, that making mention of a certain great man, of whose history they retain no slight recollection, they told me that after having suffered great afflictions and persecutions from the natives of the land, he assembled the whole multitude of his people and persuaded them to fly from that oppression to a land where they might be enabled to enjoy repose; and that, becoming their leader, he conducted them to the shore of the sea, and struck the water with a rod which he held in his hand, and that the sea immediately opened*, and that both he and those that followed him

* The following account of a Mexican painting, recording the principal events of sacred history from the creation of the world to the deluge, the subsequent building of the tower of Babel, the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt and their passage through the Red Sea, and likewise the mysteries of the Incarnation, is extracted from the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Garcia's 'Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo, viviendo los Apostoles.' This passage will doubtless be read with interest, as it affords the strongest corroboration of the authenticity of Diego Duran's curious relation, and reflects much light on the mysterious nature of some of the Mexican paintings. "Otro religioso de mi orden, de cuyo nombre no me acuerdo, mas de que era Vicario del Convento de la Vera Cruz, me dio por escrito de su mano la relacion siguiente. Quando entraron los religiosos de la orden de nuestro padre Santo Domingo en la provincia de la Zapoteca para aver de convertir á los Indios, y predicarles el santo evangelio, llegaron á un pueblo que se llama Quic Chapa, adonde hallaron en poder del Cacique de aquella tierra una Biblia de solas figuras, y por tradicion se yvan enseñando unos Indios á otros lo que significavan. Estavan pintadas en aquella Biblia muchas cosas de las que creemos de la nuestra. Porque alli estava pintada la creacion, y el diluvio, la torre de Babel, *el passage de los hijos de Israel,* y la anunciacion. Y tenian pintada á nuestra Señora en habito de India, con naguas y huaypil (es vestido de las Indias) sentada y texiendo una tela, de la manera que suelen texer las Indias, y sobre

entered into it, and that their enemies, perceiving a way prepared, entered after them, and that the sea immediately returned to its place, and that they never more heard of them. What clearer proof could be adduced of these people being Jews than to see how plainly and literally they record the flight (of the children of Israel) from Egypt, Moses smiting the sea with his rod, and the sea opening and affording them a passage, Pharaoh and his army entering after them, and God causing the waters to return to their place when all remained overwhelmed in the deep? Lest, however, this proof should be deemed insufficient, I shall proceed to mention another event which they say befell them in the course of their long pilgrimage. Having halted, as they affirm, near some high mountains, a great and terrible earthquake occurred, and the earth opened in that place and swallowed up certain men of an evil course of life who journeyed amongst them, and struck terror and consternation into the rest. On seeing, as I did, this painting and its signification, the sixteenth chapter of Numbers occurred to my recollection, where the earth is said to have swallowed up Korah, and Dathan, and Abiram. And since it would be wrong to pass over in silence another most convincing and clear argument tending to the same conclusion, I shall declare what I saw in the same painting, in which was represented a shower, as it were, of sand or fine hailstones descending upon them; and, wishing to be informed more particularly concerning the meaning of it, they told me that the sky rained sand for a very long period of time upon their forefathers when on their pilgrimage to this land, which, if I am not mistaken, was the manna with which God fed them in the wilderness, as recorded in the sixteenth chapter of Exodus. And that I may leave nothing unmentioned, I shall quote the narrative of Holy Scripture, since this is indispensable to the demonstration of my conclusion, and shall take my text from the first chapter of Genesis, saying, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth', as an old Indian, a native of Chulula, a hundred years of age, who from mere old age walked with his body bent to the ground, and was learned in the antiquities of his country, began to declare to me, who, on my requesting him to give me information on certain points that I might insert them in this my history, desired to know what subject I wished to discuss with him. I, on finding that the opportunity had arrived for which I was desirous, replied, the history of your Indian race from the commencement of the world as far as you are acquainted with it: to which he answered, Provide yourself with ink and paper, for you will not be able to commit to memory all that I shall tell you; and having so said, he thus commenced his narrative. 'In the beginning, before either light or the sun were created, this earth was in obscurity and darkness, and void of all created things, entirely plain, without mountain or valley, surrounded on all sides with water, without tree or created thing; and immediately after the light and the sun were born in the east, there appeared in it giants of monstrous stature, who, desirous of beholding the rising and the setting of the sun, agreed to go in search of it; and dividing themselves into two companies, the one proceeded towards the west, the other towards the east. They travelled until the sea impeded their further progress, from whence they determined to return to the place from which they had set out; and having returned to that place, the name of which was Yztacculinyneminian, having found no means of arriving at the sun, enchanted with its light and beauty, they determined to build a tower of such a height that its top should reach to heaven, and searching for materials for this purpose, they found clay and pitch of a very glutinous quality, with which they began with great expedition to build the tower, and having built it as high as possible, so that according to their account it seemed to reach heaven, the Lord of the heights above becoming incensed, said to the inhabitants of heaven, Have you remarked how those of the earth have built a proud and lofty tower in order to ascend up hither, charmed with the light and the beauty of the sun? Come and let *us* confound them, for it is not fit that those of the earth, dwelling in the flesh, should mix with us. Immediately at that instant the inhabitants of heaven rushed from the four quarters of the world

la cabeça en alguna distancia tenian pintada una figura casi como de paloma, de que salian unos rayos. Y preguntado por los religiosos, que que entendian por aquello? Respondieron, que aquella muger *avia sido una donzella que avia parido al Hijo de Dios.* Y á aquellos resplandores llamaron 'Xipijbitao', que quiere dezir, *Espiritu de Dios.* Quando los religiosos vieron aquellos caracteres y figuras *dieron vozes,* y dixeron, 'Esso que teneys ai pintado y no lo sabeys bien, es lo que nosotros os predicamos.' Y assi poco á poco les fueron declarando los mysterios de nuestra redempcion y articulos de la fé, y los convirtieron á ella. Uno de los padres que fueron en esta conversion, y el que mas trabajó con los Indios de aquella provincia, fue el padre fray Domingo Guigelmo, santo varon, y extremada lengua de aquella tierra Zapoteca, y el primero que dixo á los Indios: Hijos, lo que aqui teneys pintado, es lo que os predicamos. Y quitando algunas cosas *apocrifas* que tenian pintadas entre aquellas *verdades,* les corrigieron aquella Biblia, que fue mucha parte para su conversion. Esto me contó el mismo santo viejo, Fr. Domingo Guigelmo, *muchas* vezes. Hasta aqui es la relacion de aquel padre Vicario de la Vera Cruz."

like lightning, and overthrew the tower which they had built; at which the giants, amazed and terrified, separated from each other, and scattered themselves over the whole face of the earth.' I am quite convinced that it will be unnecessary for me to refer the reader to the first and second chapters of Genesis in illustration of the matter of which we have been treating, since we so plainly perceive an Indian relating the history of the creation of the world, and that which is recorded in the sixth chapter of the same book of the giants and of the tower of Babel, and of the manner in which mankind, desirous of ascending up to heaven, constructed it, actuated solely by the ambition of making themselves a name, on which account God confounded them; and accordingly I am persuaded, and desire to persuade others, that those who relate this history received it from the traditions of their forefathers, and that the knowledge and paintings of things recorded in the Bible, and the mysteries contained in it, were transmitted from hand to hand to the natives of this country, as being of the race of the chosen people of God, in my opinion, in favour of whom God wrought such great marvels, so as finally to be attributed to this land, and referred to the events which occurred in it, their true origin having been forgotten. Neither do I, nor can I, deny that giants have existed in this country, since I can bear testimony as an eye-witness to the fact, having met with men of monstrous stature in some provinces of it, and, as I believe may still be in the recollection of some in Mexico, in a procession of the Host I saw an Indian of these giants led forth, clothed in yellow* taffety, with a scarf† on his shoulder and a helmet on his head, who exceeded in stature all present by three feet. I likewise believe that in the course of so long and tedious a journey as that which they were obliged to take to arrive at this land they must have suffered great hardships; they mention famine, pestilence, thirst, tempests, wars, and *locusts* which afflicted them, and hailstones that destroyed the crops which they had sown in the course of their journey, with a thousand other hardships and sufferings, which I find recorded in their histories. It is likewise to be presumed that they brought chiefs and priests to guide them on the way and instruct them in their ceremonies; but to believe for a moment that it is not a history taken from the narrative of Scripture, seeing that it so nearly resembles and is so analogous to that which is recorded in the Bible‡, is what I

* Yellow was the colour of the Inquisition, and it was customary in the age in which Diego Duran lived to cause persons condemned by the Inquisition to the flames to be previously exposed to the public gaze, on some great religious festival, attired in yellow garments, and wearing on their heads paper helmets in the shape of mitres.

† The Spanish phrase which we have here translated 'scarf', from a supposition that it *must* refer to some part of the costume of the giant, is unintelligible, and is, perhaps, an obsolete expression of the sixteenth century.

‡ It is a singular fact, that the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and the Indians of Yucatan should each have had, if we may be permitted to use the expression, their respective Pentateuchs. Of the cosmogony of the Yucatanese, and their history of the formation of man from the dust of the earth, some account will be found in the hundred and fourteenth page of the sixth volume of this work; and the perusal of the following extract from the Memorial of Bernardino de Cardenas, addressed to the King of Spain, will clearly show that, in the opinion of that learned and experienced ecclesiastic, the laws of the Peruvians and many of their rites bore a striking resemblance to those delivered by God to the Jews. "Hablando la sagrada escritura de los moradores de la ciudad de Dan, dize, que permaneció entre ellos un idolo; pero que no avia entonces rei en Israel: Mansit apud eos idolum omni tempore; in diebus illis non erat rex in Israel. No me espanto que durasse el idolo si no avia rei; pero que teniendo este, reino tan catolico y santo rei, que es el defensor y guarda de la fé, y teniendo tantos ministros diputados para esto, esten en pie hasta agora tantos idolos, tantas maldades, tantas afrentas de Dios, tantas traiciones á su Divina Magestad. No ai coraçon zeloso que no se parta de dolor. A mi me saca este pensamiento de mis casillas, y aun de mis conventos me sacó, no solo esta vez que voi entendiendo en la legacia que he referido, sino tambien otra algunos años antes, quando sali con comission de visitador de idolatrias por el obispo de la Paz, y fui al pueblo de Camata, que es de pocos Indios, y con todo hallé millones de idolos, y cosas estupendas contra nuestra fé, y *contra los santos sacramentos,* hallé mas de quarenta sacerdotes de los idolos, que en detestacion de nuestras ceremonias y ritos sagrados, hazian *los mismos* al demonio, ofreciendole muchos y grandes sacrificios de carneros de la tierra, y otros animales, y coca, que es una yerva dañosissima, *bautizando las criaturas con sangre,* poniendoles los nombres de sus idolos; *confessando* á los Indios, y persuadiendoles que no confessassen la verdad á los sacerdotes. Averigué que tenian pacto explicito con el demonio, y que le llamavan para las necessidades que se les ofrecian, y le consultavan mui amenudo, y el les respondia. Vide en las casas el lugar y assiento que tenian puesto para quando venia el demonio, al qual vian algunas vezes en diferentes figuras, otras no le vian, sino le oian hablar. Y entre las cosas que les dezia, averigué como una vez les dixo que él era el Señor rico, y por esso aquellos Indios en su lengua le llaman Capac Iqui, que quiere dezir 'rico Señor, y que el cerro de Potosi era su hijo, y asi le adoran los Indios, y que él les dava la plata: y que el Dios de los Españoles no la tenia, que por esso venian desde Castilla á quitarles la que él les dava, y que mas valia la plata que las almas; y que asi los curas y corregidores y visitadores no buscavan almas, sino plata; y que era mayor pecado no dar gusto al corregidor y al cura que las hechicerias y borracheras, pues por estas no los castigavan, y por lo primero eran tan maltratados: Y que juntamente le podian tener á él por su dios en primer lugar, y luego al de los Españoles, (y asi lo hazen muchos de los Indios.) Y vez huvo que les dixo, *que la imagen del crucifixo que estava en la iglesia era suya,* y que á él le avian de adorar *en ella,* y *lo hazian asi.* Y *averigué* que no era *uno* solo el demonio que les hablava, y á quien ellos adoravan, sino muchos con

cannot in any manner persuade myself to do, in proof of which, and in order that it may be clearly and manifestly apparent, I beg that their rites and their idolatries may be considered, their ceremonies and superstitions, their custom of going to sacrifice upon the mountains, under shady trees, and in caves and dark and gloomy caverns of the earth, their lighting and burning incense, their killing their sons and daughters, and sacrificing and offering them as victims to their gods, their sacrificing children, eating human flesh, killing prisoners and captives taken in war, all Jewish ceremonies practised by the above-mentioned ten tribes of Israel, all performed with the greatest ceremonies and superstitions that can be imagined: and what further obliges me to believe that these Indians are of Hebrew descent, is the strange obstinacy which they display in refusing to root out from amongst them these idolatries and superstitions, going and returning to them as we find was the case with their ancestors, as David declares in the hundred and sixth Psalm, who, when they saw themselves afflicted by God, called upon him, and he pardoned them in his mercy, which immediately forgetting, they returned to the commission of idolatry, and to sacrificing their sons and their daughters to devils, when shedding the blood of the innocent, they offered it to the idols of Canaan. But since my knowledge of their descent and origin is no more than what I have stated, nor are they able to give an earlier account of themselves than from those Seven Caves which they inhabited for such a length of time, and which they forsook in order to come in search of this land, some before others, some afterwards, and some much afterwards, until they left them quite deserted. These caves are in Teoculuacan, to which they have given the other name of Aztlan, a country which we all know is situated towards the north, and a part of the continent contiguous to Florida. Wherefore, commencing from the site of these caves, I shall write a true account of these nations, and of events connected with their history, premising, however, that the opinion which I have given of their origin cannot be reckoned very doubtful, although I submit myself in everything to the correction of the Holy Catholic Church."

Note XLVII. Page 183.

Of all the arguments that could possibly be adduced in proof of the Mexicans being descended from the Jews, none would be of a more convincing kind than to be able historically to trace the migration of their ancestors, the diferentes nombres, los quales nombres toman de los cerros y piedras que tienen por idolos, creyendo aquellos cerros y piedras son los que vienen á hablarles; y asi adoran á estos cerros y los tienen por dioses para diferentes cosas: unos para la multiplicacion del maiz, otro para los vestidos, otro para el ganado, &c. Uno destos *cerros* habló una vez á un Indio, y le *enseñó* en su lengua unos *mandamientos* al fin diabolicos, *contrapuestos artificiosamente á los mandamientos de nuestra santa Lei:* y estos mandamientos del diablo cantavan publicamente en sus fiestas y borracheras. Y tambien una letania de todos los idolos, al modo que nosotros en nuestra letania vamos invocando los santos, asi ellos van nombrando y llamando todos los idolos y cerros, y los tienen por sus santos. Fuera destos hallé otros idolos menores de piedra labrada y tosca en las chacaras de todos, de que hize grandes montones, y despues de averles pegado fuego, viendo que era impossible el deshazerlos, por ser de piedras grandes, y que podrian recoger los pedaços, fui poco á poco soterrandolos con mi compañero de noche, sin que nos viessen, y echandolos en medio de un caudaloso rio que está alli, ya que no pude darselos á beber como Moyses. Otros idolillos hallé mas chicos, pero mas dañosos, de unas piedrecillas labradas como de cristal, las quales se aparecen á los Indios, y se tiene por dichoso el que halla una dellas, y les tienen tanta reverencia que les ofrecen su misma sangre, sacandola con punçadas de partes de su cuerpo, porque dizen, que en no haziendo esto, se van y desaparecen aquellos idolillos, como me lo confessaron. *Una India hallé que avia estado diez y siete años amancebada con el demonio.* Una laguna vide en la qual echavan muchas criaturas, ofreciendolas al demonio. Las Bulas de la santa Cruzada vide por mis ojos roziadas con sangre de Cuyes, que son unos animalejos que en España llaman 'Conejos de las Indias', que ordinariamente deguellan en sus sacrificios. Y preguntando á un gran idolatra porque era aquello, me dixo que aborrecia el demonio mucho la Bula, y que porque no huyesse della, hazian aquello como en protestacion de que no querian usar della. Finalmente, Señor, hallé tantas cosas al modo destas, que se podia escrivir mucho, pero he dicho estas pocas, para que Vuestra Magestad sepa si ai idolos é idolatrias. Todo el reino temo, que deve de estar asi, algo mas ó menos: y con todo esso los que goviernan viven con tanto descuido en esto, que parece que lo tienen por cosa de risa, siendo digna de llorar con lagrimas de sangre. O quien pudiera derramarla toda mil vezes por la extirpacion de tales ofensas! á pique estuve dello en dicho pueblo, porque sin tener quien me ayudasse, hize exemplar castigo en aquellos sacerdotes de idolatria, aunque mezclado con benignidad, porque tienen gran descargo y escusa con dezir, que no les han enseñado la adoracion y conocimiento del verdadero Dios, porque para esto no avian tenido mas que un sacerdote, y esse que tratava mas de buscar plata que de darles á conocer á Jesu Christo, nuestro Señor; y para sus idolatrias avian tenido sesenta sacerdotes, que con mucho cuidado se las avian enseñado desde niños. Yo quisiera serlo agora para tener mas tiempo que gastar en ministerio tan necessario, y para ir en persona á essa corte á dar razon destas cosas á Vuestra Magestad, y á sus consejeros reales: pero ya estoi lleno de canas y dolores por los gravissimos trabajos que he passado en esta demanda. Y asi he querido hazer esta relacion por escrito, suplicando á Vuestra Magestad no se enfade de verla tan larga, que no puede ser menos, y me parece que de otra suerte no cumpliria con mi conciencia."

Aztecas, direct from Judea to some portion of the American continent. In the absence of such proof, however, it is necessary to recur to probabilities and conjectures, and carefully to compare the traditions of the Indians respecting their own origin. It is asserted by Sahagun, in the preface to his General History of New Spain, that the seven Aztec tribes arrived by a sea-voyage at the shores of New Spain; who further adds, that the place which they left was named the Seven Caves, or, in the Mexican language, Chicomoztoc, and notices in the following passage of the prologue to his History the circumstances which led to their change of habitation: "Del origen de esta gente, la relacion que dan los viejos és, que por la mar vinieron de hacia el norte, y cierto és que vinieron algunos vasos de manera no se sabe como eran labrados, sino que se congetura por una fama que hay entre todos estos naturales que salieron de siete cuevas, que estas siete cuevas son los siete navios ó galeras en que vinieron los primeros pobladores de esta tierra, segun se colige por congeturas verosimiles. La gente que primero vino á poblar á esta tierra de hacia la Florida vino, y costeando vino y desembarcó en el puerto de Panuco que ellos llaman Panco, que quiere decir, lugar donde llegaron los que pasaron el agua. Esta gente venia en demanda del Parayso terrenal, y traian por apellido Tamohanchan, que quiere decir, buscamos nuestra casa, y poblaban cerca de los mas altos montes en donde se hallaban. En venir hacia el mediodia á buscar el Parayso terrenal no erraban, porque opinion és de los que scriben que está debajo de la linea equinoccial, y en pensar que és algun altisimo monte, tampoco yerran, porque asi lo dicen los escritores que el Parayso terrenal estaba debajo de la linea equinoccial y que és un monte altisimo que llega su cumbre cerca de la luna. Parece que ellos ó sus antepasados tubieron algun oraculo acerca de esta materia, ó de Dios ó del demonio, ó tradicion de los antiguos que vino de mano en mano hasta ellos." "With respect to the origin of their nation, the account which their old men give is, that they came by sea from towards the north, and it is certain that some vessels came, of a fashion and construction which they cannot explain; it is conjectured, however, from a tradition still preserved amongst the natives generally, that they proceeded from seven caves; and that these seven caves were the seven ships or galleys in which the first settlers arrived is that which is most agreeable to probable conjecture. The nation which first came to colonize this land came from towards Florida, and coasting along the sea-shore, arrived and disembarked in the port of Panuco, which they name Panco, which signifies 'the place where those arrived who crossed the water'. This nation came in quest of the terrestrial Paradise, and styled themselves 'Tamohanchan', which signifies, '*we seek our home*'; and they settled near the highest mountains which they could find in the neighbourhood of the district which they then occupied. In proceeding in a southerly direction in search of the terrestrial Paradise, they committed no error, for it is the opinion of those who have treated of the subject in their writings, that it is situated under the equinoctial line; neither in supposing that it is a lofty mountain were they mistaken, for authors describe the terrestrial Paradise as so situated under the equinoctial line, and as being a lofty mountain, whose top reaches almost to the moon. It would appear that they or their ancestors were in this affair directed by an oracle from God, or from the devil, or by the traditions of the ancients, handed down successively to them." The above passage of Sahagun, however interesting to those who may choose to speculate on the past probabilities of communications having taken place between the two continents, proves no more than that the tradition was generally current amongst the Mexicans, that their ancestors had crossed the sea in ships, and proceeded to America from a place name the 'Seven Caves'*, or Chicomoztoc, which name in all probability referred either to the number of the ships which arrived at Panuco or belonged to the country which the colony who came in those ships had deserted; which latter supposition appears to have been the opinion of Juan de Tobar, who, in an inedited letter to Acosta, says, that the seven caves from which the Mexicans affirmed that their ancestors had proceeded, were believed by some to have been a single kingdom or province, in which their seven tribes lived *separately*, each of the seven districts allotted to them being named a cave by those who emigrated from thence. The additional circumstance of their styling themselves Tamohanchan, and declaring that they came in search of the terrestrial Paradise, would, in whatever sense the term terrestrial Paradise be understood, favour the supposition that this colony were Jews, since it may reasonably be demanded what other nation but the Jews, and the Christians in after ages—deriving the notion from them, and equally convinced from Scriptural tradition of the real existence of the garden of Eden near the parting of the Euphrates from the three rivers—believed in the existence of the terrestrial Paradise? But understanding that phrase in a metaphorical signification,

* The Israelites are declared, in the second verse of the fourteenth chapter of Exodus, to have encamped before Pi-hahiroth, and it deserves to be remarked that פי החירת signifies in Hebrew 'the mouth of the caves'.

merely as a country resembling Paradise, to which the land of Canaan is compared by Isaiah in the third verse of the fifty-first chapter of his prophecies, and as a promised land, what nation would have been so likely as the Jews to go in search of such a promised land, to name it their *home* for that very reason, and, speaking in the hyperbolical language of the East, to style it the terrestrial Paradise? The very mysterious allusion in the thirteenth chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras to the ten tribes crossing the Euphrates, which is there said to have miraculously opened to afford a passage to the chosen people of God then in search of a new habitation, where never mankind dwelt, that they might serve God apart from the multitude of the heathen, might have instigated the Jews in later times, when Palestine became the theatre of wars and dissensions, to attempt to verify the prophetic vision of Esdras by crossing the sea in search of a new habitation, and their priests might have persuaded them that, on this occasion, the language of the prophet was merely figurative and typical of a prosperous and speedy voyage to more happy shores. The entire history of the Jews abundantly proves that they were a people blindly submissive to the suggestions of their priests, and that their credulity was such that there was nothing that the former could command, that the latter were not ready to obey; and hence the ruin that befel their state, since the Jews, but for their priests, would have accepted the conditions proposed to them by the Romans, as the Mexicans would the terms of surrender offered by the Spaniards. History warrants us in asserting that the Jews, if it had not been for their priests, would have been a great and flourishing nation: they had all the energy requisite to elevate the character of the people to a high rank amongst nations; they were acute in intellect and ingenious in arts; they enjoyed a happy and salubrious climate; and were, according to the testimony of Tacitus, a fine athletic race of men, hardy, and capable of enduring great bodily fatigue: but all these natural advantages were more than counterbalanced by the evil genius of fanaticism, that, like some demon, preyed upon the vitals of the land of Palestine, and blighted and destroyed the national prosperity, substituting the observance of rites for the genuine practice of virtue. Assuming it, therefore, as an undoubted fact that the ancestors of the Mexicans came in ships to Panuco, and were therefore a colony, and not the aboriginal inhabitants of New Spain, we shall attempt to show, by a train of etymological and scriptural reasoning, that Aztlan, the primitive country of the seven Aztec tribes, and which, literally interpreted, signifies 'the fair country', was the land of Canaan; that Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves, in which the ancestors of the Mexicans had dwelt for an indefinitely long period of time previously to their colonizing New Spain, was the *seven provinces* into which Joshua is said, in the eighteenth chapter of his book*, to have divided the Holy Land, and which, comprehending within their boundary all the tribes on this side of the river Jordan, with the exception of the tribe of Judah, that of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh, would have been a very appropriate name for the whole territory of Canaan, and exactly have corresponded with the Mexican term Chicomoztoc; that the city of Chichen—from whence, according to the testimony of the Franciscan monk Andres†, the first preacher of the Gospel amongst the Indians of Panuco and Tampico, their ancestors derived the appellation of Chichimecas, who all agreed that their origin was to be traced to the above-mentioned city, which, if the testimony

* The following is the passage of the Book of Joshua here alluded to: "And the men arose, and went away: and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, Go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, that I may here cast lots for you before the Lord in Shiloh. And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into *seven* parts in *a book*, and came again to Joshua to the host at Shiloh. And Joshua cast lots for them in Shiloh before the Lord: and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel according to their divisions."

† The testimony of the Franciscan monk Andres is cited by the Mexican historian Ixtlilxochitl in the following annotation to the first chapter of his inedited Relaciones Historicas. "El P. Fr. Andres, gran siervo del Señor, segun parece en su vida y los milagros que el Señor obró en el, decia, que como hubiese muchas veces hablado con los Chichimecas de *Panuco*, Tampico, y otras partes, al tiempo que los andaba convirtiendo á la fé de Christo, preguntandoles de su origen, le habian dicho lo mismo *ser de una ciudad llamada Chichen*, y asi lo mismo tengo dicho; y decia este bien aventurado segun los viejos principales, que muchas veces habló con ellos, y sin duda seria lo que los Chichimecas decian de su origen, y que no quisiesen saber mas, que solo Dios es el sabidor del origen y de las demas cosas de este nuevo mundo. Esto es lo que se halla acerca de lo dicho." "Brother Andres, a great servant of the Lord, as appears by his life and the miracles which the Lord worked in him, affirmed that, after having frequently conversed with the Chichimecas of Panuco, Tampico, and other places, at the time when he was engaged in converting them to the faith of Christ, making inquiries of them respecting their origin, they returned him one and the same answer, that they were from a city named Chichen, and accordingly I have said the same thing; and this holy man asserted what he did agreeably to the information which he had received from the old and principal men amongst them, with whom he had often conferred, and it is doubtless what the Chichimecas told him of their origin, and that they knew no more, since God alone knows their origin and the other things belonging to this new world. This is all that we can discover on the above subject."

of Sahagun respecting the colony which arrived at Panuco and there disembarked may be relied on, must have been situated beyond the sea—was no other than the city of Shechem, the ancient capital of Samaria, situated at the foot of Mount Gerizim, on which mountain, as we learn from the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter of St. John, the Samaritans were accustomed to worship in the age of Christ; that Teoculhuacan, or the Mountain of God, from which place the Mexicans likewise affirmed that their ancestors had proceeded, was either Mount Gerizim or Mount Moriah, upon which latter mountain Solomon laid the foundations of his famous temple; and, lastly, that Tlapallan—to which proper name the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus, explaining the term Huetlapallan, in the 183rd page of the sixth volume of this work, assigns the signification of the Red Sea, and, in fact, it is represented in the fifteenth plate of the Codex Vaticanus by the symbol of water of a reddish hue, reminding us forcibly of the prediction of Hosea respecting the Messiah, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," and which term, applied to a kingdom or province, must signify the country of the Red Sea, and not the sea itself—was Egypt, the old habitation of the Israelites previously to their conquest of the land of Canaan; and accordingly we find that *huehue*, the superlative, by reduplication, of the adjective *hue*, old, was frequently added by the Mexicans to Tlapallan, who, in narrating the history of the migration of their ancestors from Huehuetlapallan, would seem to copy the Scripture account of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel from Egypt and their passage through the Red Sea. On the other supposition, that Huehuetlapallan might have been a phrase by which they signified their old country of Palestine, an etymological reason for the name will be found either in the fact of Judea bordering on Edom, which signifies in Scripture the red country, or in its being comprehended under the general name of Phœnicia, which signifies the land of purple as well as the country of the palm-tree, or in the term Huehuetlapallan, or the old red country, having been applied to it in opposition or contradistinction to the new red country, a name which the Jews would have been likely to have given to the monarchy which they established in the New World, from the striking peculiarity of the red complexion of the Indians, distinguishing them in this manner from all the other inhabitants of the globe. The fact of the Mexicans being themselves quite ignorant of the real situation of a country which their national traditions identified with the Holy Land, even much more than the various names strictly applicable to the Holy Land which they bestowed upon it, affords strong presumptive evidence that the country of Aztlan was the land of Canaan, and the city of Tula Jerusalem. That they were ignorant of the situation of the land of their forefathers, and had only retained an indistinct recollection that it was very distant from Mexico, and was situated to the east, as appears by the discourse of Montezuma to Cortes, already inserted in the 186th page of the sixth volume of this work, is evident from the following most curious account of the elder Montezuma sending to discover the seven caves, the reputed habitations and dwelling-place of his ancestors. The narrative of that monarch's attempt to discover his kindred tribes in those caves is given at considerable length in the twenty-seventh chapter of the first part of Diego Duran's inedited History of New Spain, preparatory to the insertion of which in this note, and in elucidation of the subject-matter contained in it, which is all an allegory, embellished in the true Rabbinical taste with tales of witches, necromancers, and enchantments, we must premise a few observations respecting the ancient mode of disguising under the veil of allegory the plainest historical facts, the habit of which Scripture has consecrated from time immemorial amongst the Jews, who frequently term a city a woman, a state a beast, and a king a horn, thus obscuring the language of inspiration with various new and incongruous terms. The prophets in this manner designated Jerusalem frequently as the virgin daughter of Mount Zion; more rarely as Aholibah, the adulterous spouse of God; or, again, as Rachel weeping for her children, and utterly inconsolable because they were not, varying the epithet accordingly as that city chanced to be in a state of grace, of idolatry, or of desolation, bewailing the fate of her children, who had been led captives into strange lands, her city spoiled, and her whole territory overgrown with briars and thorns, thus verifying the prediction of Isaiah in the twenty-third verse of the seventh chapter of his prophecies. Contrasted, however, with this wretched picture of national adversity was the high state of felicity which the Jews believed that their countrymen would enjoy in the latter times, when the redeemed of Israel should again possess the Holy Land, and, agreeably to ancient prophecy, their *youth* "be renewed like the eagle's," the age of their children extend to an hundred years, their own last as long as trees (Isaiah, chap. lxv. ver. 20, 22.), their force and vigour remain unabated, and in course of time their frames become *immortal* through eating of the fruit of the tree of life, which was to flourish in the centre of New Jerusalem, and to extend its shade on each side of the river of Paradise, where, doubtless, on the Sabbath nothing would prevent the regenerate Jews from enjoying the diversion of sailing along the stream, as of old had been their custom, on the smooth surface of the Mexican lake. This happy consumma-

tion of all things is expressly foretold by Esdras in the twelfth verse of the second chapter of his second book: "They shall have the tree of life for an ointment of sweet savour, *they shall neither labour nor be weary*," and it harmonizes with the predictions of the more ancient prophets. In confirmation of the truth of the latter part of the argument, we shall transcribe from the ninth and tenth chapters of the second apocryphal book of Esdras that prophet's account of a vision, in which he beheld the city of Jerusalem typified under the figure of a woman inconsolable, and grieving for the death of *her son*, with her garments rent, and her face disfigured and blackened with ashes, whose countenance suddenly assumed a dazzling brightness, and then gave place to the vision of a city elevated upon foundations similar to those described by St. John in the nineteenth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the Revelations, the ground-plan of which must have nearly resembled that of the greater temple of Mexico, and presented the imposing spectacle of a city built upon the summit of a truncated pyramid, consisting, not of four foundations, like the Mexican temple, but of twelve, each distinct, with gems, and glowing with the living colours of the sapphire, the emerald, and the topaz, the whole collectively alluding to the precious stones which adorned the breastplate of the Jewish high-priest; which city, being in fact itself a *temple* of colossal magnitude, of which the temple of Jerusalem was the true archetype, did not require a temple in it; each vessel (by which figurative expression of the prophet Zechariah, in the twenty-first verse of the fourteenth chapter of his prophecies, is meant every citizen, the people of a state being frequently assimilated in the language of the Old Testament to *potters' vessels*,) being HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; or, in other words, the person of every citizen being invested with the same degree of sanctity as that which under the old law belonged peculiarly and exclusivelyto the Jewish high-priest, upon whose mitre was engraved, on a plate of gold, the words, HOLINESS TO THE LORD, as we are expressly informed in the thirtieth verse of the thirty-ninth chapter of Exodus, and therefore accounting for the words of St. John in the twenty-second verse of the twenty-first chapter of the Revelations, "And I saw no temple therein, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it," on the supposition that the Sheshinah, or Divine presence, which in the old, or profane, city of Jerusalem was confined to the sanctuary of the temple founded by Solomon, would in New Jerusalem be diffused through the entire city. The account which Esdras gives of the vision in which he beheld Sion mourning for the loss of her son, is thus allegorically told in the above-mentioned chapters of his second apocryphal book: "And when I spake these things in my heart, I looked back with mine eyes, and upon the right side I saw a woman, and behold she mourned and wept with a loud voice, and was much grieved in heart, and her clothes were rent, and she had ashes upon her head. . . . . And it came to pass while I was talking with her, behold her face upon a sudden shined exceedingly, and her countenance glistered, so that I was afraid of her, and mused what it might be. And behold, suddenly she made a great cry, very fearful, so that the earth shook at the noise of the woman. And I looked, and behold the woman appeared unto me no more; but there was a city builded, and *a large place showed itself from the foundations*: then was I afraid, and cried with a loud voice and said, Where is Uriel, the angel who came unto me at the first? for he hath caused me to fall into many trances, and mine end is turned into corruption and my prayer to rebuke. And as I was speaking these words, behold he came unto me, and looked upon me, and lo, I lay as one that had been dead, and mine understanding was taken from me; and he took me by the right hand, and comforted me, and set me upon my feet, and said unto me, What aileth thee? and why art thou so disquieted? and why is thine understanding troubled and the thoughts of thine heart?" We have judged it necessary to prefix the foregoing remarks to the following chapter of Diego Duran's History of New Spain, in order that the allegory which it contains may be interpreted in a manner agreeable to Scriptural analogy and the figurative language of the Old Testament. The chapter itself relates to the attempt made by Montezuma, the fifth king of Mexico, to discover the country of Aztlan, the seat of his ancestors, and the site of Chicomoztoc, or the Seven Caves. Its title is as follows: "De como viendose el rey Montezuma primero en tanta gloria y magestad, envió á buscar el lugar de donde sus antepasados habian venido, y á ver las siete cuevas en que habian morado y habitado; y de los grandes presentes que envió para que ofreciesen alli y los diesen á los que alli hallasen;" and the interpretation of the allegory requires that we should understand under the image of Coatlycue the mother of Huitzilopochtli, the daughter of Sion, inconsolable for the absence of the ten tribes, or for some other portion of the Jews, her children, who had been forced to fly their native country; and under that of the mountain of Teocolhuacan, the hill of God, or Mount Sion; and by the water which flowed from the mountain, in which were persons in canoes, pursuing the *apostolical* vocation of fishing, the river of God, which it was foretold in the forty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel and in the last chapter of the Revelations should flow from the sacred oracles of Sion.

It is extremely probable that the Mexican priests, well knowing the superstitious character of their sovereign, and fearing to disobey his absolute commands, feigned the story of their miraculous journey to Chicomoztoc with the express view of deceiving him; and impressed with the conviction that Jerusalem must still be inhabited by a remnant of their race, with the certain knowledge that numerous colonies of Jews were dispersed through the provinces of New Spain, whose descendants, mixed with the native Indians, constituted the population of the city of Mexico, and whose absence Sion must still be deploring, invented an allegory calculated to flatter and soothe the pride of their monarch, and to preserve at the same time their own credit with the people, whilst to have confessed their inability to execute his orders would have been the sure way of falling in public esteem; and here we may observe that, even supposing the Mexicans to have retained some obscure traditions that the Virgin of Tula, the mother of Quetzalcoatl, was still alive, awaiting on earth the destined period of her son's advent, the supposition that Coatlycue signified the daughter of Mount Sion rather than Chimalmon, notwithstanding the analogy in the two proper names Quetzal*coatl* and *Coatly*cue, would appear still much more probable. The narrative itself is as follows: "Despues de lo suso dicho, cuenta la historia, que viendose Montezuma tan gran señor, y en tanta gloria y con tantas riquezas, que determinó de enviar á saber en que lugares habian habitado sus antepasados, y que forma tenian aquellas siete cuevas de que la relacion de sus historias hacian tan particular memoria: y para esto mandó llamar á Tlacaellel y dijole: Determinado hé de juntar mis valientes hombres y enviarlos muy bien aderezados y apercebidos, con gran parte de las riquezas que el Dios de lo criado, y Señor *por quien vivimos*, del dia y de la noche, nos ha comunicado, para que las ofrezcan alli, y las den á los que hallaren en aquellos lugares: y tambien tenemos noticia que la madre de nuestro dios Huitzilopochtli quedó viva, y podria ser que lo fuese todavia, y ofrecerla han lo que llevasen, y decirla han que gozase de lo que su hijo habia ganado con la fuerza de su brazo y pecho, y con la fuerza de su cabeza. Tlacaellel respondió: Poderoso Señor, no es gobernado y movido tu real pecho por tu propio motivo, ni se mueve tu corazon por negocios humanos; sino sin ninguna duda por alguna Deidad eterna, causa de todo bien en esta naturaleza criada, por cuya providencia, sapientisimo Señor, te mueves á querer imprender una cosa tan grande; á lo qual te quiero responder; y perdoname, que parece que siempre te quiero sobrepujar con mis razones. Has de saber, gran Señor, que esto que quieres hacer y determinas, no es para hombres de fuerza ni valentia, ni depende de destreza en armas para que envies gente de guerra, ni capitanes con estruendo ni aparato de guerra, pues no van á conquistar, sino á saber y ver donde habitaron y moraron nuestros padres y antepasados, y el lugar donde nació nuestro dios Vitzilopochtli; y para esto, antes habias de buscar brujos ó encantadores y hechiceros, que con sus encantamientos y hechicerias descubriesen estos lugares; porque segun nuestras historias cuentan, *ya aquel lugar está ciego con grandes jarales muy espinosos y espesos, y grandes breriales*, y que todo está cubierto de grandes nedaños y lagunas, y que está cubierto de espesos carrizales y cañaverales, y que será imposible hallarla sino es por gran ventura. Por tanto toma, Señor, mi consejo y parecer, y busca esta gente que te digo, que ellos iran y la descubriran, y te traeran nuevas della; porque aunque nuestros padres y agüelos la habitaron, estaba muy viciosa y amena y muy deliciosa, *donde tubieron todo descanso*, y donde vivian mucho *sin tornarse viejos ni cansarse*, ni tener de ninguna cosa *necesidad*; pero despues que de alli salieron, *todo se volvió espinas y habrojos*; las piedras se volvieron puntiagudas para lastimarlos, y las yerbas picaban, los arboles espinosos. Todo se volvió *contra* ellos, para que no supiesen, ni pudiesen *volver* allá. Montezuma viendo el buen consejo de Tlacaellel, acordó de llamar al historiador real, que se llamaba Cuauhcoatl, viejo de muchos años; y venido ante él le dijo: Padre anciano, mucho queria saber que memoria tienes en tu historia de las siete cuevas donde habitaron nuestros antepasados, padres y agüelos, y que lugar es aquel donde habitó nuestro dios Vitzilopochtli, y de donde sacó á nuestros padres. Respondió Cuauhcoatl: Poderoso Señor, lo que yo, tu indigno siervo, sé de lo que me preguntas es, que nuestros padres *moraron en aquel felice y dichoso lugar* que llamaron Aztlan, que quiere decir *blancura*. En este lugar hay un gran *cerro* en medio del agua, que llamaban Culhuacan, porque tiene la punta algo retuerta hacia abajo, y á esta causa se llama 'Culhuacan', que quiere decir *cerro tuerto*. En este cerro habia unas bocas ó cuevas y concavidades, donde habitaron nuestros padres y agüelos por muchos años: alli tubieron mucho *descanso* debajo deste nombre Mexitin y Azteca, alli gozaban de mucha cantidad de patos, de todo genero de garzas, de cuervos marinos y gallinas de agua, y de gallaretes; gozaban del canto y melodia de los pajaros de las cabezas coloradas y amarillas; gozaron de muchas diferencias de hermosos y grandes pescados; gozaron de gran frescura de arboledas que habia por aquellas riberas, y de fuentes cercadas de sauces y de sabinas, y de alisos grandes y hermosos: andaban en canoas, y *hacian camellones*, en que sembravan maiz, chile,

tomates, huauhtli, frisoles, y de todo genero de semillas, de las que comemos y acá trageron : pero despues que salieron de alli *á la tierra firme*, y dejaron aquel deleitoso lugar, todo se volvió *contra* ellos; las yerbas mordian, las piedras picaban, *los campos estaban llenos de abrojos y de espinas*, y hallaron grandes jarales y espinos que no podian pasar, ni habia donde asentarse ni donde descansar. Todo lo hallaron lleno de vivoras y culebras y sabandijas ponzoñosas, y de *leones* y tigres y otros animales, que les eran perjudiciales y dañosos. Y esto és lo que dejaron dicho nuestros antepasados, y en mis historias antiguas tengo escrito; y esta és la relacion que de lo que me preguntas, poderoso Rey, te puedo dar. El Rey respondió que asi era verdad, porque Tlacaellel daba aquella relacion misma; y asi mandó luego que llamasen y buscasen por todas las provincias á todos los encantadores y hechiceros que pudiesen hallar; y fueron traidos ante él sesenta hombres que sabian de aquella arte magica, ya gente anciana, y dijoles: Padres ancianos, yo hé determinado de saber donde és el lugar de donde salieron los Mexicanos, y que tierra es aquella, y quien la habita, y si es viva la madre de nuestro dios Vitzilopochtli: por tanto apercibios á ir alla con la mejor forma que pudieredes, y lo mas breve que ser pueda. Y mandó luego sacar gran cantidad de mantas de todo genero dellas, y de vestiduras de muger, y de piedras ricas, de oro y joyas muy preciosas, mucho cacao y teonacaztly, algodon, rosas, de vaynillas negras muchas en cantidad, y plumas de mucha hermosura, las mejores y mas grandes; en fin, de todas las riquezas de sus tesoros lo mejor y mas precioso; y entregalo á aquellos hechiceros, dandoles á ellos sus mantas y paga, para que lo hiciesen con mas cuidado, con mucha comida para el camino. Ellos partieron, y llegados á un cerro que se dice Coatepec, que está en la provincia de Tulla, alli todos juntos hicieron sus cercos y invocaciones al demonio, embijandose con aquellos ungüentos que para esto los semejantes suelen hacer, y hoy en dia usan, porque hay grandes brujos entre ellos, y Indios endemoniados. Diranme, pues como no se descubren? Porque se encubren unos á otros, y se guardan de nosotros mas que nacion en el mundo, y el que en nada no se fian de nosotros, y asi están los delitos encubiertos de nosotros y secretos entre ellos, que por maravilla se alcanza alguna cosa; y si alguna cosa acaso sabemos, luego no falta quien solicita solapallo y que se calle. Asi que en aquel cerro invocaron al demonio, al cual le suplicaron les mostrase aquel lugar donde sus antepasados vivieron: el demonio forzado por aquellos conjuros y ruegos, y ellos volviendose en forma de aves unos, y otros en forma de bestias fieras de leones*, tigres, adives, gatos espantosos, llevólos el demonio á ellos, y á todo lo que llevaban á aquel lugar donde sus antepasados habian habitado. Llegados á una laguna grande, en medio de la cual está el cerro Culhuacan, puestos á la orilla, tomaron la forma de hombres que antes tenian; y cuenta la historia que vieron alguna gente *andar en canoas en pescas* y en sus grangerias, y que los llamaron. La gente de la tierra, como vió gente nueva y que hablaban su mesma lengua, llegaronse con las canoas á ver lo que querian, y preguntaronles que de donde eran, y á que venian. Ellos respondieron: Señores, nosotros somos de Mexico, y somos enviados de nuestros señores á buscar el lugar á donde habitaron nuestros antepasados. Ellos les preguntaron *que dios adoraban*: ellos digeron que al gran Vitzilopochtli, y que el gran rey Motezuma, y su coadjutor Tlacaellel, les habian mandado viniesen á buscar á la madre de Vitzilopochtli, que se llamaba Coatlycue, y el lugar de donde salieron sus antepasados que se llama Chicomoztoc, y que le traian cierto presente á la Señora Coatlycue si era viva, y si no á sus padres y ayos que la sirvian. Ellos les mandaron esperar, y fueron al ayo de la madre de Vitzilopochtli, y digeronle: Señor venerable, unas gentes han aportado á esta ribera, los cuales dicen que son Mexicanos, y que los enviaron acá un gran Señor que se dice Montezuma, y otro que se llama Tlacaellel, y que

* An attentive perusal of the following extract from the 216th page of Ludolphus's Commentary on his Ethiopian History will serve to elucidate this curious history, and prove the Rabbis by their own confession to have been deeply versed in the mysteries of necromantic lore: "Valdè antiquum incantationis genus est, varia bestiarum genera in unum congregare: de eo verisimiliter verba Deut. xviii. 11., חובר חבר *congregans congregationem*, accipienda sunt. Mirè variant seque torquent interpretes in expositione maleficiorum, quæ ibi prohibentur: gloriosius fecissent, si fassi essent se illa nescire. Rabbini *de congregatione animalium* accipiunt in libro Talmudico Sanhedrin; non malè ut puto. Quod verò hanc incantationem dividant in *magnam* et *parvam*, id ex subtilitate Rabbinicâ provenire censeo; nimirum *ut scientes incantationum habeantur*. Sic enim Kimchius (in Lib. Rad. sub verbo חבר) et ex eo Michlal Iophi: פירשו רבותינו זל וחובר חבר ' אחד חבר גדול ואחד חבר קטן פי חבר גדול שלוחש ומקבץ כתות של חיות גדולות ; וחבר קטן לוחש ומקבץ כתות של חיות קטנות כגון נחשים ועקרבים. ' Explicant Rabbini nostri p. m. Et consocians societatem: una consociatio est magna, et altera consociatio est parva. Significatio consociationis magnæ est *cum quis incantat et congregat catervas magnorum animalium*: et consociatio parva, *cum quis incantat et congregat catervas bestiarum parvarum*, e. g. serpentum et scorpionum.' Acutâ scilicet distinctione, sed nuspiam occurrente. Talem incantationem revera adhuc hodie dari ex Tellezio didici, qui in historiâ electionis regis Africani in regno Gingiro de electoribus sic scribit, 'Veniunt descendentes cum magno clamore in illum locum ubi electus est, statimque eum adeunt, illumque reperiunt circumdatum leonibus, tigridibus, draconibus et pardis, quos tanquam prætorianos et aulicos, omnes ibi diabolicis suis magicis artibus unum in locum congregant.'"

traen cierto presente y ofrenda para la madre de su dios Vitzilopochtli, y que les fué mandado se lo diesen ellos propios. El anciano viejo les dijo, sean bien venidos, traedlos acá. Luego volvieron con sus canoas, y metiendolos en ellas á ellos y á lo que llevavan, los pasaron al cerro Culhuacan, el cual de la mitad arriba dicen que és de una arena muy menuda, que no se puede subir por estar tan fofa y honda; y entrando en una casa que el viejo tenia al pie del cerro, saludaronle con mucha reverencia, y digeron: Venerable viejo y señor, aqui somos llegados tus siervos al lugar donde és obedecida tu palabra, y reverenciado el anhelito de tu boca. El les respondió: Seais bien venidos, hijos mios: quien os envió acá? Ellos digeron: Señor, enviónos Montezuma y su coadjutor Tlacaellel, que por sobre nombre tiene Cihuacoatl. El viejo dijo: Quien és Montezuma, y quien Tlacaellel? no fueron de acá tales nombres, porque los que de acá fueron eran Tezacatetl, Acaçitli, Oçelopan, Ahate, Xomimil, Ahuejotl Victon, Tenoch, y estos eran siete varones, y estos siete iban por caudillos de cada barrio: sin estos fueron cuatro ayos de Vitzilopochtli maravillosos, los cuales se llamaban Quauchtloquetzqui y Ajoloua, y otros dos. Ellos le respondieron: Señor, nosotros te confesarémos que no conocemos ya esos señores ni los vimos; ya no hay memoria desos que mientas, porque todos son ya muertos; oydolos hemos mentar algunas veces. El viejo espantado respondió, haciendo gran admiracion: O Señor de lo criado, pues que los mató? Porque en este lugar todos somos vivos; los que ellos dejaron ninguno se ha muerto: pues quien son los que viven ahora? dijo el viejo. Ellos le digeron que los nietos de aquellos que les nombraba. Preguntóles, á quien tenian agora por padre y ayo del dios Vitzilopochtli; y digeronle que un gran sacerdote, que se llamaba Quauhcoatl, al cual hablaba y decia lo que queria, y á quien revelaba su voluntad. Visteslo vosotros, dijo el viejo, agora cuando partistes, dijo os algo? Ellos respondieron que no, y que los que los habian enviado eran el rey y su coadjutor; pero que él no les habia mandado ni dicho nada. Dijo el viejo, pues no avisará cuando ha de volver por acá, que dejó dicho á su madre *que él volveria*, y está la pobre *hasta el dia de hoy en espera*, tan triste y llorosa que no hay quien la consuele? No fuera bien que le vierades y le hablarades? Ellos respondieron: Señor, nosotros hizimos lo que nuestros Señores nos mandaron, y traemos un presente á la gran Señora, y nos mandaron que la viesemos y la saludasemos, y le diesemos á ella misma de los despojos y riquezas de que su hijo goza. El viejo les dijo: pues tomar lo que traeis y andar acá. Ellos echaronse á cuestas el presente y fueronse tras el viejo, el cual empezó á subir por el cerro arriba con gran ligereza, y sin pesadumbre; ellos tras él, zahondando por la arena con gran pesadumbre y trabajo. El viejo volviendo la cabeza, vidolos que la arena les llegaba casi á la rodilla, y que no podian subir; el cual les dijo: Que haceis no subis, daos priesa? Ellos queriendole seguir, quedaron metidos y atascados en el arena hasta la cintura, y no pudiendo menearsè, dieron voces al viejo que iba con tanta presteza, que parecia que no tocaba á la arena. El viejo volvió y dijo: Que haveis habido Mexicanos, que os há hecho tan pesados? que comeis allá en vuestras tierras? Señor, comemos las viandas que allá se crian, y bebemos cacao. El viejo les respondió: Esas comidas y bebidas, hijos, os tienen graves y pesados, y no os dejan llegar á ver el lugar donde estuvieron vuestros padres, *y eso os ha acarreado la muerte*, y esas riquezas que traeis no usamos acá dellas, sino de pobreza y llaneza; y asi dadlo acá, y estaos ahi, que yo llamaré á la Señora destas moradas, madre de Vitzilopochtli, para que la veais: y tomando una carga de aquellas en los hombros, la subió como si llevara una paja, y volviendo por las otras las subió con gran facilidad. Acabado de subir todo lo que los Mexicanos traian, salió una muger, ya de grande edad segun demostraba en su aspecto, y la mas fea y sucia que se puede pensar ni imaginar: traia la cara tan llena de suciedad y *negra*, que parecia cosa del infierno; y llorando amargamente les dijo á los Mexicanos: Seais bien venidos, hijos mios; habeis de saber que despues que se fué vuestro dios y mi hijo Vitzilopochtli deste lugar, *estoy en llanto y tristeza esperando su tornada*, y desde aquel dia no me hé *lavado* la cara, ni peynado mi cabeza, ni *mudado mi ropa*, el cual luto y tristeza me turará hasta que el vuelva. Es verdad, hijos mios, que os enviaron los Señores de aquellos siete barrios que llevó de aqui mi hijo? Ellos alzando los ojos, y viendo una muger tan abominable y fea, llenos de temor se le humillaron y digeron: Grande y poderosa Señora, los Señores de los capulles no los vimos ni nos hablaron; él que nos envia acá és tu siervo el Rey Montezuma, y su coadjutor Tlacaellel Cihuacoatl, para que te viesemos, y buscasemos el lugar donde habitaron sus antepasados; y mandaron nos te besasemos de su parte las manos, y que seas sabidora como él reyna y rige agora á la gran ciudad de Mexico, y que sepas que no és el primer rey, que el és el quinto, y que el primero que reynó fue llamado Acamapichtly, y el segundo Vitzilihuitl, y el tercero Chimalpopoca, y el cuarto Itzcoatl, y que yo, su indigno siervo, soy el quinto, y que me llamo Veve Montezuma, y quedo muy á su servicio, y que sepas que los cuatro reyes pasados pasaron mucha hambre y pobreza y trabajo, y que fueron tributarios de otras provincias, pero que agora ya está la ciudad prospera y libre, y se

han abierto ya y asegurado los caminos de la costa y de la mar, y de toda la tierra; y que ya Mexico es ya Señora y princesa, cabeza y reyna de todas las ciudades, pues todos están á su mandar; y que ya se han descubierto las minas de oro y de plata, y de piedras preciosas; y que ya se ha hallado la casa de las ricas plumas. Y para que lo veas, te envia esas cosas y presente, que son los bienes y riquezas de tu hijo maravilloso Vitzilopochtli, el cual con su brazo y pecho, cabeza y corazon, ha adquerido; lo cual nos concedió el Señor de lo criado, del dia, de la noche; y con esto damos fin á nuestras razones. Ella les dijo, ya algo aplacada de su llanto: Sea norabuena, hijos mios; yo se lo agradezco mucho á esos mis hijos: decidme, son vivos los viejos que llevó de aqui mi hijo? Ellos le respondieron: Señora, no son ya en el mundo, muertos son, y nosotros no los conocimos, no ha quedado mas de su sombra y memoria. Ella tornó á su llanto y dijo: Que los mató, pues *acá todos son vivos sus compañeros*? Y decidme, hijos, esto que traeis, es de comer? Ellos le digeron: Señora, dello se come y dello se bebe; el cacao se bebe, y lo demas se revuelve con ello, y algunas veces se come. Eso os tiene apesgados, hijos mios, y ha sido causa de que no hayais podido subir acá; pero decidme el trage de mi hijo, es de la manera que muestran estas mantas y plumas y riquezas? Ellos le digeron: Señora, si, asi se compone y adereza, y asi se atavia con esas riquezas y galanias, porque es señor de todas ellas. Respondió Coatlycue: Está muy bien, hijos, mi corazon queda quieto; pero decidle que tenga lastima de mi, y del gran trabajo que sin él paso: miradme cual estoy en *ayuno* y *penitencia* por su causa; y sabe que me dijo cuando se partia: Madre mia, no me deterné mucho en dar la vuelta, no mas de cuanto llevo á estos siete barrios y los aposento en donde han de habitar y poblar aquella tierra que les és *prometida*, y habiendoles asentado y poblado y consolado, luego volveré y daré la vuelta, y esto será en cumpliendose los años de mi peregrinacion y el tiempo que me está señalado; en el cual tiempo tengo de hacer guerra á todas las provincias y ciudades, villas y lugares, y traerlos y sugetarlos á mi servicio; pero por la misma orden que yo los ganaré, por esa misma orden me los han de quitar y tornar á ganar gentes estrañas, y me han de echar de aquella tierra; entonces me vendré acá, y me volveré á este lugar, porque aquellos que yo sugetaré con mi espada y rodela, esos mismos se han de volver contra mi, y han de empezar desde mis pies á echarme cabeza abajo, y yo y mis armas irémos rodando por el suelo. Entonces, madre mia, es cumplido mi tiempo, y me volveré huyendo á vuestro regazo, y hasta entonces no hay que tener pena; pero lo que os suplico és, que me deis dos pares de zapatos, los unos para ir, y los otros para volver; y dadme cuatro panes, dos para ir, y dos para volver. Y yo le dige: Hijo mio, id norabuena, y mira que no os detengais, sino que en cumpliendo ese tiempo que decis, os vengais luego. Pareceme, hijos mios, que él se deve de hallar bien allá, y estase quedo, y no se acuerda de la triste de su madre, ni la busca, ni hace caso della: por tanto yo os mando que le digais que es ya cumplido el tiempo, que se venga luego, y para que se acuerde que le deseo ver, y que soy su madre, dadle esta manta de nequen, y este braguero ó ciñidor de lo mismo, para que se ponga. Ellos tomaron la manta y braguero, y se volvieron á descender del cerro. Estando en la falda del, empezó la vieja á llamarlos y decir: Esperar ahi y vereis como en esta tierra *nunca emvejecen los hombres*: veis á este mi ayo viejo, pues dejadlo descender, y vereis cuando llegue allá á donde vosotros estais, que *mozo llega*. El viejo muy viejo empezó á descender, y mientras mas bajaba mas mozo se iba volviendo, y cuando llegó á ellos llegó mancebo de veinte años, y dijoles: Veisme mancebo, pues mirar lo que pasa; yo quiero tornar á subir, y no subiré mas de hasta la mitad del cerro, y volveré de mas edad, y tornó á subir y descender de la mitad del cerro, se volvió y vieronle el aspecto como hombre de cuarenta años, y tornó á volver y subió muy poquito, cuanto veinte pasos, la halda del cerro, y tornó á volver, y volvió luego muy viejo; y dijoles: Aveis de saber, hijos, que *este cerro* tiene esta virtud, que el que ya viejo se quiere remozar, sube hasta donde le parece, y vuelve de la edad que quiere: si quiere volver muchacho, sube hasta arriba; y si quiere volver mancebo, sube hasta un poco mas arriba de la mitad; y si de buena edad, hasta la mitad; y asi vivimos aqui mucho, y todos son vivos los que dejaron vuestros padres, sin haberse muerto ninguno, *remozandonos cuando queremos*. Mirad, todo ese daño os ha venido y se os ha causado de ese cacao que bebeis, y desas comidas que comeis: esas os han estragado y corrompido, y vuelto en otra naturaleza, y esas mantas y plumas y riquezas que trugistes y de que usais, eso os ha echado á perder: pero porque no vais sin retorno de lo que trugistes á vuestros señores, hizo traer de todos los generos de patos y ansares y garzas y aves marinas que en aquella laguna se crian, y de todos los generos de pescados que en ella se crian, y de todos los generos de legumbres que en aquella tierra se dan, y de todos los generos de rosas que hay en ella: Y haciendo grandes sartas dellas se las dió; y juntamente les dió mantas de nequen y bragueros, uno para el rey Montezuma, y otro para Tlacaellel, diciendoles les perdonasen que él no tenia mas ni otra cosa que les enviar, y con esto los despidió. Ellos tomaron su presente, y vueltos

á hacer los cercos y conjuros, y embijandose como á la venida, se volvieron en las mismas figuras y especies de animales que á la venida: y caminando en aquella forma llegaron al cerro Coatepec, y alli se juntaron y tornaron en su figura racional. Llegando unos antes y otros despues, y contándose mirando los unos por los otros, hallaron veinte menos, y admirandose de verse asi dezmados, y que faltaba la tercia parte, digeron algunos que las bestias fieras con que habian topado los habian comido, y las aves de rapiña; y no debió de ser asi, sino que el demonio los tomó y dezmó en pago de su trabajo, porque dice la historia que fueron en diez dias, y que volvieron en ocho, camino de trecientas leguas; y aun tardaron mucho, porque en mas breve los pudiera llevar y traer el que trujo á otro en tres dias desde Guatimala, por el deseo que una dama vieja tenia de verle aquella buena cara, *como se relató en el primer auto que en Mexico se celebró de la Santa Inquisicion.* Llegados á Mexico todos los brujos y hechiceros, llevaron el presente que habian traido delante de Montezuma, y digeronle: Señor, nosotros hemos cumplido lo que nos mandaste, y tu palabra se pagó con haber visto lo que deseabas saber, y hemos visto aquella tierra de Aztlan y de Culhuacan, donde habitaron y de donde salieron nuestros padres y agüelos, y traemos de aquellas cosas que allá se dan y crian; y sacando las sartas de mazorcas frescas, y las sartas de semillas y rosas de todas diferencias de las que en aquella tierra se crian, y tomates, chile, y las mantas de nequen que aquella gente les enviaba, y bragueros, dieronle relacion de todo lo que con la madre de Vitzilopochtli les habia acontecido, y con su ayo el viejo, y de como lo habian visto mozo y viejo y de buena edad; y de como en aquella tierra eran vivos todos los que sus antepasados habian dejado, y de las quejas grandes que Coatlycue tenia de Vitzilopochtli su hijo, y de como le esperaba, y lo que le dejó dicho, que en cumpliendose cierto tiempo habia de ser echado desta tierra, y que se habia de volver á aquel lugar; porque por la misma orden que habia de sugetar las naciones, por esa misma orden le habian de ser quitadas, y privado del dominio y señorio que sobre ellas tenia. El Rey mandó llamar á Tlacaellel, y hizo tornar á referir delante del todo lo que les habia acontecido, y dar la parte que á él en particular del presente le enviaban, y contandoles la gran fertilidad de la tierra, y frescura de arboledas, y el modo que de buscar lo necesario para el sustento tenian, y como andaban en canoas, y hacian *camellones* encima del agua para sembrar y criar aquellas legumbres que comian: la gran abundancia de muchos generos y diferencias de pescados que habia, como en el presente que traian podian notar, la gran multitud de aves marinas de todo genero, la suavidad y melodia que de cantos de aves habia, de diferentes pajaritos grandes y pequeños: la diferencia de sementeras que alli habia, *unas para coger ya sazonadas, otras en mazorca fresca y en leche, y otras que entonces empezaban á estar en cierne, y otras que nacian*; de suerte que en aquella tierra jamas no podia haber hambre. Contaronles como no habian podido subir á lo alto del cerro, y como habian quedado metidos en el arena hasta la cintura, y que el viejo andaba por ella muy diligente, y habia subido todo lo que habian llevado, y lo habia dado á la señora de aquel lugar, y madre de Vitzilopochtli, y que la causa de no haber podido llegar allá, les digeron habia sido el haber comido de aquellas cosas pesadas y corrutas de cacao y frutas de las que aca se crian, y la pena y espanto que habian recebido en saber la muerte de los viejos que de aquella tierra habian venido. Montezuma y Tlacaellel empezaron á llorar y hacer gran sentimiento, acordandose de sus antepasados, y de el deseo que de ver aquel lugar les dió; y diciendo á los que habian ido que descansasen, que se lo agradecian, mandaronles dar á todos de vestir y algunas cosas por su trabajo y hacerles mercedes, y llevar la manta de nequen y braguero al templo, y que se le diese á Vitzilopochtly, pues su madre se lo enviaba."

Note XLVIII. Page 96.

Various analogies in the rites and ceremonies with which the Jews and the Mexicans celebrated their mournings for the dead have already been noticed in the seventeenth and sixty-first pages of the present volume, to which we may add that the Peruvians were accustomed to lament over the tombs of their deceased kindred, imitating the plaintive cooing of doves. This curious analogy in the customs of the ancient Jews and the Peruvians will more fully appear from a comparison of the following passage of the ninth chapter of Balboa's inedited 'Miscellanea Antarctica', descriptive of the grief of Mango Capac for the death of his brother Ayarcache, with the thirtieth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the first book of Kings, and the eighteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Jeremiah, from which it is evident that it was a Hebrew custom to utter the ejaculation "Ah, my brother!" or, "Ah, sister!" at funerals: "En cumplimiento de lo pedido por su hermano Ayarcache, invocaron muchas veces su nombre y lloraron su perdida: Hay, hermano nuestro! quan corta fue nuestra ventura, pues *no merecimos* holgarnos juntos con el crecimiento y hermosura de

este nuestro heredero niño! O quan colmada fuera tu alegria, si permitiera nuestro padre el Sol, que hoy te hallaras en estas fiestas! De alli comenzó á tomar origen entre aquellas gentes *el llorar los muertos, imitando al sordo susurro de las palomas.* Alli comenzaron las ceremonias de los Raimis, y el Quicoechico y Guarachico y Rutuchico, y la fiesta del Aviscay (que es celebrar el nuevo nacimiento de los hijos deseados), con beber y baylar quatro dias ó mas." "In compliance with the request of their brother Ayarcache, they repeatedly invoked his name and bewailed his loss: Ah, my brother! how short was our felicity, since we were unworthy to rejoice together with thee at the growth and beauty of this our infant heir! O how abundant would have been thy joy if our father, the Sun, had permitted thee this day to be present at these festivals! Thence commenced the custom amongst these nations of lamenting the dead, *imitating the hoarse cooing of doves*; thence commenced the ceremonies of the Raimis, and Quicoechico, and Guarachico, and Rutuchico, and the festival of Aviscay (instituted for the purpose of celebrating the recent birth of desired children), with drinking and dances, for the space of four days or a longer period." The passages of Scripture cited above in confirmation of this singular agreement in the funeral rites of the Jews and the Peruvians are the following, of which the first relates to the burial of the man of God, who had been killed by a lion in the highway, by the old prophet of Bethel, whose example in approaching the lion and fearlessly taking from him the body of the prophet, as recorded in the twenty-ninth verse of the same chapter, might have made the Mexican priests, when anointed with the teotlaqualli, or food of God, equally careless of attacks from wild beasts which they might chance to meet in lonely woods or forests: "And it came to pass, after he had eaten bread, and after he had drunk, that he saddled for him the ass, to wit, for the prophet whom he had brought back. And when he was gone, a lion met him by the way, and slew him: and his carcase was cast in the way, and *the ass stood by it*, the lion also stood by the carcase. And, behold, men passed by, and saw the carcase cast in the way, and the lion standing by the carcase: and they came and told it in the city where the old prophet dwelt. And when the prophet that brought him back from the way heard thereof, he said, It is the man of God, who was disobedient unto the word of the Lord: therefore the Lord hath delivered him unto the lion, which hath torn him, and slain him, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake unto him. And he spake to his sons, saying, Saddle me the ass. And they saddled him. And he went and found his carcase cast in the way, and the ass and the lion standing by the carcase: the lion had not eaten the carcase, nor torn the ass. And the prophet took up the carcase of the man of God, and laid it upon the ass, and brought it back: and the old prophet came to the city, to mourn and to bury him. And he laid his carcase in his own grave; and they mourned over him, saying, *Alas, my brother!*" The second passage contains the prophet Jeremiah's denunciation against Jehoiakim, king of Judah, whom he foretold that he should be deprived for his sins of the rites of sepulchre and of the usual mournings for the dead: "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work; that saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar, and *painted with vermilion*! Shalt thou reign, because thou closest thyself in cedar? did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgement and justice, and then it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him: was not this to know me? saith the Lord. But thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it. Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah king of Judah, *They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, my brother! or, Ah, sister! they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, lord! or, Ah, his glory!* He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, *drawn* and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." Whether it was an ancient Hebrew custom to imitate the cooing of doves on occasions of public or private mourning, to which there may be an allusion in the passages of the Old Testament cited below, or whether those passages might have led in later ages to the introduction of it amongst the descendants of the Jews in the New World, it is impossible with certainty to know; but the rejection of the one supposition renders the other so much the more probable. Isaiah, in the fourteenth verse of the thirty-eighth chapter of his Prophecies, thus pathetically bewails the disconsolate situation of himself and his countrymen: "*I did mourn as a dove*: mine eyes fail with *looking upward*: O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me"; and in the eleventh verse of the fifty-ninth chapter of his Prophecies he associates the tenderer with the more rugged accents of grief in the following affecting ejaculation: "We roar all like bears, and *mourn sore like doves*: we look for judgement, but there is none; for salvation, but it is far off from us." Ezekiel, also, in the sixteenth verse of the seventh chapter of his Prophecies, predicts that the Jews who escaped from the final desolation of Israel should mourn

like doves in the valleys, which prophecy their descendants who colonized America might have determined to fulfill when a fit opportunity should present itself: "But they that escape of them, shall escape, and shall be on the mountains *like doves of the valleys*, all of them *mourning, every one for his iniquity.*" The same prophet declares in a verse immediately following, that the Jews should gird themselves with sackcloth, as an emblem of grief, and that there should be "baldness upon *all* their heads," which further leads us to observe, that it was a Mexican custom to shave off the hair from the head* as an indication of grief; and it would appear from the attitude of the human figures in the eighty-third page of the lesser Vatican MS. and in other Mexican paintings, that to *look upwards* was amongst the Mexicans as well as the Jews an act expressive of extreme despair; that it was so amongst the Jews is evident from the words of Isaiah in the twenty-first verse of the eighth chapter of his Prophecies: "And it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and *look upward*;" and there cannot exist a doubt but that the same attitude was designedly introduced in the Mexican paintings. To revert again to the funeral ceremonies of the Jews and the Mexicans, we must observe, that the ancient Jews were accustomed to bury their dead in caves, in fields, and even in their own houses, since it is said of Manasseh in the twentieth verse of the thirty-third chapter of the second book of Chronicles: "So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him *in his own house*†, and Amon his son reigned in his stead." They were likewise accustomed to *anoint* and attire them in rich dresses, and sometimes to embalm them after the fashion of the Egyptians‡, and not unfrequently to place them in a sitting posture in their tombs,—in commemoration, as it would appear, of what is said in the thirty-third verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, of the patriarch Jacob gathering up his feet before he died,—and likewise to deposit *their* most valuable effects in the sepulchres of their kings, consisting not only of gold and silver, but likewise of *vests* and precious vases. It deserves to be remarked that Josephus notices, in the last chapter of the seventh book of

* Cieza de Leon, describing in the sixty-third chapter of his Chronicle of Peru the funeral ceremonies of the ancient Peruvians, thus expresses himself: "Quando los señores morian, se juntavan los principales del valle y hazian grandes lloros, y muchas de las mugeres se *cortavan los cabellos, hasta quedar sin ningunos.*"

† Ulloa gives a long description, in the 340th page of his Noticias Americanas, of the sepulchres, or 'pantheons,' as he designates them, which the Peruvians constructed in their houses: he speaks of them from personal inspection, and although a comparatively recent author, his account is very curious.

‡ That the custom of embalming the dead was very general amongst the Jews in the age of Christ is expressly declared in the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, who thus describes the embalming of the body of Christ: "And there came also Nicodemus, (which at the first came to Jesus by night,) and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about *an hundred pounds weight*. Then took they the body of Jesus and wound it in linen cloths, with the spices, *as the manner of the Jews is to bury.*" The same custom existed among the Jews at a period prior to the Babylonian captivity, as we learn from the two books of Chronicles and Kings; and it is not improbable that the Peruvian Ingas commanded their bodies to be embalmed in imitation of the Kings of Judah and Israel. It is likewise evident from the twelfth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, that anointing was a common funeral rite amongst the Jews, which the admonition of Christ to his disciples, and the exhortation of St. James in the fourteenth verse of the fifth chapter of his General Epistle, converted into a sacrament amongst the primitive Christians, who could not, like Protestants, put a double construction on a precept delivered in such plain terms as the following: "Is *any* sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, *anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord*; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, *they shall be forgiven him.*" We cannot refrain from here observing, that some of the Rabbis, with their usual proneness to indulge in a sceptical train of reasoning upon passages of Scripture which they do not understand, have thought proper to ask, why, if Nicodemus and the rest of the disciples were acquainted with the leading prophecies respecting the Messiah, and believed in his future resurrection from the dead, they should have thought it necessary, or even consistent with divine revelation, to embalm the body of him of whom David says, in the tenth verse of the sixteenth Psalm, *blending in himself the totally distinct characters of his Son and Lord,* "Thou wilt not leave *my* soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to *see corruption,*" and who himself had avowed in the presence of his disciples, that he would destroy the Temple and rebuild it in three days, in allusion to his future resurrection. To this objection of the rabbis it may be easily replied, that neither Nicodemus himself, nor any of the disciples, believed in the resurrection of Christ during his lifetime, nor even after his death, until, like Saint Thomas, they had the evidence of their senses to convince them of a fact of which they had not the previous assurance, when, on going into his tomb and finding that his body was not there, they for the first time became aware of his having risen from the dead in the manner related by Saint John in the eighth verse of the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, who himself confesses in the following verse the ignorance until then of *all* the disciples of this important article of the Christian faith, "For *as yet* they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead." Another material error which the disciples fell into shortly after the resurrection, and which argued on their part an excess of credulity and superstition, was their supposing that the end of the world and the day of judgement was close at hand. This error is extremely deserving of notice, since it seems to have taken deep root amongst the primitive Christians, and to have passed over with an early Christian colony to America.

his Jewish Antiquities, the immense riches which Solomon buried with his father David; further adding, in the fifteenth chapter of the thirteenth book of the same treatise, that when Jerusalem was besieged by Antiochus, the high-priest Hyrcanus opened one of the vaults of the sepulchre of David, and took from thence three thousand talents; and Cardinal Baronius asserts, in the hundred and fifty-eighth page of the first volume of his Ecclesiastical Annals, that the experiment was repeated some ages afterwards by Herod, who discovered no gold, but a great quantity of *costly vestments*, and that he was deterred from prosecuting his search by a flame which miraculously burst forth from the tomb. That burying riches in tombs was a very ancient custom amongst the Jews cannot be doubted, since there are some indications of it in the third chapter of the book of Job; and all the Spanish historians who have treated of the ancient history of the Peruvians affirm that they imitated the Jews in depositing immense riches in the tombs of the Incas, whose bodies, like those of the patriarchs Jacob and Joseph, were carefully embalmed, whilst the national grief was testified for their death by a solemn mourning, which amongst the Mexicans lasted for eighty days. It was not, however, alone in the custom of depositing great riches in their tombs and mourning for their kindred a length of time that the Indians resembled the Jews, but likewise in the external form of their sepulchres*, which were frequently in the shape of pyramids. Cieza de Leon thus describes, in the sixty-third chapter of his Chronicle of Peru, the form of some which he beheld in the province of Collao: "Volviendo pues á la materia, digo que he visto que tienen estos Indios distinctos ritos en hazer las sepulturas: porque en la provincia de Collao (como relatare en su lugar) las hazen en las heredades†, por su orden, *tan grandes como torres*, unas mas y otras menos, y algunas hechas de buena labor con piedras excellentes. Y tienen sus puertas que salen al nascimiento del sol; y junto á ellas (como tambien dire) acostumbran hazer sus sacrificios y quemar algunas cosas, y rociar aquellos lugares con sangre de corderos ó de otros animales. En la comarca del Cuzco entierran á sus difuntos *sentados en unos assentamientos principales*, á quien llaman 'duhos', vestidos y adornados de lo mas principal que ellos posseyan." That the sepulchral monuments of the Zapotecas resembled those of the Indians of Collao may be inferred from M. Dupaix's description of them in the four hundred and fifty-second page of the sixth volume of this work, and from what he again says, in the four hundred and fifty-eighth page, of the groups of pyramids situated in the valley of Oaxaca, which were probably constructed after the plan of those erected in remote ages in the plain of Teotihuacan by the Tultecas, the ruins of which still exist not far distant from the city of Mexico, and are described by Boturini in the forty-second page of his 'Idea of a New History of America,' whose allusion to the groups of artificial hillocks placed on either side of the two principal pyramids, which he supposes were dedicated to the stars, as the latter were to the sun and the moon, reminds us how frequently the Jews are accused in Scripture of worshiping the whole host of heaven, and forcibly brings to our recollection the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the Prophecies of Hosea, in which express mention is made of the number and form of the idolatrous altars of the Jews: "Is there iniquity in Gilead? surely they are vanity‡, they

* Torquemada endeavours to prove, in a very curious chapter of his Monarquia Indiana, that the *internal* plan of some of the Mexican sepulchres must nearly have resembled that of Christ, as described in the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Mark.

† We learn from the thirty-first verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, that Jacob was buried in a cave of the field of his inheritance; and some Spanish authors have supposed that his gathering up his feet at the moment of dying, might have suggested to the Mexicans and the Peruvians the custom of burying the dead in a sitting posture, in the manner represented in the thirteenth page of the Codex Borgianus.

‡ The term 'vanity,' in the sense here made use of by Hosea, surprisingly accords with the epithet 'nothings,' which Adair says, in the 292nd page of the present volume, is the most favourable name which the American Indians, in their set speeches, bestow on Europeans, whom at other times they name 'hottuk ookproose,' the accursed people, in contradistinction to themselves, who are 'hottuk oretoopah,' the beloved people. The striking analogy between these two latter terms and the phrase which the Jews employed to designate themselves antithetically to the heathen, forcibly presented itself to Adair, who uses it as an argument to prove that the Indians believed, like the ancient Jews, that they were immediately under a theocracy, or in other words that the Deity was the head of their state, a fact of which the Mexicans were continually reminding him: he does not, however, appear to have been equally aware that the very phrase *nothings* was applied as a term of contempt by the Jews of former ages to the heathen, and to every race of mankind except their own, as is evident from the following passage of the sixth chapter of the Second Book of Esdras, who thus familiarly accosts the Deity: "All this have I spoken before thee, O Lord, because thou madest the world for *our* sakes. As for the *other* people, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that *they are nothing*, but be like unto spittle: and hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel. And now, O Lord, behold, these heathen, which have *ever* been reputed *as nothing*, have begun to be lords over us, and to *devour* us. But we *thy people*, whom thou hast called thy firstborn, thy *only begotten*, and *thy fervent lover*, are given into their hands. If the world now be made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? how long shall this endure?"

sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal, yea, *their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields.*" It may, however, be here observed that the prophet may allude to tombs as well as to altars, or possibly to both, since the custom of eating the sacrifices of the dead, of which the Jews are accused in the twenty-eighth verse of the hundred and sixth Psalm, would necessarily imply that of placing an offering of food on their tombs, which the Interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis informs us, in the ninety-sixth page of the sixth volume of this work, was also a Mexican rite. It is, however, more probable, from Hosea's allusion to sacrifices of bullocks in the same verse, that the iniquity found in Gilead was worshiping the stars, which, from their multitude, would have required many altars, and to which they might have sacrificed bullocks and even human victims. We shall observe, in conclusion, that if Baal-peor was the same as the Phenician deity Moth, he was probably also the same as Mictlantecutli, the Mexican god of the dead, at whose shrine the Mexicans sacrificed infants.

Note XLIX. Page 519.

The merits of Doctor Robertson's History of America are so differently appreciated by Spanish and English authors, that it is difficult to form an estimate of its true value. All, however, who have read that history must admit that that learned historian's inclination to discredit the original accounts of the Spanish historians and early American writers, on the score of alleged exaggeration*, led him into great errors; of this Clavigero frequently complains in the course of his history of Mexico. In nothing, however, was Doctor Robertson more decidedly mistaken than in the estimate which he formed of the population of the various cities of New Spain, and especially of Mexico. It is, indeed, surprising to find from a note†, which he has subjoined to the third volume of his History of America, that on a question of this difficult nature he should have rejected the testimony of three celebrated Spanish historians, and, taking upon himself the task of weighing everything in his own fanciful scale of probability, should have ventured to pronounce the following severe criticism on their valuable and authentic writings: "The early Spanish writers were *so hasty and inaccurate* in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with *any* degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms that there were sixty thousand houses or families in Mexico. (Cron., c. 78.) Herrera adopts his opinion, (Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13.,) and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about three hundred thousand. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, asserts that there were a hundred and twenty thousand families in Mexico, and, consequently, about six hundred thousand inhabitants. (lib. iii. c. 23.) But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at sixty thousand people‡. (Ramusia, iii. 309. A.) Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city§".

* The extent to which Dr. Robertson carried his scepticism on subjects where the testimony of Spanish historians was the only evidence that could safely be relied on, will best appear by reference to Note XXVII. of the first volume of his History of America.

† Vide Note XXI., p. 367, Vol. III., of Dr. Robertson's History of America.

‡ It is very probable, that the phrase made use of by the officer of Cortes, whose narrative Dr. Robertson here refers to, was *vecinos*, which signifies *householders*, and is synonymous with houses when used in taking a census of the population of a city, and that Dr. Robertson erroneously understood it to mean *inhabitants*.

§ It is so very obvious that if the city of Mexico had only contained a population of sixty thousand persons, two thirds of whom must necessarily have been women and children, and men advanced in years, it never could have made the formidable resistance which it did to the Spaniards,—who, besides being acquainted with military tactics and inured to regular discipline, were aided by numerous Indian allies, greedy of sharing in the spoils of Mexico, wore iron armour, rode on horses, and employed artillery against the naked and almost defenceless bodies of the Mexicans,—that it is unnecessary to insist long upon the force of this argument, or further to remark, that a city containing so scanty a population as sixty thousand persons could never have extended its empire over nearly all the provinces of New Spain, as history informs us Montezuma had done several years before the arrival of the Spaniards in his territory. It hence appears, that it would be extremely absurd to suppose, with Dr. Robertson, that the population of Mexico consisted of only sixty thousand persons; and we shall accordingly quote a passage from the fiftieth chapter of the inedited Historia Apologetica of Las Casas, in which that learned prelate declares it to be his belief that it greatly exceeded a million, which is a number much more considerable than the computation of Torquemada, who it is evident, from various passages of his Monarquia Indiana, had perused a portion at least of the

Note L. Page 160.

Garcilasso de la Vega takes occasion to notice, in the seventh chapter of the first book of his Peruvian Commentaries, a curious theory of the Peruvians respecting dreams, namely, that they believed when the body slept the soul

Historia Apologetica of Las Casas, and probably had reason for dissenting from that prelate's calculation. Las Casas, on the other hand, it is but right to observe, is a much higher authority than Torquemada because he was an earlier writer by more than half a century, and possessed of much better means of ascertaining the number of houses contained in Mexico and the extent of its ancient population. "Dejados los edificios de las otras ciudades para despues, quiero contar de los de la ciudad de Mexico, y señaladamente de las casas y palacios reales del gran rey Montezuma. Aquella ciudad esta fundada en el lago ó laguna como Venecia esta en la mar: *tenia cuando los Españoles primero entraron en ella mas de cincuenta mil casas, y en cada una tres y cuatro y hasta diez vecinos, y de gente mucho mas de un millon, porque esto se debe tener por regla general en estas Indias, que donde quiera que hay cien vecinos casados se hallara aver quinientas y seiscientas personas.* Las casas eran de adobes comunmente con sus *terrados* y azoteas muy bien hechas, y encalados por encima que no se pueden llover. Las casas comunes no son mucho de ver sino bajas y humildes, pero las de los caballeros y señores en gran manera eran muy cumplidas y bien edificadas, y tenian altos y bajos. Las comunes tenian dos puertas, una sobre la calzada y otra que sale al agua; y la ciudad tenia tres maneras de calles, muy anchas y buenas, las unas de agua con infinitas puertas, las otras de tierra, y las otras de tierra y agua, conviene á saber, parte de tierra ó canteria, por donde andan en seco, y parte por donde se sirven con sus barquillos ó canoas por el agua. Estaba repartida en dos barrios, el uno es y se llama el Tlatelulco, y el otro Mexico, y este era el principal por estar alli los palacios y casa real y toda la mas de la nobleza y caballeria." It will at once be perceived that it is through an error of the transcriber that the word *cien* in the above passage has been omitted before *cincuenta mil casas*, whose mistake the sentence which immediately follows sufficiently corrects. The computation of Las Casas, as he expressly says, is founded upon the number of houses which the city of Mexico in ancient times contained; and from the average number of inhabitants of each house is formed the gross estimate of the population. It may not be improper to observe, that other Spanish authors, whose testimony in a matter of this kind is of the greatest weight and who had the best opportunity of ascertaining the truth, unanimously declare that before the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards the population of that city was immense, which was perhaps attributable to the early age at which the Mexican youth were taken from the temples, or religious seminaries, and married: it deserves likewise to be remarked, that an analogous custom existed in Peru, where marriages were contracted by order of the Inga, and a triennial visitation of the provinces was held for the express purpose of solemnizing them according to the forms of the Peruvian law. This assimilation in the manners of the Mexicans and the Peruvians, who, though separated from each other in very remote provinces of America, approximated in many of their religious rites and civil institutions, is extremely deserving of notice. To the objection of those who may feel inclined to suppose that Las Casas and Torquemada much overrated the number of houses contained in the city of Mexico, and consequently erred in their census of the population, it may be satisfactory to observe, that their approximation in numbers tends to the corroboration of each other's testimony: nor is the discrepancy between one hundred and twenty thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand houses so great as to allow us to accuse either historian of wilful misrepresentation, since it is possible that Las Casas might have included in his estimate the houses contained in the towns situated on the principal causeway leading to the city of Mexico, and which as reasonably might have been reckoned a part of Mexico as Belgrave Square may be considered a part of London. Of these towns, and the three causeways which formed the approach to Mexico, Las Casas gives the following account in the fiftieth chapter of his Historia Apologetica: "Tiene tres entradas no mas esta ciudad, y va por cada una calzada muy bien hecha de tierra y canteria tan ancha que podrian ir por ella tres carretas á la par ó diez de caballos; é la una durara media legua desde la tierra firme hasta la ciudad y comienza de la parte del oriente; é la segunda terna una legua y viene de hacia el norte; é la tercera de la parte de mediodia que dura dos buenas leguas; y esta es la principal y mas noblecida que viene de la ciudad de Yztapalapa, cuyo señor dejimos ser el heredero del rey Montezuma; va tan derecha á la ciudad que no puede ser mas un huso: por esto entró Cortes y su compañia el primer dia que en ella entraron, que fue dia octavo de todos santos, ocho de Noviembre de mil y quinientos y diez y nueve años. E á cada lado de esta calzada tan principal estan ciudades algunas muy hermosas de muchos templos y torres adornadas todas dentro de la laguna en el agua, que no puede andar el hombre sino mirando á una parte y á otra como elevado. Una dellas se llama Mexicalcingo, que tenia quatro ó cinco mil casas; otra Coyacan, que seria de seis mil; otra Viçilopuchtli, quasi otras tantas." Another argument in favour of the accuracy of Torquemada's computation is furnished by the following extract from an inedited history of the conquest of Mexico, composed by Francisco de Aguilar, who was originally a soldier in the army of Cortes, and an eye-witness of the scenes which he describes, and afterwards turned monk, and wrote, as he says himself, at eighty years of age, a narrative of the principal events of the Spanish conquest[1]: "Habiendose rehecho el dicho capitan Cortes de gente venida de las islas

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[1] The above-mentioned history is preserved in the library of the Escurial. The author remarks in his preface that he composed it at the request of certain friars of his order. It contains a very interesting history of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, written by a soldier who had been the companion of Cortes, and who afterwards, as was not unusual with Spaniards of that age, renounced the world and retired to a cloister, there to spend the latter end of his days. It may be interesting to add, that Diego Duran speaks in high terms of commendation of Francisco de Aguilar in the second part of his History of New Spain, professing to have received from him a particular description of the Mexican temples.

quitted its earthly mansion, and that what it beheld whilst wandering through the universe constituted dreams. This theory might possibly have been derived from what is said in Scripture of prophets and other holy persons being "in the spirit," and beholding "in visions" events that occurred in the most remote places. It should, however, be remarked, that the expression "to be in the spirit" is understood in different senses in various passages of the Old Testament; but it is invariably employed in one of three acceptations: it either denotes miraculous locomotion from one place to another, as in the case of the prophet Ezekiel, who declares, in the third verse of the eighth chapter of his Prophecies, that he was carried by an angel by the hair of the head from Babylon to Jerusalem; or it signifies voluntary locomotion at the suggestion of the spirit; or, thirdly, it means the soul's being transported out of the body whilst the latter slept; to which peculiar mode of being in the spirit there is an apparent allusion in the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, where that apostle says, in reference, it would appear from the context, to himself: "I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago, (whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether *out of the body*, I cannot tell: God knoweth;) such an one caught up to the third heaven." Upon this passage of St. Paul we shall only remark, that the plurality and order which he here assigns to the heavens is deserving of notice as assimilating in some measure the notions of the Jews to those of the Mexicans, who also believed in a plurality and certain order of the heavens, as the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus informs us in the hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of this work. The phænomena of sleeping and of dreams* have excited the atten-

como arriba está dicho, caminó con su gente la via de Mexico y llegó y entró en la gran ciudad de Tezcuco, la cual ciudad y señorio casi era tan grande como el señorio de Mexico; *podria tener mas de ochenta ó cien mil casas*, y el dicho capitan y Españoles se aposentaron alli en los aposentos grandes y muy hermosos patios que en la dicha ciudad habia." It will here be observed that Aguilar describes Tezcuco as a city containing eighty or a hundred thousand houses; and since the city of Mexico was, according to the most authentic accounts, considerably larger than that of Tezcuco, it may reasonably be inferred, that if Tezcuco contained a hundred thousand houses, Mexico did not contain less than a hundred and thirty thousand; but the difference between this computation and the calculation of Dr. Robertson is certainly very considerable. We shall conclude this note with a brief sketch of the statistics of the Peruvian empire in the middle of the sixteenth century, at which period, it should be remarked, the wars of the Spaniards, the small-pox, and working in the mines had greatly reduced the amount of the native Indian population. This brief but authentic sketch is contained in the accompanying plate, which presents a facsimile of a very curious tribute-roll, taken from a manuscript which formerly belonged to the Count de Olivares. The title prefixed to this tribute-roll declares, that the census of the population which it contains was taken in the year 1561, by the order of the Marquis of Cañete, the then viceroy of Peru. Opposite to the names of the several cities in the plate, are ranged, in three distinct columns, 1st, the total amount of the Indian population of all ages; 2ndly, that portion of the aggregate population who, not under sixteen years of age or exceeding fifty, paid tribute to the Crown of Spain; 3rdly, the value of the tribute which they paid, calculated in Spanish pesos. We shall here transcribe the names of the cities in the order in which they occur in the roll: Cuzco, La Plata, La Paz, Arequipa, Guamanga, Truxillo, Los Reyes, Guanuco, Quito, San Miguel, Puerto Viejo, Guyaquil, Loxa, Chachapoyas, Xauxa, and Çamora, are the cities mentioned, but the task of deciphering the arithmetical abbreviations which accompany them must be left to persons skilled in Spanish palæography: when that is accomplished it will be an easy thing to calculate the amount of the Indian tribute. Of the Spanish peso and its value in the sixteenth century, Dr. Robertson gives the following account in the preface to his History of America: "My readers will observe, that in mentioning sums of money I have uniformly followed the Spanish method of computing by *pesos*. In America the peso *fuerte* or *duro*, is the only one known, and that is always meant when any sum imported from America is mentioned. The peso fuerte, as well as other coins, has varied in its numerary value; but I have been advised, without attending to such minute variations, to consider it as equal to four shillings and sixpence of our money. It is to be remembered, however, that in the sixteenth century the effective value of a peso, i.e. the quantity of labour which it represented, or of goods which it would purchase, was five or six times as much as at present.

* The following detached propositions were intended to form a portion of a separate note; they are inserted here as not wholly irrelevant to the present subject, and may be regarded in the light of so many postulates, tending to prove that the functions of the eye are not exclusively confined to vision. 1. The sensation of the eye when deprived of light, its power of distinguishing between light and darkness being active, is darkness. 2. The perfection of the eye's sensation, whether of darkness or of light, depends upon attention, which in waking persons is involuntary, and the partial withdrawal of which causes a feeling of absence and vacancy, whilst its total removal, which begins with inattention and ends in complete abstraction, is sleep. 3. In sleep all sensations, both of light and darkness, are equally absent from the mind, whose power of imagination acquires greater force, being no longer impeded by its attention being fixed either wholly or in part upon real objects. 4. Reason in sleep is continually subject to delusions, because it is no longer checked and corrected by the consciousness of external realities, and cannot therefore judge of the absurdity or fallaciousness of dreams which claim at that period the undivided attention of the mind. 5. The imagination in sleep, being freed from the restraint which the connexion between thought and the impressions produced by the eye upon the sensorium imposes upon it, exerts new powers—can create ideas of pain, without the pressure or intervention of a nerve, or by spontaneously giving an impulse to it—ideas of taste without the presence of food, of sound without the percussion of air, of light and day in the midst of darkness, which necessarily precludes the supposition that the eye may

tion not only of the ignorant and superstitious of all ages, but likewise of the wise and learned, including in the number even Alexander the Great, whose extensive knowledge cannot be doubted, when it is recollected he had Aristotle for his preceptor in early youth. We may observe also that Homer avails himself of the machinery of dreams in some of the finest episodes of the Iliad, especially at the commencement of the twenty-third book, where the shade of Patroclus appears to Achilles, and pathetically beseeches him to grant him the accustomed rites of burial: nothing in the flow of elegiac verse can exceed the inimitable beauty of Pope's translation of the following descriptive lines of Homer:

" Ἠλθε δ' ἐπι ψυχη Πατροκληος δειλοιο,
Παντ' αὐτῳ, μεγεθος τε και ὀμματα καλ' εἰκυια,
Και φωνην· και τοια περι χροι εἱματα ἑστο·
Στη δ' ἀρ' ὑπερ κεφαλης, και μιν προς μυθον ἐειπεν·
Εὑδεις, αὐταρ ἐμειο λελασμενος ἐπλευ, Αχιλλευ;
Οὐ μεν μευ ζωοντος ἀκηδεις, ἀλλα θανοντος."

It was amongst the Jews, however, as we have already observed in the three hundred and sixty-seventh page of the sixth volume of this work, that the greatest attention was paid to the interpretation of dreams and visions, which

retain a partial sensation of darkness throughout sleep, which would involve the admission of its being possible for the same individual to perceive light and darkness at the same moment, the former by imagination and the latter by sensation. The experience of almost every person will serve to convince them that the imagination in sleep can form to itself new ideas of the duration of time; and since time may be inconceivably lengthened in dreams, there is nothing so absurd, although there may be much exaggeration, in the story in the Arabian Nights, of the man who fell asleep and dreamt in the space of a few short hours that he had been engaged in the occupations of a long life, lying down on his bed a young man, and becoming old in his own imagination ere morning. 6. It is evident that sleep cannot be defined to be the absence of waking, since the cause is different, although the effect is similar in stupor and fainting; sleep, likewise, is the sign and the general consequence of health, whereas stupor and fainting proceed from bodily injury or disease. 7. It deserves to be remarked, that drunkenness produces an effect similar to that of sleep, both in exalting the imagination and overpowering the reasoning faculties of the soul; the effects of which suspension of the intellectual powers, perhaps, might be explained on the supposition that intoxication causes a partial absorption of the nervous fluid necessary for the visual energies; and hence, on the assumption that the nervous action of the eye essential to vision is materially affected by the action of fermented liquors upon the stomach,—which appears from the dizzy sensation with which drunkenness affects the eye,—and that reason requires the continual promptings of external sensations received through the eye (to which blindness is no impediment, the optic nerve still continuing to discharge its remaining functions,) to judge of the difference between fancies and realities by the opposition and contrast of the one with the other, a reason for drunkenness producing mental delusion would be apparent. That the action of fermented liquors and other fluids on the stomach affects the nervous sensibilities of the eye, is evident from the effects of opium in producing drowsiness, and strong astringents in repelling sleep. The celebrated Hernandez and other Spanish authors inform us that the Mexicans were acquainted with a certain sort of fungus which produced the most wonderful effects on the eye, and which they ate for the express purpose of seeing visions, falling into trances, and acquiring the spirit of prophecy by a sudden seizure, perhaps, of the nature of that with which the Hebrew prophets were affected at times and seasons when they found it convenient to lay claim to prophetic inspiration. This fungus was named in the Mexican language *nanacatl*, and its extraordinary properties are described in the following passage of an inedited MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid: "Usaban de adivinanzas y suertes, y creian en sueños y en prodigios y agueros, porque el demonio se lo hacia encreyer, y les cumplian muchas cosas de las que soñaban. Ansi mismo tomaban cosas y las comian y bebian *para con ellas adivinar*, con que se adormecian y perdian el sentido, y con ellas veian visiones espantables, y visiblemente el demonio con estas cosas que tomaban, que la una cosa se llama Peyotl, y otra hierva que se llama Tlapatl, y otro grano que llaman Mixitl, y *la carne de un pajaro que llaman pito en nuestra lengua y ellos lo llaman Oconenetl, que comida la carne de este pajaro provoca á ver estas visiones. La misma propiedad tiene un hongo pequeño zancudo, que llaman los naturales Nanacatl.* De estas cosas usaban mas los señores que la gente plebeya, dejando á parte los vinos que tenian, que quando se embriagaban en sus borracheras, veian ansi mismo grandes visiones y muy estrañas; aunque las borracheras eran muy prohibidas entre ellos, y no bebian vino sino los muy viejos y ancianos; y quando algun mozo bebia y se emborrachaba, *moria por ello*; y ansi se daba absolutamente á los muy viejos en republica, ó quando se hacia alguna fiesta muy señalada, se daba con mucha templanza á los hombres calificados y viejos honrados y en las cosas de la guerra jubilados. Tras esto tenian instrumentos de musica que les quadraban segun su modo, tenian atambores hechos de mucho primor, altos de mas de medio estado, con otro instrumento que llaman Teponaztle, que es de un trozo de madera concavado y de una pieza, rollizo, y como decimos hueco por dentro, que suena algunas veces mas de media legua, y con el atambor hace estraña y muy suave consonancia; y con estos atambores, accompañados de unas trompas de palo y otros instrumentos á manera de flautas y jabebas, accompañados con estas cosas hacen estraño y admirable ruido, y tan á compas sus cantares y danzas y bayles que es cosa muy de ver. En estos bayles y cantares sacan las divisas é insinias é libreas que quieren, con mucha plumeria y ropa muy rica de muy estraños atavios y composturas, joyas de oro y piedras preciosas puestas en los cuellos y muñecas del brazo, y braceletes de oro fino en los brazos, *los quales vi yo*, y conoci á muchos caciques que los usaron y con ellos se ataviaban y componian, asi en los brazos como en las pantorillas, y cascabeles de oro en las gargan-

engrossed the attention of all orders of the state, from the monarch who sat upon the throne, to the peasant who dwelt in the clay-built hut. The agreement, therefore, between them and the Mexicans in so peculiar an article of national faith, and one so completely identified with the religion of the Jews, cannot fail to add considerable weight to the argument already recurred to, in the note subjoined to the fifteenth page of the sixth volume of the present work, in proof of the Mexicans being descended from the Jews; and this agreement will more plainly appear from the following account of Montezuma commanding his subjects to report to him their dreams, in order that he might presage from their import the arrival of the Spaniards in his territory, and by divination avert the danger which he feared impended over the state. The account is transcribed from the sixty-eighth chapter of the first part of Diego Duran's inedited History of New Spain, who obtained his information from the original works of the Mexican historians. "Andaba Montezuma tan desasosegado, que no se podia quietar su corazon, y en parte deseaba que se cumpliese ya lo que le tenian profetizado para poderse quietar; y con este cuidado mandó llamar á todos los prepositos y mandoncillos de los barrios, *y preguntóles si acaso habian soñado alguna cosa acerca de la venida de aquellas gentes que esperaban, ó de lo que habia de acontecer, que se los revelasen, aunque fuesen contra su persona*, que no deseaba mas de saber ya la certidumbre deste negocio que tan mentado era, y con tantas amenazas de mal se lo habian profetizado, y que no lo hacia sino para poner en cobro sus hijos, que eran los que mas le dolian y de quien mas lastima tenia. Los calpixques le digeron *no haber soñado nada*, ni haber visto ni oydo cosa acerca desto jamás. Él les dijo: Pues ruego os, amigos mios, *que encomendeis á todos los viejos y viejas de vuestros barrios, que los que hubieren soñado algo, ó soñaren de aqui adelante, que les digais que me avisen de lo que soñaren, agora sea en pro ó en contra mia; y avisad á todos los sacerdotes que en todas las visiones que vieren, asi muertos como de otras visiones que suelen ver de noche en los montes ó lugares caliginosos, que les pregunten todos los sueños que han de acontecer: lo mismo encomendad á todos los que tienen por costumbre de andar de noche; y que si toparen á aquella muger* que dicen que anda de noche llorando y gimiendo, que le pregunten que es lo que llora y gime, y que se satisfagan de todo lo que acerca destos negocios pudieren*

tillas de las piernas. Ansi mismo salian las mugeres en estas danzas maravillosamente ataviadas, que no habia en el mundo mas que ver, lo qual todo se ha vedado por la honestidad de nuestra religion Christiana." The curious notion which the Mexicans are here said to have entertained respecting the bird which they named the Oconenetl, viz. that its flesh when eaten caused them to see visions, deserves to be compared with what the learned Maimonides asserts, in the 535th page of the sixth volume of this work, of the bird Jaduah, and its use in divination, and with the epithet of μαιναδ' ὀρνιν, or the phrenzy-stirring bird, which Pindar bestows in his fourth Pythian Ode on the Iynx, which, though the species of the bird is not exactly known, is generally supposed to be the water-wagtail:

..." Ἐς Φασιν δ' ἐπειτ' ἐν-
ηλυθον, ἐνθα κελαι-
νωπεσσι Κολχοισιν βιαν
Μιξαν, Αἰητᾳ παρ' αὐτῳ.
Ποτνια δ' ὀξυτατων βελεων
Ποικιλαν ἰυγγα τε-
τρακναμον' Οὐλυμποθεν
Ἐν ἀλυτῳ ζευξασα κυκλῳ
Μαιναδ' ὀρνιν Κυπρογενεια φερεν
Πρωτον ἀνθρωποισι, λιτας τ' ἐπαοι-
δας ἐκδιδασκησεν σοφον Αἰσονιδαν·
Ὀφρα Μηδειας τοκεων ἀφελοι-
τ' αἰδω, ποθεινα δ' Ἑλλας αὐταν
Ἐν φρεσι καιομεναν
Δονεοι μαστιγι Πειθους"...

* It is extremely deserving of notice that an absurd prejudice existed amongst the Jews, to which Rabbi Tham alludes in the preface to his edition of the Jewish History of Ben Gorion, published at Constantinople in the year 1510, that when any great calamity impended over their state, לילית Lilith, the repudiated wife of Adam, a witch whom they esteemed dangerous to children, or, as a commentator observes, "Dæmonissa, infaustum quoddam monstrum, *puerperis* infestum," appeared in the streets of their most populous cities, uttering wild and terrific shrieks. When, therefore, we find that a similar superstitious belief existed amongst the Mexicans, who, as Sahagun informs us in the first chapter of the eighth book of his History of New Spain, recounted amongst the prodigies which portended the destruction of the Mexican empire, the apparition of the woman Cioacoatl uttering loud lamentations by night in the streets of Mexico, and mourning for the fate of her children, it is impossible to ascribe so extraordinary a coincidence to a mere fortuitous cause. Of the personal identity of Lilith and Cioacoatl little doubt can be entertained, on finding, in the sixth chapter of the first book of the above-mentioned author's History of New Spain, that she was the *Mexican Eve*, and in the second chapter of the eighth book, that she devoured an infant *in the cradle*, in the city of Azcaputzalco.

saber. Ellos se lo prometieron de lo hacer asi. Idos á sus barrios, dieron noticia á todos los viejos y viejas de lo que su rey y señor mandaba y deseaba saber, de lo que fueron avisados *los soñadores* y veladores de las noches, y los sacerdotes que tenian por costumbre de ir á los montes y cuevas de noche y de dia á hacer sus ordinarias peticiones; *y desde aquel dia andaban todos con aquel cuidado de advertir á los sueños, y hacer memoria dellos y traerlos á la memoria para contarselos á su rey, si fuese cosa tocante á lo que Montezuma deseaba saber.* Con el cuidado que los viejos y viejas, sacerdotes y agoreros tenian sobre el mandato de su rey, en lo que tocaba á declaracion de los sueños, dieron aviso algunos viejos y viejas á los prepositos y techquitlatos que les habian avisado, como algunos dellos habian soñado algunos sueños espantosos y prodigiosos, que les habian puesto mucho temor y cuidado; de lo cual querian fuese avisado su rey, y darle cuenta dellos. Los prepositos fueron á Montezuma, y le digeron como en cumplimiento de su mandato real acudian algunos viejos y viejas á quererle declarar lo que habian soñado, que si mandaba fuesen traidos ante él. El deseoso de saber lo que habian soñado, los mandó traer á su presencia; los cuales venidos les mandó declarasen lo que habian soñado, y los viejos puestos ante él con mucha humildad y reverencia le digeron: Poderoso Señor, no queriamos ofender tus poderosas orejas, ni poner en tu corazon algun sobresalto que te causase alguna enfermedad; pero forzados con tu supremo mandato, pues estamos forzados á te obedecer, de fuerza habremos de decir lo que hemos soñado; y has de saber, que estas noches pasadas nos mostraron los señores del sueño, como el templo de Huitzilopochtly lo viamos arder á grandes y encendidas llamas, y que piedra por piedra se deshacia y caia, sin quedar en él cosa cierta; y al mismo Huitzilopochtly lo viamos caido y derribado por esos suelos: y esto és lo que hemos soñado. Montezuma los mandó apartar á un lado, y que se llegasen las viejas para que declarasen el sueño que habian soñado; las cuales sentadas ante él le digeron: Hijo mio, no te inquietes ni desasosiegues tu corazon por lo que te queremos decir, porque nos ha puesto grande temor y espanto: has de saber que los sueños que estas tus madres han soñado son, que vian entrar un rio caudaloso por las puertas de tus casas reales, y con la mucha furia que llevaba, derribaba las paredes de tu casa, y las arrancaba por los cimientos, llevando palos y piedras por delante sin quedar cosa en hiesta, y que llegaba al templo, y con el mismo furor lo echaba por tierra; de lo cual los grandes y señores temerosos desamparaban la ciudad y se huian á los montes: y esto es lo que tenemos que declararte. *Montezuma habiendo estado atento á lo que los viejos y viejas habian dicho, viendo que no eran nada en su favor sino que antes arguian á los malos pronosticos pasados, con una furia y rabia endemoniada mandó que aquellos viejos y viejas fuesen echados en carcel perpetua, y que les diesen de comer por tasa y medida hasta que muriesen.* Los sacerdotes de los templos, que tambien habian sido avisados que hiciesen memoria de los sueños que soñasen y de las visiones que viesen en los montes, en los collados, en las cuebas, en los rios, ó en las fuentes, viendo lo que pasaba con los viejos y viejas, habiendo soñado muchas cosas, y visto y oydo otras en sus oraculos y sacrificaderos, hicieronse de concierto entre todos de no declarar cosa ninguna, temiendo no les sucediese lo que á los viejos y viejas. El rey viendo que no acudian á decirle cosa ninguna, los mandó llamar, y con palabras blandas les empezó á decir: Es posible que no habeis soñado ninguna cosa ni visto? Ellos le respondieron que no. Montezuma les tornó á decir que les daba termino de quince dias para que advirtiesen en lo que soñasen y viesen y oyesen. Ellos hablandose unos á otros se tornaron á contestar entre si de no le declarar cosa ninguna, que aunque mas amenazas les hiciese. Cumplidos los quince dias los mandó llamar, y ellos temerosos parecieron ante él; el cual les dijo: Haveis advertido lo que os mande? Ellos le respondieron: Señor poderoso, si por quebrantar tu mandamiento mereciéramos muerte y ser aniquillados por tu poderosa mano, cuanto mas lo mereceriamos, si ofendiendo tus orejas te digiesemos alguna *mentira*: lo que te sabemos decir y certificar es, que nosotros no hemos visto ni soñado cosa que toque á tu persona de lo que deseas saber. El les respondió con rostro enojado y ayrado: No es posible sino que vosotros ó no me quereis decir verdad, ó menospreciais mis mandamientos, ó que no teneis cuenta con lo que toca á vuestros oficios, que es mirar y velar en las cosas de la noche: y llamando á los carceleros los mandó á todos echar en jaulas y que muriesen alli de hambre. Ellos llorando postrados ante él le pidieron les quitase luego la vida, y no permitiese que su cuerpo fuese atormentado. El apiadandose de ellos los mandó soltar, y que estubiesen recogidos en una sala sin salir della hasta que fuese su voluntad. Con este temor nadie osaba hablar ni declarar sueño, temiendo *las muertes crueles y atroces* que Montezuma les daba *cuando los sueños no eran á su proposito.* Viendo que ya los de la ciudad no le declaraban ninguna cosa, mandó llamar á sus mensageros, y enviólos á todas las provincias de las costas para que le llamasen á los gobernadores de ellas, y juntamente envió á todas las villas y ciudades del Marquesado para que los señores dellas pareciesen ante él: los cuales venidos en el tiempo mas breve que pudieron, les mandó le buscasen todos los hechiceros y

encántadores y sortilegos que en sus ciudades y villas pudiesen hallar, y que les apercibiesen como su voluntad era saber algunos prodigios ú pronosticos, ó adivinanzas entendidas ó sabidas por estrellas, *por agua, ó fuego, ó por ayre**, por suertes o por cualquier via y ciencia que tubiesen, y principalmente por sueños ó visiones. Los gobernadores y principales de los pueblos volvieron á sus ciudades, y buscaron con toda diligencia las gentes que Montezuma pedia, y enviandole muchos adevinos, sortilegos, hechiceros y encantadores, venidos ante él le digeron: Señor, aqui somos venidos á tu llamado á saber tu voluntad y ver lo que nos quieres. El les respondió: Seais bien venidos; haveis de saber que la causa para que os llamé, es para saber si habeis visto, oido, ó soñado alguna cosa tocante á mi reynado y persona, pues seguis las noches y correis los montes y adevinais en las aguas, y considerais los *movimientos de los cielos*, del curso de las estrellas; ruego os que no me lo escondais, sino que me lo declareis. Ellos le respondieron: Gran Señor, quien será osado á mentir en tu presencia? Nosotros no hemos visto, ni oido, ni soñado cosa que toque á lo que nos preguntas. Montezuma muy ayrado les respondió: Pues que es vuestro oficio ser embaydores y engañadores, y fingiros hombres cientificos, que sabeis las cosas por venir, engañandonos á todos, y diciendo que sabeis todo cuanto pasa en el mundo, y que os es patente lo que está dentro de los cerros y en el centro de la tierra, y que veis que está debajo del agua y en las cabernas y hendeduras de la tierra, y en los agugeros y manantiales de las fuentes; llamais os hijos de la noche, y todo es mentira y fingido: y llamando con grandisimo enojo á sus justicias les mandó echar en jaulas, y que les pusiesen muchas guardas para que no se pudiesen huir. Puestos en la carcel estos adevinos y hechiceros no mostraron ninguna pesadumbre, antes contento y alegria riendose unos con otros, de lo cual fue avisado Montezuma, el cual envió sus principales á rogarles que le declarasen alguna cosa de lo que les habia rogado, que él les prometia de ponerlos en libertad. Ellos respondieron, que pues que tanto insistia en querer saber su desventura, que lo hallaban por las estrellas del cielo, y por todas las demas ciencias que sabian, habia de venir sobre él una cosa tan prodigiosa y de tanta admiracion cual nunca habia venido sobre hombre; y mostrando enojo y ira uno

* It would appear from the following passage of the nineteenth chapter of the first book of Kings, that the Jews imagined that the Deity occasionally revealed his will to his prophets through *the elements*, instead of by the more usual mode of inspiration through dreams and visions. This passage we transcribe at greater length, because the reply of Ahab king of Israel to Jehoshaphat king of Judah, in the eighth verse of the twenty-second chapter of the first book of Kings, expressive of his hatred of Micaiah the son of Imlah, *because he never prophesied* good concerning him, but evil, deserves to be compared with the following passage of the sixty-eighth chapter of Diego Duran's 'History of New Spain,' and will also serve to account for the almost total extirpation of the Hebrew prophets by their own native princes: "Montezuma habiendo estado atento á lo que los viejos y viejas habian dicho, viendo que no eran nada en su favor, sino que antes arguian á los malos pronosticos pasados, con una furia y rabia endemoniada mandó que aquellos viejos y viejas fuesen echados en carcel perpetua, y que les diesen de comer por tasa y medida hasta que muriesen." "Montezuma having heard attentively the words of the old men and women, *perceiving that they were nothing in his favour*, but that, on the contrary, they confirmed past bad omens, ordered with fury and demoniacal rage that the old men and women should be thrown into perpetual imprisonment, and that food should be supplied to them by weight and measure until they died." The following are the words of the sacred penman: "And he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there; and, behold, the word of the Lord came to him, and he said unto him, What doest thou here, Elijah? And he said, I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and *slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left*; and they seek my life, to take it away. And he said, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the Lord. And, behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not *in the wind*: and after the wind an earthquake; but the Lord was not *in the earthquake*: And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not *in the fire*: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah? And he said, I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts: *because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away.* And the Lord said unto him, Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus, and when thou comest, anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel, and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room; and it shall come to pass, that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay, and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu *shall Elisha slay*. Yet I have left me *seven* thousand in Israel, *all* the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and *every* mouth which hath not *kissed* him." Upon this passage of Scripture we shall only offer two further observations, important as it is in an historical point of view, as proving the extreme and almost universal state of idolatry into which the Jewish nation had fallen in the age of their two most famous prophets, Elijah and Elisha; viz., that the reiteration in the same sentence of the word *every* after *all*, removes the possibility of doubt that the entire number of the faithful in Israel was at the period alluded to only seven thousand men; and, secondly, that it was a Peruvian custom, noticed by Acosta in his 'Natural and Moral History of the Indies,' to raise the hand to the lips, and kiss it, as a sign of adoration to the sun, to which there is an allusion in the twenty-seventh verse of the thirty-first chapter of the book of Job.

de los mas ancianos que alli estaba preso, dijo que lo oyeron todos: Sepa Montezuma, que una sola palabra le quiero decir lo que ha de ser dél, que ya están puestos en camino los que nos han de vengar de las injurias y trabajos que nos ha hecho y hace, y no le quiero decir mas, sino que espere lo que presto ha de acontecer. Todo lo cual le fue contado y oydo á Montezuma, y sin mostrar ninguna pesadumbre, antes rostro sereno y alegre, pretendiendo sacar de ellos todo lo que deseaba, dijo á los señores: Ruego os que vayais allá y los torneis á preguntar que modo de gente és la que viene, que via ó que camino traen, y que es lo que pretenden. Ellos fueron á cumplir su mandado, y llegados á la carcel no hallaron hombre en ella. Los carceleros temerosos de la ira de su rey, viendo que los presos se les habian ido, dejando las carceles cerradas como se estaban con sus piedras y cerraduras, se fueron á postrar delante del rey y á mostrarle su inocencia, y no haber sido causa de su huida, sino haber sido por sus artes y mañas. Montezuma los mandó levantar diciendo, no les diese nada, que él los castigaria; y mandando fuesen á todos los lugares de que aquellos hechiceros eran naturales, que les *derribasen las casas* y matasen á sus mugeres é hijos, y *les quemasen los sitios de las casas,* hasta que saliese el agua dellos, que todas sus haciendas fuesen saqueadas y robadas de los muchachos, y que si ellos pareciesen ó fuesen hallados en algun tiempo, fuesen *apedreados* y *echados á las bestias.* El cual mandato fue luego cumplido, echando sogas á las gargantas de sus mugeres y hijos fueron arrastrados por toda la ciudad, y sus haciendas saqueadas y robadas de los muchachos y mozos de las ciudades de donde eran vecinos, y sus *casas derribadas* y cavados los sitios hasta descubrirse el agua; de lo cual fue dada noticia y respuesta á Montezuma. Los hechiceros nunca mas fueron hallados, ni se tubo mas noticia dellos, aunque en buscarlos se puso toda la diligencia posible. Desde este dia reynó en el corazon de Montezuma tanta tristeza y afliccion que jamas le vian el rostro alegre, antes huyendo toda conversacion se encerraba en su recogimiento y secreto con el Texiptla, comunicandole lo que aquestos hechiceros y sortilegos le habian declarado, mostrando grandisimo pesar y congoja de que se le hubiesen huido, creyendo que si algun tiempo mas se detuvieran, sacara de ellos todos los sucesos que esperaba, doliendose de la poca culpa que sus mugeres y hijos habian tenido para hacerlos matar, no habiendole ofendido en ninguna cosa."

Note LI. Page 272.

Having traced the resemblance between the laws of the Mexicans and the Jews in the more essential features of their criminal code, something remains to be said of their ritual observances, in which the likeness to the ceremonial law of the Jews will be found no less striking. This likeness, which principally consisted in the respect which the Mexicans displayed for their sabbaths, in their religious observance of vows, in their frequent use of ablutions as a mode of purification from sin, and in their institution of colleges for the public education of youth, in which the rites and ceremonies of their religion were the primary object of instruction, has been already pointed out in these Notes, and will fully appear from the following extracts from the hundred and seventy-fifth chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas: "Todo lo que se ha dicho de los sacrificios y ceremonias en ellos de las gentes de la Nueva España y de las provincias contenidas en ella, que comunmente llamaban los Indios en su lengua 'Anauac', que quiere decir, 'tierra grande cercada y rodeada en agua', (debianlo decir por estar entre los dos mares, la del Norte y la que llamamos del Sur, y es nombre compuesto de 'atl', que es el *agua,* y 'nauacac', que quiere decir, *dentro ó en rededor,*) asi que *todo* lo dicho de esta Nueva España, que comprende muchas provincias, en especial las del riñon de la tierra, sin las que estan hacia las costas de la mar, lo he sabido de los religiosos de San Francisco, que fueron los primeros religiosos que en aquella tierra entraron, y supieron muy bien la lengua Mexicana, y han sido curiosos y diligentes en preguntar á los Indios viejos despues que se convirtieron y fueron Cristianos, de los ritos, cerimonias, sacrificios y religion de su infidelidad; *pero ninguna cosa de ello vieron,* sino por relacion de los mismos Indios lo supieron. Lo que abajo se dira de los ritos y sacrificios, se ha dicho arriba, quando hablabamos de los sacerdotes que habia en la provincia de los que llamaban Totones, ó Totonacas*, que estaban poblados hacia la costa de la mar del

* The allusion which Las Casas makes in the same chapter to a rite practised in the case of female children by the Totonacas deserves to be compared with what Echevarria says on the same subject in the two hundred and fifth page of the present volume, who evidently had not perused the following passage of the seventeenth book of Strabo's Geography, which converts his apparently valid objection into a new argument in favour of the religious rites of the Mexicans and the Totonacas having been derived from the Jews: "*Και τουτο δε των ζηλουμενων μαλιστα παρ' αὐτοις, το παντα τρεφειν τα γενωμενα παιδια, και το περιτεμνειν και τα θηλεα ἐκτεμνειν, ὁπερ και τοις 'Ιουδαιοις νομιμον, και οὐτοι εἰσιν Αἰγυπτιοι το ἀνεκαθεν καθαπερ εἰρηκαμεν.*" "Id de maxime laudatis eorum moribus est, quod omnem prolem educant:

Norte, que es la primera que yendo de España hallamos, lo hube de persona que siendo muchacho lo vido por sus ojos, estando solo entre aquellas gentes sin otro Español alguno, al principio que en la Nueva España entraron Christianos,

circumcidunt etiam mares, et fœminas excidunt, quod Judæis est legitimum, qui ut supra diximus, cum de eis loqueremur, origine sunt Ægyptii." The learned Ludolfus likewise makes mention of the existence of a similar rite amongst the Abyssinians, who, as all persons conversant with history must admit, had derived many of their customs from the Jews, and preserved many of the usages of the old law. The same is further attested by Alvarez in the twenty-second chapter of his work on Ethiopia, which he has entitled 'Ho Preste Joam das Indias': "Circũcisão quem quer lha faz sem nenhũa cerimonia: somente dizem que assi ho acham escrito nos livros q̃ deos mãdou circuncidar. E nã se espãte quẽ isto ler, q̃ tambem circũcidam as femeas como machos, ho que nã era nã ley velha." Ludolfus notices the same rite in the two hundred and seventy-third page of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History, where, however, with a degree of unjustifiable scepticism, he prefers the testimony of his obscure friend Gregory the Abyssinian, to that of the illustrious Damian a Goes, the celebrated historian of the reign of Don Emanuel king of Portugal, and confessedly one of the most learned men of his age, the rival in public estimation with Paul Jovius; and he utterly rejects the testimony of Zagazabo in his Confession of Faith annexed by Damian a Goes to his treatise 'De Fide, Religione, Moribusque Æthiopum', even going so far as to question the reality of Zagazabo's embassy to the king of Portugal, and defers just as little to the authority of Francisco Alvarez on this and some other material questions, whom, nevertheless, he acknowledges to be the only writer on the affairs of Abyssinia on whose relation perfect reliance could be placed. It is evident, however, that Ludolfus had never seen the original work of Francisco Alvarez, which was published at Lisbon in the year 1540, with the title of Ho Preste Joam das Indias, of which the Spanish translation, printed by Padilla at Antwerp in 1557, is not *the mere epitome made by an ignorant man,* as stated by Ludolfus, but a very fair and correct version of the Portuguese original, with the *single* omission of the prologue or dedication to the king of Portugal, which only occupies one leaf in the original work, and in which the author informs the king that he made a journey to Paris for the express purpose of procuring the best printing materials for the publication of his manuscript: "*Fui a Paris buscar estampas caratules de letras officiaes & outras cousas convenientes a impressam, has quaes nom sam de menos primor & calidade que has de Italia, França & Alemanha, onde mais esta arte florece, como vossa alteza pode ver polla obra que tenho assentada nesta cidade.*" This concession, may, however, on the other hand, be made to Ramusio, that the Spanish version might in some places have been more literal; that a few unimportant passages have been omitted in the translation; that the author's division of his work into chapters, each with a distinct title, has not been followed; that it wants the prologue or dedication to the king, the place of which has been supplied in the Spanish translation by a long preface, entitled 'Principio de la Historia de Etiopia', composed, as it would appear, by Padilla himself; and that the title of the original Portuguese work, Ho Preste Joam das Indias, has been changed in the Spanish translation into that of 'Historia de las Cosas de Etiopia'. These errors are, however, not the only ones into which Ludolfus has been betrayed by his never having had the opportunity of consulting the original Portuguese edition of the History of Ethiopia by Alvarez,—which work, from its excessive rarity, is now hardly known to exist,—and by his unreasonable suspicions of the fidelity of the Spanish translation of the same work by Padilla, which we here particularly notice, since the criticisms of that learned man are calculated to undermine the foundations of Ethiopian history, which, however neglected in the present age, must be alike interesting to the scholar and the divine, connected as it is with the existence for many ages of a powerful Christian state, in the very heart of Africa, whose traditions mount upwards to the Apostolic times, their rule of faith being the Canons of the Apostles, whose rites differed extremely from those of the Catholic Church,—as evidently appears from their administering the sacrament of the communion *to infants* in their mothers' arms, and refraining from baptizing children, if males, until forty days after their birth, and if females, until sixty, alleging that if such children died before they received the baptismal rite, the faith of their mothers ensured their salvation,—and whose books, laying aside the exaggerated, but not intentionally false, reports of Urreta[1], were very numerous, as even appears by the testimony of Alvarez, in the following passage of the ninth chapter of the second part of his Ho Preste Joam das Indias: "Nas igrejas ha muitas imagẽes pintadas pollas paredes. Imagẽes de nosso Sñor & de nossa Sñora & dos apostolos & patriarcas & profetas & anjos: & em todas has igrejas sam Jorge. Nam tem imagẽes de vultu. *Muitos livros nas igrejas escritos todos em pregaminho,* porq̃ nam ha hi papel & ha escritura lingoa tigia que he ha da primeira terra em que se começou xr̃andade;" which

[1] Urreta makes mention, in the ninth chapter of the first book of his History of Ethiopia, of the two monasteries in Mount Amara, and the innumerable books contained in the library of the one named Santa Cruz, the list of which was not, as Ludolfus seems to suppose, a work of Urreta's own imagination, but, as the author himself declares, "el aranzel que se traxo al sumo Pontifice Gregorio decimotercio," "a transcript of a catalogue which was sent to Pope Gregory the Thirteenth;" to which again adverting in the same chapter he says, "Esta tabla que he puesto en este capitulo es parte de un indice y aranzel que hizo de todos ellos Antonio Grico y Lorenço Cremones, embiados por el Papa Gregorio decimotercio, á instancia del Cardenal Zarleto, los quales fueron á la Etiopia solo para reconocer la libreria, en compañia de otros que eran embiados para lo proprio, y vinieron admirados de ver tantos libros, que en su vida vieron tantos juntos, y *todos de mano y en pergamino.*" It is evident from this passage that books written on parchment in the ancient character of Abyssinia were common when that country was first visited by the Portuguese; and it is probable that many of the works of the ancient fathers unknown to the Latin, and long forgotten in the Greek church, were preserved in the monasteries of Ethiopia, to which it would appear the early Christians fled in the first instance to seek a place of refuge from persecution, and where afterwards, increasing in numbers, they founded an ecclesiastical state, which, whilst the use of firearms was unknown, and the art of war, especially in Africa, was in its infancy, was capable of maintaining its independence during many a long and dark age, and of repelling the invasions of the Arab and other native African tribes.

del qual no se guardaron, lo uno por ser muchacho, y lo otro porque estaba solo, y lo otro porque lo tubieron por hijo

passage is thus translated into Spanish by Padilla in the two hundred and fourth page of his edition of Alvarez: "Por las paredes de las yglesias ay muchas ymagines pintadas de nuestro Señor y de nuestra Señora, y de los apostoles, patriarcas, prophetas, angeles, y en todas comunmente tienen a San Jorge. No tienen estatuas de bulto. *Por las yglesias ay muchos libros escritos en pargamino,* y la escritura y lengua comun es de la primera tierra, donde començo la Christiandad dellos." Dismissing, however, the exaggerated accounts of the missionaries, who seem to have imagined that they had discovered a new Alexandrian library in Abyssinia, and whose credulity perhaps finds its best apology in the wonderful novelties which about the same time first displayed themselves to the astonished gaze of Europe, causing nothing to be esteemed improbable that came within the range of possibility, we shall proceed to correct some of the fallacies into which the celebrated Ludolfus has been betrayed, and especially the false impression under which he laboured respecting the sources from which Damian a Goes derived his information concerning the manners of the Abyssinians, and the reality of Zagazabo's embassy from the court of Abyssinia to the king of Portugal, and also respecting the personal character and qualifications of Zagazabo, especially his knowledge of various languages, eminently fitting him to discharge the duties of his embassy to Portugal. The errors of Ludolfus on these three points will become immediately apparent from a comparison of the following passages of the two hundred and fifty-ninth page of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History, with the hundred and fifteenth chapter of Alvarez's History of Ethiopia, to which we have subjoined Padilla's translation: "Legatio istius viri (Tzaga-Zaabi) ad Lusitanos etiam *dubiis* sat gravibus laborat. Cum rex Æthiopiæ illum in Lusitaniam legatum destinasset, interrogavit Alvarezium, *Num eum idoneum putaret?* quod ille affirmavit, Quia ita se gesserit, ut cum illo fuerint contenti. Describit eum Damianus a Goëz, quod fuerit vir senex, nobilis, patriâ Habessinus, sacerdos sacrorum, et Chaldaicæ, i. e. Æthiopicæ linguæ peritus, et quod nobilium aulicorum comitatum secum adduxerit. Verum quid in Lusitaniâ egerit et quare *Romam non iverit,* cum tamen literis non solum ad regem Johannem III. sed et ad Pontificem Romanum instructus fuerit, parum *compertum* habeo. Religio certè in causâ esse non potuit, nondum enim tunc temporis Habessini pro hæreticis habebantur: schismaticorum vero legati, uti Russorum autocratoris, a Pontificibus Romanis admittuntur." Of the reality of Zagazabo's embassy to the king of Portugal, and his fitness to discharge the duties of his mission, no one can entertain a reasonable doubt who attentively peruses the following passage of the hundred and fifteenth chapter of the first part of Alvarez's Ho Preste Joam das Indias: "Neste lugar nestes dias detreminou ho Preste Joã mandar embaixador a Portugal, que ate qui nã mandaua ninhum : & nos mãdou chamar a ho embaixador & a mi : & disse q̃ detreminaua mandar cõ nosco a el rei de Portugal, pera seus deseios mais breuemẽte hauerem efeito sendo la seu requerẽte, se nos parecia Zagazabo ser sufficiẽte pera este caminho, *por quãto sabia falar ha nostra lingua, & fora ja a nossas terras.* Nos lhe respondimos q̃ Zagazabo era *bem sufficiente* pã este caminho & pera sua alteza mãdar, *porq̃ era homem que se entendia bem com nosco & nos com elle,* & que nã hauia mester turgimã : & que agora fazia sua alteza ho que deuia, porq̃ da vinda mais credito hauia de dar a hos seus naturaes do que vissẽ & ouuissem dos estranhos, que nam a hos estranhos ho que dissesse de si mesmos." It deserves to be remarked that both in this passage of Alvarez's original history, and in the Spanish translation annexed to it, the king of Abyssinia, as well as all the Portuguese who accompanied Alvarez on his mission to Abyssinia, admit that Zagazabo understood the Portuguese language well and could speak it fluently, and also that he had been himself before in Portugal, "Aqui en este lugar de Dara, determinó el emperador embiar proprio embaxador á Portugal en nuestra compañia, paraque teniendo quien hiziesse sus negocios, estuviesse el mas seguro del buen fin dellos. Preguntaron nos, si seria sufficiente para este Zagazabo, *pues ya otras veces avia estado en nuestras tierras, y sabia hablar nuestra lengua.* Respondiose que era bien pensado aquello, y que Zagazabo era bastante para ello, *pues entendia los negocios y sabia la lengua,* y que assi daria su Alteza mas credito á sus naturales de las cosas de los estrangeros, que no á los mesmos estrangeros." (Historia de Ethiopia, fol. 155. edit. Antwerp.) To the above testimony of Alvarez as to the fitness of Zagazabo to discharge the duties of his mission as an ambassador at the court of Portugal, we subjoin that of Damian a Goes, who, from familiar acquaintance with Zagazabo, thus describes the character and qualifications of that eminent man in the concluding chapter of his treatise 'De moribus Æthiopum': "Cum perfunctus Germanicis et Sarmaticis legationibus, e Belgicâ ad regem meum Joannem ejus nominis tertium redeo, cujus plurimam in me excipiendo et humanitatem et munificentiam expertus sum, Ulyssipone in colloquium Æthiopici *legati* incido, viri et episcopali dignitate venerabilis, et fide, doctrinâ, ac eloquentiâ Chaldaicæ et Arabicæ linguæ admirabilis, et *in summâ idonei,* qui a potentissimo Æthiopum imperatore ad maximos principes de maximis rebus mitteretur. Huic autem nomen fuit Zagazabo, cum eo post initam inter nos firmissimam et constantissimam amicitiam, sæpius sermonem miscui, variasque disputationes habui, præsertim de moribus et religione Æthiopum Christianorum, cupiebam enim eas res non ex verbis interpretantium peregrinorum, sed ab indigenâ *coram et ore tenus cognoscere.*" He then adds: "Postmodum vigente inter nos tam verâ Christi charitate et amicitiâ, ausus sum ab eo petere planam et legitimam Æthiopum fidei et religionis enarrationem, eamque *suâ manu* describi, quod mihi summâ cum alacritate concessit; illamque statim describere incepit; sententiam summâ fide *in Latinam linguam refudi,* ut ex sequentibus patebit." And here we may be permitted to remark, that the reason assigned by Damian a Goes for undertaking the laborious task of writing a history of the religion of the Æthiopians, and to which he adverts in the following terms in the last chapter of that work: "Id vero, conscientiâ urgente, eo ardentius aggressus sum, quod non ignorem, si hæc apud me periissent, a nemine mortalium unquam in lucem proditura fuissent," is that which has led to the publication of the present volumes. To the last objection of Ludolfus, respecting the reality of Zagazabo's embassy to the king of Portugal, which is entirely grounded on his long delay in Portugal without proceeding to Rome to deliver his credentials to the Pope, a most satisfactory answer is afforded by Alvarez himself at the commencement of the ninth chapter of the second part of his History of Ethiopia, since nothing can be plainer than that the reason which detained Alvarez so long in Portugal, who was most anxious to be the bearer to Rome of the letter which the king of Abyssinia had charged *him* to deliver to the Pope, and which was no other than the king of Portugal's positive refusal to let him depart, would have been an equally powerful motive for detaining Zagazabo in Portugal and preventing his going to Rome. "Sendo *nos* em corte na cidade de Coimbra, nam se tardou muito que el rey nosso sñor se partisse cõ

del Sol* y lo amaban. Este despues siendo hombre de bien y tenido por buen Cristiano, me dio por escrito por mi rogado, lo que dire tocante á la religion, cerimonias, sacrificios, leyes y costumbres de aquella provincia de los Totones ó Totonacas. De donde podran entenderse muchas particularidades que en los susodichos sacrificios y cerimonias y ritos, y en los que de aquellas gentes y reynos de la Nueva España y Guatimala se refieren, no se espresan. Comenzando pues á contar la religion de los Totones ó Totonacas (supuesto lo que arriba dejimos de su sacerdocio, y de los dioses que en la dicha provincia tenian) el ordinario y *cotidiano* culto y sacrificio que los sacerdotes hacian, era que luego que salia el sol de mañana, el sumo pontifice, que dejimos llamarse alli Papa, iba delante y los otros en renglera detras de él (porque los Indios *todos* acostumbran *ir como grullas tras uno á otro* †, aunque sean cien mil, sino es en guerra,) y entraban en el templo. Entrados hacian su mesara y acatamiento, abajadas las cabezas y corvados algo los cuerpos: alli se encomendaban á Dios ó á los dioses, ó al Sol, ó á lo que representaban los idolos: luego el segundo sacerdote en dignidad de seis que por sus grados eran, traia un incensario de barro, ó sahumerio á manera de una sarten, lleno de ascuas encendidas, y el Papa ó sumo pontifice sacaba de un *calabazuelo* que alli tenia, unos olores suaves de ciertas especies aromaticas y copal, que es el ordinario y comun incienso, y ponialo en las brasas, tocandolo con la mano como bendiciendolo. Iba luego aquel segundo sacerdote, y poniase derecho al cielo, alzando en alto el sahumerio tres veces haciendo reverencia al Sol, de donde segun opinaba y

sua corte via dalmeirim: onde *algũas vezes lẽbrey* a sua alteza q̃ me mandasse cõprir ho caminho q̃ *a ho preste Joam pmetera & jurara fazer.* s. *leuar suas cartas & hũa cruz douro & obediencia a ho santo padre em Roma.* Sua alteza me dezia *q̃ era disso bẽ lembrado,* mas q̃ hos caminhos nã dauã lugar pollas guerras de França. Deste Almeirĩ se partio sua alteza pera ha cidade de Lixboa cõ sua corte, *onde polla maneira sobredita lembrei a sua alteza de meu despacho pera Roma.* Ha reposta *acima dita me deu.* Em isto Bras Neto foi dito embaixador nã se dizẽdo pera onde. Elle Bras Neto rogaua a mim que requeresse a el rey que me mandasse com elle. *Pedi a el rey por merce q̃ me mandasse cõ Bras Neto, pois hia a Roma:* Sua alteza me disse q̃ *Bras Neto hia a ho emperador & nam a Roma & q̃ era bem lẽbrado de me mandar,* mas que *eu nã podia hir* senã quãdo fosse Dõ Martinho q̃ cedo ho despacharia. *Em isto* vagando hũ beneficio no arcebispo de Braga, sua alteza me fez merce delle & com sua apresentaçam me mandou a ho arcebispo q̃ me cõfirmasse: sendo eu cõ sua senhoria jamais cessaua de me preguntar por cousas do preste Joam. Eu lhe respondia na verdade como ho eu muy bem sabia & sua senhoria tudo mandaua escreuer, & has preguntas & repostas sam has seguintes." Padilla's translation of the above passage is as follows: "Estando la corte en la ciudad de Coymbra, no se tardo mucho que el rey se partio via de Almerin, adonde algunas vezes acorde a su alteza, *que me embiasse a cumplir lo que yo prometiera y jurara al emperador de Etiopia,* que era llevar sus cartas y *obediencia, con una cruz de oro al Papa:* y su Alteza me respondio, *que bien se acordava dello,* pero que las guerras de Francia no davan lugar. De aqui se partio a Lisbona, *y alli se lo torne a acordar,* y me dio *la mesma respuesta.* En esto fue nombrado Blas Nieto por embaxador, y como se sospechasse que para Roma, *torne a suplicar* a su Alteza que me embiasse con el, y respondiome *que lo embiava al emperador, y que yo no podia yr,* hasta que Don Martin fuesse a Roma, y que presto lo despacharia. *Entre tanto* vaco un beneficio en el arzobispado de Braga, y su Alteza me hizo merced del, embiando me al arzobispo para que lo confirmasse: y estando yo con su señoria, nunca dexava de preguntarme mil cosas de Etiopia, a lo qual le respondi con toda verdad segun lo sabia, y escrevi aqui las respuestas, que son las siguientes."

* This appellation might possibly have been given to the Spaniards from the superior fairness of their complexion, since the Mexicans named Alvarado 'Tonatiuh', or the sun, on the same account. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that Quetzalcoatl, who was typically represented by the sun and traditionally described as a man brighter than the sun, had foretold, that in the year of Ce Acatl, or One Cane, the Mexicans might expect the arrival of his sons in their territory; and this might have led the Totonacas to bestow the epithet of 'Children of the Sun' on the Spaniards.

† It is not easy to account for the predilection which the Indians manifested for this singular mode of marching, except on the supposition that the narrow and intricate paths of the American forests might have rendered it more convenient for them to follow each other in the same track, than by going abreast to run the chance of losing their way in the dreary woods and marshes which they traversed. Dr. Boudinot notices this custom in the following passage of the fourth chapter of his Star in the West: "It is remarkable that the people, especially the Kamschatkians, in their marches never go but *in Indian file,* following one another in the same track. Some of the nations in this quarter prick their flesh with small punctures with a needle in various shapes, then rub into them charcoal, blue liquid, or some other colour, so as to make the marks to become indelible, after the manner of the more eastern nations. Bishop Louth, in his notes on the sixteenth verse of the forty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, says: 'This is certainly an allusion to some practice, common among the Jews at that time, of making marks on their hands and arms by punctures on the skin with some sort of sign or representation of the city or temple, to show their affection and zeal for it. They had a method of making such punctures indelible by fire, or staining; and this art is practised *by travelling Jews all over the world at this day.*' Vide also his note on Chapter xlv. 5th verse. Thus it is with our northern Indians, they always go in Indian file, and mark their flesh just as above represented. The writer of this has seen an aged Christian Indian Sachem, of good character, who sat for his portrait. On stripping his neck to the lower part of his breast, it appeared that the whole was marked with a deep bluish colour in various figures very discernible. On being asked the reason of it he answered, with a heavy sigh, that it was one of the follies of his youth, when he was a great warrior, before his conversion to Christianity; and now, says he, I must bear it as a punishment for my folly, and carry the marks of it to my grave."

creian los otros dioses habian descendido. Acabada esta cerimonia, y reverencia hecha y sacrificio al Sol ofrecido, el sumo pontifice tomaba el incensario, é ibase primero al Dios ó idolo que arriba dejimos estar de los otros en *medio*, como á principal, y sahumabalo tres veces: de alli pasaba á los otros, á cada uno de los quales incensaba ó sahumaba una vez: despues daba el incensario al segundo, que parece que como diacono le servia: y esto bien parece, porque luego que lo tomaba, *incensaba ó sahumaba al sumo pontifice*, y despues á los otros sacerdotes; uno de los quales, tomando el incensario, iba al sumo pontifice, y poniase (como es proprio y comun entre los Indios) en cuclillas* con gran reverencia; y el pontifice tomaba de el calabazuelo de aquellas odoriferas especies, y ponialas en el incensario, saliendo fuera, y haciendo humildisimo acatamiento al Sol; luego aquella brasa ya tan bendita se repartia, y hechaba en quatro partes de los altares, los quales eran redondos: los demas sacerdotes tenian cada uno un incensario lleno de brasa, la qual derramaban por los altares dichos. Asentabase luego el sumo sacerdote, y los otros tambien, segun los grados de su dignidad y orden. A la hora de las ocho, ó de las nueve, ó entremedias, venian el Señor principal y los nobles y caballeros, y con ellos toda la gente principal, y entraban en el templo. Antes que entrasen, quitabanse las cotaras ó *cactlis*† (que era lo que traian por zapatos, que solo tienen suela hecha de cierto hilo que tienen, y con ciertas agujetas ó lazos de muy bien adovado cuero, con que se las atan, y son muy bien hechas; en la lengua de esta isla Española se llamaban *cotaras*, y *cactlis* en la de Mexico,) quitados sus calzados, y desnudos los pies, entrando en el templo, decian estas palabras en su lengua: Salvete Dios, ayudanos y conservanos en tu servicio. Hacian tras aquello *una ignorada oracion*, la qual concluida, ibanse para el pontifice y para los otros sacerdotes, y abajaban sus cabezas, y decianles: El gran Sol y tu Dios te conserven la vida por muchos años‡; y luego se iban.

* It would appear from the following passage of the second chapter of the book of Job, that to sit upon the ground was a posture of humility amongst the ancient Jews. "Now when Job's three friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place; Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite: for they had made an appointment together to come to mourn with him and to comfort him. And when they lifted up their eyes afar off, and knew him not, they lifted up their voice, and wept; and they rent every one his mantle, and sprinkled dust upon their heads toward heaven. So they sat down with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word unto him: for they saw that his grief was very great." That it was likewise a posture of reverence and supplication, indicative of the respect which the people felt for their priests, is evident from what is said in reference to Moses, in the third verse of the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy: "Yea, he loved the people: all his saints are in thy hand: and *they sat down* at thy feet: every one shall receive of thy words." We learn also, from the twenty-sixth verse of the twentieth chapter of Judges, that sitting, rather than kneeling, was the attitude in which the Jews besought the Lord in the temple; which singularly agrees with the Mexican custom of sitting before the shrine of Tezcatlipoca to ask forgiveness for their sins in the manner represented in the third page of the original Mexican painting which once formed a portion of the historical museum of Boturini: "Then all the children of Israel and all the people went up and came into the house of God, and wept, and *sat there before the Lord*, and fasted that day until even, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord." And it further appears, from the thirty-eighth verse of the fourth chapter of the second book of Kings, that the Hebrew priests sat before their prophets and spiritual leaders exactly in the manner in which the Mexican priests are represented as sitting in the Mexican paintings before their idols and religious shrines: "And Elisha came again to Gilgal, and there was a dearth in the land, and the sons of the prophets were *sitting before him*: and he said unto his servant, Set on the great pot, and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets."

† Both the Mexicans and the Peruvians were accustomed to take off their sandals whenever they trod upon holy ground or entered the palaces of their kings. This agreement is an arbitrary custom between two Indian nations so remote from each other would seem to argue a common acquaintance on their part with the history of God's appearing to Moses in the burning bush, and commanding him to take off his shoes because the place on which he stood was holy ground, as particularly recorded in the third chapter of Exodus.

‡ It is evident from the salutation with which Daniel accosts Darius in the sixth chapter of his Prophecies, that the same or a nearly similar form of salutation was in use amongst the Jews and the Mexicans, who both wished many years of life to those whose high station commanded their reverence; we consequently read, that no sooner had Darius visited Daniel in the den of lions, than the latter exclaimed, "O king, live for ever!" Wonderful and miraculous as is the entire account in the sixth chapter of the book of Daniel of the den of lions and the prophet's preservation, it would be wrong to suppose that the same chapter records no other extraordinary events, since nothing in history is more surprising than the example which it affords of servile adulation from the great men of a state to the person of their sovereign, or, on the other hand, of sudden change of sentiment in that very sovereign towards those same men who erred in the first instance with his actual approval, than the fact of Darius ordering the accusers of Daniel (who, it would appear, were the presidents and princes of Persia,) to be cast into the lions' den, together with their innocent wives and children. The concluding decree of Darius in the same chapter, enjoining the belief in Jehovah throughout the provinces of the Persian empire, is likewise very remarkable, as showing a disposition at that early time in the Persian kings to favour the Jewish religion, and to revere in the God who appeared to Moses in the flame of the bush, the holy fire to which the *Magi* offered up their vows, and which we are informed by Adair in the two hundred and eighty-sixth page of the present volume, the Indians considered the visible type and immediate emanation of the Deity; whilst it deserves likewise to be compared with the memorable decree of Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews, in the eighth verse of the eighth

Estas cerimonias y reverencia que los Señores y nobles hacian, dicese no ser de precepto de su religion, sino de su voluntad quando ellos querian; mas el pontifice y los sacerdotes de necesidad y *precepto* lo habian de hacer *cada dia*, porque *en cosa ninguna se ocupaban ni podian ocuparse profana y temporal, sino aquel era su propio y ordinario oficio.* La otra gente popular y ciudadana tampoco tenia obligacion de hacerlas, sino quando querian. Solamente *los Sabados**

chapter of the book of Esther; rendering it extremely probable that some centuries before the Christian æra the Jewish religion had taken deep root in many kingdoms of Asia, and had even penetrated before the age of Confucius to China, which we have other *reasons,* too long for enumeration here, for supposing. And this would explain the fact recorded in the fifth verse of the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that "Jews, devout men, out of *every* nation under heaven," were dwelling at Jerusalem, and witnessed the descent of the fiery tongues upon the Apostles.

* Amongst the many arguments which might be adduced to prove that the religious rites of the Indians were of Hebrew origin, however corrupted in the course of ages by tradition, one not of the least convincing is, that they considered it a matter of religious duty to abstain from work on all religious festivals, or in other words, had sabbaths which they kept holy, by resting on them from all manner of labour. Oviedo takes notice of this curious analogy in the religious customs of the Indians and the Jews in the following passages of the third part of his inedited History of the Indies; and Calancha corroborates his testimony in his 'Chronica Moralizada del Orden de S. Augustin en el Peru,' which work he appears to have written for the express purpose of proving that Christian doctrines had in ancient times been preached throughout the provinces of Peru. The passages referred to in the history of Oviedo are the following, which we transcribe from the second chapter of the fourth book of the third part of his 'Historia de las Indias, Islas é Tierra-firme del Mar Oceano.' They occur in a dialogue between an Indian and Franciscan friar, whose real name was Francisco de Bobadilla. It may be proper to remark, that the letters Y and F in these passages signify *Indian* and *Franciscan.* "*F.* Teneis tiempo señalado por venir todos al templo? *Y.* En un año tenemos veinte y un dias de fiestas, y no juntos estos dias, é privelegiados para *no hacer* cosa alguna, sino *holgar,* é emborracharse é cantar é bailar al rededor de la plaza, é no han de entrar dentro de ella persona alguna.—*F.* En el tiempo de aquellas veinte y un fiestas que dezis que teneis cada año, que fiesta ó solemnidad hazeis á tales dias? *Y.* En aquellas fiestas *no trabajamos,* ni entendemos en mas de enborracharnos, pero *no dormimos con nuestras mugeres,* é aquellos dias por quitar la ocasion duermen ellas dentro en casa, é nosotros fuera de ella, y al que en tales dias se hecha con su muger nuestros dioses dan dolenzia luego de que muere, é por eso ninguno lo osa hazer, porque aquellos dias son dedicados á nuestros dioses." The above extract presents another feature of analogy in the manners of the Indians and the Jews, which is curiously illustrated in the speech of David to the high priest Ahimelech, in the fifth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the first book of Samuel. The passage in which Calancha corroborates the testimony of Oviedo, respecting its being considered a religious duty by the Indians to refrain from all work on their sabbath days, is the following, which is taken from the fifth chapter of the second book of his Chronicle of the religious Order of Saint Augustin in Peru. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that Calancha is speaking of the religious customs of the Peruvians, whilst Oviedo is describing those of the people of Nicaragua: "Demas de las estatuas de piedra i oro que digimos, en que davan á entender tenian noticia del misterio inefable de la Santisima Trinidad, les quedo noticia del santisimo sacramento del altar, de la adoracion de la cruz, de la confesion de pecador al oido del sacerdote, del agua bendita, i las ceremonias del bautismo. Creian la immortalidad del anima, i que avia premios i castigos para los malos i buenos despues desta vida, i diferentes sillas i lugares para las animas en el otro siglo. Observavan *el orar por los muertos,* i tenian por virtud *el ofrendar por los difuntos.* Ayunavan, i solo era su ayuno no comer cosa *con sal* ni agi, i solo una vez, i tener castidad. Guardavan las fiestas *sin hacer obra corporal.*" To the foregoing testimonies of Oviedo and Calancha respecting the observance of the Indian sabbath, we shall add that of Dr. Boudinot, who referring, in the 165th page of his 'Star in the West,' to Mr. William Bartram's 'Journal of his Travels through the Creek Country,' states on the authority of that gentleman, and afterwards on his own, that the Indians kept the seventh day religiously sacred *to the great spirit.* The following is the passage in which this curious fact is recorded: "Mr. Bartram says, while he was at Attasse in the Creek nation on a sabbath day, he observed a great solemnity in the town, and a remarkable silence and retiredness of the red inhabitants. Few of them were to be seen, the doors of their dwellings were shut, and if a child chanced to stray out, it was quickly drawn in-doors again. He asked the meaning of this, and was immediately answered, that it being the white people's sabbath the Indians kept it *religiously sacred to the great spirit.* The writer *of this* being present on the Lord's day at the worship of seven different nations, who happened (accidentally) to be at the seat of government together, he was pleased to see their orderly conduct. They were addressed by an old sachem, apparently with great energy; and an interpreter being present, he asked him to explain what the speaker had said. The interpreter answered, that the substance of what he delivered was a warm representation to his audience of the love the great spirit had always manifested towards the Indians more than *to any other people*; that they were in a *special* manner under his government and immediate direction; that it was therefore the least return they could make for so much goodness, gratefully to acknowledge his favour and to be obedient to *his laws,* to do his will, and to avoid everything that was evil and of course displeasing to him. Just before the service began, the writer of this observed an Indian standing at the window with the interpreter, looking into a small field adjoining the house, where a great many white children were playing with the Indian children and making a considerable noise. The Indian spoke much in earnest, and seemed rather displeased. The interpreter answered him with great apparent interest. On being asked the subject of their conversation, he said the Indian was lamenting the sad state of those white children, whom he called poor destitute orphans. The interpreter asked why he thought them orphans; for he believed it was not true. The Indian with great earnestness replied, 'Is not this the day on which you told me the white people worshiped the great spirit? If so, surely these children, if they had parents or any person to take care of them, would not be suffered to be out there playing and making such a noise. No, no! they have lost their fathers and their mothers, and have no one to take care of them.'" There are few persons, we

era *ley preceptiva*, que todos grandes y chicos*, habian de ir de mañana á los templos, y estar en los *patios*† una hora. Luego comenzaban los señores y caballeros principales á ir al *Dios del medio*, que era el mas grande de cuerpo y dignidad, ante quien cada uno se sacrificaba de esta manera: traian veinte y cinco pajas, juntas como escoba, y con una navaja que cada uno tenia, se cortaba un pico de la lengua, no del todo, sino que devia darse alguna heridilla; y hacia un agujero por donde pudiesen entrar las pajas, y hecho, metianlas y sacabanlas, de donde mucha sangre les salia. Otro Sabado tornaban al templo, y no de las lenguas ofrecian sacrificio, sino de los muslos, y otros de los molledos de los brazos, y otros de los brazos, ú palmo de la mano, y otros de los pechos, otros de los picos altos de las orejas, y asi *cada semana* se sacrificaban de un miembro‡. Los sacerdotes despues que habian

believe, who will not, on perusing the above passage, feel inclined to think that there was something extremely Pharisaical in the Indian's displeasure at seeing some children amusing themselves on the sabbath day, whose alleged zeal for the worship of the great spirit on that day seems much to have resembled that which was displayed by the Pharisees at seeing the disciples of Christ plucking the ears of corn on the sabbath day. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that the New Testament discountenances every attempt to enforce *by penal enactments* a rigid observance of the sabbath. And the apostle St. Paul, probably foreseeing that innovators would arise in the later days of the church, who would seek to introduce new doctrines on the subject of the sabbath, expressly says, in the sixteenth verse of the second chapter of his Epistle to the Colossians: "Let *no man* therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the *sabbath days*;" grounding the advice there given on what he had previously declared in the fourteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans: "Who art *thou* that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth *one day* above another: another esteemeth *every day* alike. Let every man be fully *persuaded* in his own mind. He that regardeth *the day*, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth *not* the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks."

* The Mexicans, young and old, children as well as grown up persons, were obliged to be present at the solemnization of their communion, or 'teoqualo', whence it may be inferred that their attendance at divine worship on their sabbaths was an equally indispensable religious duty.

† It is evident from many passages of the Old Testament, and especially from the Psalms, that the Jews were accustomed to worship in the *courts* of their temple, and not, as in our churches, in the interior of the edifice. It need scarcely be remarked, that no *one* temple could have been constructed sufficiently large for the religious accommodation of a whole nation. It was a boast, however, of the ancient Jews, that as they had but one God, so they had but one temple; and the Samaritans were considered heretics because they did not come up to Jerusalem to worship. That religion amongst the Jews was made subservient to political purposes can no more be doubted than that the unity of the Jewish monarchy, which the separation of the Jews into distinct and antisocial tribes had from the beginning hazarded, intimately depended on the unity of their national faith, on their having but *one* temple, and on their all going up annually to Jerusalem to worship; and so conscious was Jeroboam that the worship of Jehovah in his temple at Jerusalem was founded no less in reasons of state than sincere piety, that no sooner had he revolted from Rehoboam, and become himself the founder of a new dynasty, than his first care in order to insure the stability of his throne, and to prevent the sceptre reverting to Judah, was to destroy the bond of religious unity which till then had subsisted between all the tribes; which he so effectually did by appointing a new place of religious worship in Samaria, and setting up golden calves in Bethel, that never again was there any cordiality between the rival houses of Israel and Judah, but, on the contrary, the greatest enmity, and continual wars between their respective kings. The kings of Judah, on the contrary, were so fully sensible that orthodoxy was the line of policy best calculated to prevent the seat of empire being transferred to Samaria, that however inclined the greater number of them were to idolatry, there always arose some Jewish king who threw down the houses of the high places, and massacred without mercy the priests and religious votaries of Baal.

‡ The extreme tortures which the Mexicans inflicted upon themselves by way of voluntary penance, might lead one to suppose that they understood in a literal sense the words of Christ in the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew; which, it deserves to be remarked, is a reiteration of the command given in the twenty-eighth verse of the fifth chapter of the same Evangelist, which immediately following the injunction of Christ to pluck out the eye if that member offended, might occasionally have led the Mexicans to punish the crime of visionary adultery with death, rather than resort to a hazardous experiment, which in most instances would have terminated fatally to the party accused, although there does certainly occur frequent representations in the Mexican paintings of persons undergoing the punishment of loss of sight. When, therefore, we learn from the twentieth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus, that to put out the eyes was, under certain circumstances, a Jewish punishment,—to which there is a very *remarkable* allusion in the fourteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Numbers,—and find from the words of the interpreter of the Vatican Codex, in the hundred and seventy-seventh page of the sixth volume of this work, that the Mexicans believed that Quetzalcoatl, whose name, literally interpreted, signifies *the green-feathered serpent*, was the first institutor of penance, who inculcated, by his example no less than by his precept, the doctrine of atonement and propitiation for sin by means of human blood; and further read in the two hundred and eighth page of the above-mentioned volume, that the same Quetzalcoatl died upon the cross for the sins of mankind; comparing the account there given, not only with the representations of crucifixions in the seventy-second and seventy-fifth pages of the Codex Borgianus, but likewise with the six figures engraved in Plate III. of the present volume, in all of which the person represented on the cross has the lower extremity of his body terminating in the tail of a serpent, which fully proves the ascendancy that the old superstitions of the

celebrado sus cerimonias y sacrificio, traiales un sacristan ó ministro del templo unas escudillas ó vasos grandes de cierto betumen negro, con los quales se untaban las caras y los cuerpos, y quedaban mucho mas negros que muy

Mexicans maintained over their minds even *after* they had been converted to Christianity,—we cannot but peruse with increased interest the following passage of the above-mentioned chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, from which it is possible the Mexicans might have derived their doctrines of propitiation and penance. "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh! Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, *cut them off*, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into *everlasting* fire. And if thine eye offend thee, *pluck it out*, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire. Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, that in heaven *their angels do always behold the face of my Father* which is in heaven." It deserves to be remarked, that the concluding sentence of this passage might have induced the Mexicans to entertain many very extraordinary notions respecting the care which the Deity manifested for children, and the tutelary functions which *their* angels discharged before him as intercessors for mankind, some of which are explained in the five hundred and seventeenth page of the sixth volume of this work; whilst the declaration of Christ in the fourteenth verse of the same chapter of St. Matthew, "Even so it is *not* the will of your Father which is in heaven, that *one* of these little ones should perish," might have caused the Mexicans to believe that the souls of *all* children who died in their infancy were immediately translated to the garden of Tonacaquauhtitlan, which signifies the place of the *tree of life*, or in other words, Paradise. This belief of the Mexicans is recorded by Sahagun in the fifty-fourth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume. We shall elsewhere take occasion to remark, that traces of a belief in a millennium or future *regeneration* of the world, when the souls of children would reanimate other bodies and again repeople the earth, are discoverable amongst the traditions of the Mexicans. And the same notion seems likewise to have been entertained by the Peruvians, who, as we have elsewhere observed, held many opinions in common with the Mexicans on this and some other curious and important subjects. Reverting again to the religious austerities which the Mexicans inflicted on those members of their body which were most likely to give them offence, we shall quote the following passage from the fifth chapter of the second part of Diego Duran's inedited History of New Spain, which will show to what an extravagant pitch such austerities were carried by the Mexicans, who would really appear to have endeavoured to attain the kingdom of heaven by a practice which we learn from Christ himself, in the twelfth verse of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, was not uncommon amongst the Jews of his age, and which, far from condemning, he even would seem rather to have approved: "Tambien hacian estos sacerdotes otras grandes penitencias, como era ayunar diez y cinco dias, siete dias arreo antes de algunas fiestas principales á manera de cuatro temporas: guardaban continencia, *y muchos de ellos por no venir á caer en alguna flaqueza se hendian por medio los miembros viriles y se hacian mil cosas para volverse impotentes* por no ofender á sus dioses: no bebian vino; dormian muy poco, porque los mas de sus ejercicios eran de noche; como era atizar la lumbre, ir á los cerros á ofrecer sacrificios por los que se encomendaban, y era tan ordinario el acudir á ellos que fuesen á ofrecer sacrificios por ellos á los montes, llevando ofrendas de incienso y comida y vino y ollin y caxetillos y escudillejas y cestillos, como lo es agora el traer la limosna para que les digan una misa, ó como lo era *en la ley vieja* ofrecer becerros, corderos, cabrones, &c., á los sacerdotes por los pecados; en fin ellos se martirizaban bravisimamente, y con sus penitencias grandes estaban hechos martires del demonio, á trueque de que los tuviesen en opinion de santos y de ayunadores y penitencieros, y el que mas penitencia podia hacer, mas hacia para ser tenido en mas opinion, y asi los llamaban Tlamaceuhque y Mozauhque, que quiere decir penitentes y abstinentes, de lo cual recibian gran contento y vana gloria. Tambien tenian oficio de ir á *enterrar los muertos* y hacerlos osequias, y á unos enterraban en sus sementeras, y á otros en los patios de sus mismas casas, á otros llevaban á los sacrificadores de los montes, á otros quemaban y les enterraban en los Cues." That the austerities of the Mexican priests were of the same nature, though exceeding in degree those practised by some of the early Christian sects who lived nearest to the apostolic age, is evident not only from the story related of Origen, but likewise from the canons of the apostles, which still retain the greatest authority in the Abyssinian church since Ludolfus referring to those canons in the fourth chapter of the third book of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History, thus notices some customs which prevailed in the earliest ages of the Christian church; and to which St. Paul alludes in the following passage of the third chapter of his Epistle to the Philippians: "Beware of dogs; beware of evil workers; beware of the *concision*. For we are of the *circumcision* which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." "Quatuor canones hic uno comprehenduntur. Vigesimus primus apud Græcos agit de veris eunuchis: at sequentes tres agunt de eo ὁ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτον, de eo qui sibimet amputat τον ἀκρωνα, sive το ἀκρον, extremitatem scilicet membri virilis, i. e. βαλανον, glandem, quam definit Pollux, lib. 2. Onom. c. 4. tit. 36. το του καυλου ἀκρον; eam enim quilibet sibi facilè amputare potest. Dubito num sic intellexerint, qui insufficienter reddunt, qui mutilavit se ipsum, malè, qui sibi ipsi virilia amputavit; nam quæ de extremitate dicuntur, de toto accipienda non sunt. Nec exemplum dari puto aut causam, cur quis sibimet integra virilia cum vitæ periculo et dolore maximo abscindere voluerit. Igitur ἀκροτηριαζειν, ut verbum sonat, de solâ glande accipiendum. Id cum apud glossatores canonum apostolicorum non reperissem, addendum hîc esse censui." Of the authority which the canons of the apostles have always maintained in the most ancient Christian church of Abyssinia, and the obstacles which those canons presented to the introduction of Catholicism amongst the Abyssinians, we have the testimony of Ludolfus in the following passage of the three hundred and fortieth page of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History: "Habessini igitur seriò credentes ab ipsis apostolis canones illos profectos fuisse, a patribus societatis nullo modo persuaderi potuerunt, ut ritus Romanos istis canonibus contrarios admitterent: autoritatem enim apostolicam pontificiæ semper opposuerunt, nec unquam moveri potuerunt argumento patrum societatis, pontificem Romanum, tanquam universalem Christi in terris vicarium, ista benè mutare et aliter ordinare potuisse. Ut satis constet frustra cum illis de ecclesiâ ordinandâ fore omnia colloquia, priusquam de autoritate talium canonum melius informentur. Sed nec hoc fieri poterit,

negros de Guinea. Y á obra de las diez del dia, se iban á recoger á un aposento grande, que para esto era deputado, y arrimado cada uno en su silla, segun la orden y dignidad de cada uno, venian luego los sirvientes, todos tiznados

priusquam statum ecclesiæ primitivæ, scripta antiquorum patrum et contentiones de ritibus olim habitas, et non nisi in canonibus istis decisis, benè percipiant et planè comperta habeant. Id vero quatuor vel quinque annis, quibus patres societatis eos ad ecclesiam Romanum Alphonzi Mendezii patriarchæ Lusitanici ope traducere voluerunt, effici non potuit." Remarkable as the fact must doubtless appear,—that traces of a usage which in some measure was allied to circumcision, and which it would appear from St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians was a distinctive mark of a numerous sect of Jewish or Gentile converts to Christianity in his day, should have been discovered by the Spaniards, together with circumcision in various provinces of America,—it is no less true than surprising that such traces of Judaism blended with Paganism were extremely common amongst the Indians, and existed in many provinces of America very remote from each other. That such was the case is attested by the concurrent testimony of Spanish writers of the greatest veracity, and likewise by the evidence of original Mexican paintings. The practice of concision, for example, together with the rite of circumcision, was discovered by Palacio among the Indians of Honduras, and is expressly mentioned by him in the following passage of his inedited Memorial to Philip the Second of Spain, dated Guatemala, March, 1576: "Hacia la parte que deste lugar van á Gracia á Dios en Honduras, son Indios Chontales. Averiguè estando allí un delito contra un cacique del lugar de Gotera, el cual desde su gentilidad tenia el miembro hendido y abierto, que era una de las gentilidades que usaban antiguamente los mas valientes, é que el año 63 en otro lugar cercano que se llama Cezori, ciertos Indios idolatraron en un monte en sus terminos, y entre ellos que uno se harpó y hendió su miembro, y *que circuncidaron cuatro muchachos de doce años para arriba al uso Judaico*, y la sangre que salió de ellos la sacrificaron á un idolo de piedra redondo, llamado Ycelaca, *con dos caras* atras y adelante, y *con muchos ojos*; decian que este era el dios que sabia lo presente y lo pasado y via todas las cosas: tenia untadas ambas caras y ojos con sangre, y sacrificaronle venados, gallinas, conejos, aji, chian y otras cosas que ellos usaban antiguamente." The testimony of Palacio in the above passage is fully corroborated by that of the English writer Thomas Gage, who expressly says in the note subjoined to the one hundred and forty-third page of the Appendix to the present volume, that the Indians of Mixco, a district *bordering* on the province of Honduras, circumcised their children with stone knives exactly in the manner of the ancient Jews; whilst the figure of a sacrificed victim in the forty-third page of the original Mexican painting in the possession of M. de Fejervary, for a copy of which we are indebted to that gentlemen, may be referred to in proof of the existence of the other rite amongst the Indians. We may further remark, that the Janus-headed figure of the idol Ycelaca, whose body was covered with eyes, serves likewise to remind us that eyes in the Old Testament are typical of the omniscience of the Deity or of his intelligence, as, for example, in the tenth verse of the fourth chapter of Zechariah, in the fourth chapter of the Revelations, and in the first chapter of Ezekiel. And here we may remark in reference to the number of eyes, corresponding with that of the planets, which Zechariah assigns to the Deity, and to the belief of some of the Indian tribes of the Orinoco that the planets are the eyes of God, that it was an old opinion of the Jews, which their Rabbis deduce from certain texts of Scripture, that the stars are *rational* and *living* creatures. This is evident from the fifth chapter of the second part of the 'More Nevochim' of Maimonides; and it furnishes us with a clue to the meaning of the interpreter of the 'Codex Telleriano-Remensis', where he says, in the hundred and twenty-fifth page of the sixth volume of this work, that "Ytzlacoliuhqui, the Lord of sin, was a star in heaven, which they believed to proceed in a backward course with its eyes bandaged," which notion is not more absurd than the supposition of the Jews, that the moon appears in the night with the face of a man, a fact which is stated by the author of the apocryphal book of Enoch in the twenty-first verse of the seventy-seventh chapter of that work, and which must serve to remind us that the Mexicans always represented in their sculptured images the sun and the moon with a human face, whilst the resemblance of Tonatiuh, the name which the Mexicans gave to the sun, to Tomas, the name which the author of the book of Enoch says, in the first verse of the seventy-seventh chapter of that book, particularly belongs to the sun, is not altogether undeserving of notice. Terminating, however, this digression, we shall conclude this note with pointing out another analogy in the manners of the Jews and the Mexicans, which, however at variance with received opinions, is still in accordance with the past usages of the synagogue, is supported by the unimpeachable testimony of one of the earliest fathers of the Church, by the collateral evidence of the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, and by the unequivocal allusion, in the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel, to a custom which it is highly probable the words of the Deity in the sixth verse of the same chapter emphatically addressed to Jerusalem: "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, *Live*; yea, I said unto thee when thou wast in thy blood, *Live*;" constituted a rite in after ages amongst the Jews, typical of God's promise of future *redemption* to Israel. The cutting of the umbilical cord of infants would appear, then, to have been a religious rite amongst the Jews, or, which is the same thing, one accompanied with religious ceremonies; but when instituted, whether about the time of the Babylonian captivity, or soon after, and continued down to the age of Christ, and when abolished, or suffered to fall into disuse, it would be extremely difficult to determine; but this difficulty no more militates against the probability of its past existence than the ignorance of the Augustan age of every particular connected with the history of Christ can be considered to militate against the truth of Christianity. Yet how great is the difference between the ignorance of mankind respecting the origin and abolition of this obscure Jewish rite, and their ignorance of that which immediately appertained to their salvation; and how different are the conclusions which some persons might feel disposed to draw from these different kinds of ignorance! That in course of time this rite acquired additional importance in the eyes of the Jews, and in the case of female children was considered as a substitute for circumcision, is asserted by Origen in his Homilies on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, whose words, as cited by Ludolfus in the two hundred and seventy-fourth page of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History, we subjoin; nothing, in fact, can be plainer than the testimony of this ancient father respecting the existence of such a rite amongst the Jews. "Ut in viro præputium circumciditur, sic in fœminâ *umbilicus* amputatur." That the same custom was practised by the Jews in the case

como negros, que traian la comida á cada uno su plato y manjar de ella. Comian algunas veces carne, y otras frijoles, que son cierta especie de habas, guisadas de muchas maneras. Acabando de comer, comenzaba el sumo pontifice á contar historias pasadas y antiguas, iten de la bondad y excelencia del Sol y de los otros sus dioses. Otras veces entendian *en poner leyes* y orden para la buena gobernacion de los pueblos, y otras en platicas honestas. Llegada ó pasada la hora en que nosotros solemos decir visperas, ibanse á pasear por unos montes arriba, donde se recreaban y espaciaban, y de alli tornabase cada uno á recojer á su aposento. Despues de esto, el segundo sacerdote acudia al templo, y mandaba á los sacristanes que mirasen bien por sus dioses, y lo tubiesen muy limpio, y asi lo tenian. Cada uno de aquellos sirvientes era *semanero,* teniendo cargo de hacer un gran fuego de gruesa leña, *que ardia todo el año de noche y de dia, por manera que jamas cesaba el fuego y era perpetuo.* Estos sacerdotes comian de limosnas que los Señores y principales les hacian y la otra gente, por manera que nunca les faltaba la comida. Lo que de ella les sobraba, guardabanlo en unas cajas de tablas delgadas que tenian. Guisabanles de comer tres mugeres que pasaban de cinquenta años cada una."

Las Casas proceeds next to observe that the Totonacas circumcised their children on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day after their birth, at which period it was customary to *present them* at the temple, either to the high priest or to the second in dignity, who performed the ceremony with a stone knife*. The passage of the 'Historia Apologetica' in which Las Casas notices the existence of the above-mentioned Hebrew rite among the Totonacas, occurs in the one hundred and twenty-second page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume; where also will be found some mention of another usage which is likely to have originated in the prejudices which gave rise to the sect of Essenes amongst the Jews, of which sect Josephus gives a long and interesting account in the seventh chapter of the second book of his History of the Jewish War. The usage to which we more particularly allude, and which constituted a peculiar feature in the civil and religious institutions of the Mexicans, was the foundation of colleges for the education of youth, in which they were confined until they had arrived at a marriageable age, which amongst the Jews was twenty, and amongst the Totonacas twenty-two: and so careful were the Mexicans to preserve inviolate this feature in their national policy, and to provide for the permanency of those institutions whose

of male children, in conjunction with circumcision, is attested by the author of the apocryphal gospel of the Infancy of Christ, in the following passage of the one hundred and seventy-first page of the 'Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti,' published by Fabricius in 1719: "Cumque adesset tempus circumcisionis, dies scilicet octavus, quo circumcidendum esse puellum lex præcipit, circumciderunt illum in *speluncâ,* sumsitque anus illa Hebræa pelliculam istam (dicunt vero *alii* ipsam sumsisse præsegmen *umbilici*) eamque in alabastro olei nardini vetusti recondidit." To this passage, which is sufficiently corroborative of the testimony of Origen as to the existence of the above-mentioned rite among the Jews, and which is the more conclusive, because wholly unconnected with the doctrines of Christianity, or any of the rites of the primitive church, Fabricius adds the following marginal note: "Sed et præsegmen *umbilici* Christi ostenditur itidem Romæ in æde S. Mariæ Populi, et lapis super quo Christus circumcisus est in templo S. Jacobi Scossa cavalli." That the same rite was practised by the Mexicans in the case of male and female children, and accompanied with many superstitious ceremonies, is evident from the thirty-first chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain; and few will deny who respect the authority of Origen, that there are strong grounds for supposing that the Mexicans derived it from the Jews.

* It has already been remarked in the two hundred and seventy-second page of the sixth volume of this work, that the religious uses to which the Mexicans applied their stone knives attracted the particular notice of the early Spanish missionaries, who considered that the use of such knives furnished a strong argument in favour of the religious rites of the Mexicans having been derived from the Jews. Francisco de Bologna, an Italian missionary, who proceeded to Mexico shortly after the Spanish Conquest, thus mentions these knives in the following passage of his letter to Clement de Monelia, the superior of his order in Italy, which letter, of considerable length, was afterwards printed at Venice by Paul Danza, with the title of 'Letera dal R. Padre, frate Francesco da Bologna, dalla Citta di Mexico, al R. P. frate Clemente da Monelia,' but without the date of any particular year annexed: "Havevano questi sacerdoti *un coltello di pietra al modo antico, cioe al tempo della circoncisione,* & conducevano gli huomini in loco eminente, & gli estendevano sopra una pietra grande; poi venivano quelli sacerdoti con quelli coltelli, & tagliavano il ventre a gli huomini & pigliavano il core, & di quel sangue bagnavano l' altare di questo idolo; poi tagliavano le braccie & li piedi a quelli huomini, & li mandavano alli gran signori, & quelli con gran reverentia & allegrezza li mangiavano, dicendo che quelle erano *reliquie de santi*; & cosi aquesto idolo li sono stati sacrificati miliara, & milioni di creature rationale." We cannot refrain from here inserting another passage from the same letter, which contains a remarkable allusion to a *statue of Tezcatlipoca,* which the fathers of the company sent to Europe for the express purpose of explaining some mystery which they seemed unwilling to commit to writing, to another of their company dwelling in Italy: "Adoravano molti idoli, ma precipue quatro, *delli quali penso il maggiore de tutti portano questi padri nostri a V. P.* del quale il *misterio* dechiarar anno a quelle accio meglio intendete il caso." That the statue of Tezcatlipoca, the greatest of the Mexican gods, was really the statue here alluded to by Francisco de Bologna, is evident from the explanatory paragraph which follows: "*Il quale si chiama in questa lingua Tescatipocli,* che tanto vuol dire come '*specchio de fumo*', *& cosi questi padri lo portano a V. P.*"

interests were identified with those of the religion of the state, that not only in Mexico, but in all the towns and villages of the empire they were supported at the public expense, whilst the duty of defending their rights and privileges devolved particularly upon the high priest. These colleges were of two kinds, and were named by the Mexicans Calmecac and Telpuchcalli; in the former of which the sons of the chief men and those intended for the service of the temples were educated*, and in the latter the children of the poorer classes; all being indiscriminately thus placed under the vigilant eye of the law, which imposed upon them the necessity of many acts of extraordinary penance, and even after they had married did not entirely dispense with all further obligations, since Las Casas informs us in the following passage of the hundred and thirty-ninth chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' that they were still subject to various legal restraints: "Luego en siendo casados eran empadronados y contados en el numero de los casados, y tenian con ellos cuenta ciertos como quadrilleros, á quien en ciertos casos y cosas eran sujetos, como en para los tributos y para otras obras y trabajos que entre cada colacion y parte del pueblo se repartian. Y puesto que la poblacion y gentes de aquellas tierras era *immensa e infinita*, de todos empero chicos y grandes, mugeres y hombres habia memoria y cuenta†, y todos tenian sus superiores‡ por su orden y grados á quien reconocian." The same learned prelate takes occasion to notice, in the

* Las Casas observes in the following passage of the one hundred and fortieth chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' that it was customary for the Mexicans to send their children at a very early age to their temples to receive religious instructions from the priests and professors of their laws; and that the same custom existed amongst the Jews must likewise be inferred from the forty-sixth verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, since it is not easy to imagine, except on that supposition or the assumption of a miracle, the time for which had not yet arrived, that Christ, who was then only twelve years old, and who had no intention for many years to come to enter on the duties of his public ministry, or avow himself to be the Son of God, could have got admission to the temple and have been found "sitting in the midst of the doctors both hearing them and asking them questions." "Deciase que *todos los niños* de seis años hasta los nueve, eran obligados los padres *á embiarlos al templo*; y en aquellos aposentos ó escuelas, que eran como gimnasios, *oian su doctrina*, y eran enseñados ó imbuidos en buena crianza y costumbres, y en las cosas de la religion que saber segun su edad les competia."

† That it was customary amongst the Jews to keep exact registers of their genealogies is evident from the following passage of the second chapter of the book of Ezra, where it deserves to be remarked, that those whose names were not entered in the registry were put from the priesthood as polluted. "And of the children of the priests, the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai (which took a wife of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite, and was called after their name). These sought their register among those that were *reckoned by genealogy*, but they were not found; therefore were they as polluted put from the priesthood, and the *Tirshatha* said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things till there stood up a priest *with Urim and with Thummim*."

‡ The division of the Peruvians into tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands is recorded in the following passage of a valuable inedited History of Peru, which formerly belonged to the Count de Olivares, and it nearly resembles that recommended to Moses by Jethro, in the eighteenth chapter of the book of Exodus: "Asi mismo mandó (el Inga) *contar todos los Indios que avia en todo el reyno*, y los repartió de diez en diez mil Indios, y puso en cada diez mil un cacique principal, que entre ellos llamaban 'puno', que quiere decir el *ojo*, y de cada mil Indios destos diez mil tenia cargo un principal, y con estos diez tenia quenta el mayor, y cada uno de los de á diez mil tenia quenta con otros diez, que tenian quenta de cada cien Indios, y cada uno destos cientos tenia quenta con dos de á cinquenta, y ellos de á cinquenta dividian los Indios por diez y por cinco, dando cargo de cada diez y cada cinco, y desta manera era muy facil la governacion, y se sabia y entendia con facilidad *los que nacian y los que morian*." We may here remark that the ancient Persians, according to Herodotus, named one of their great officers of state *the eye of the king* ("τον δε κου τινα αὐτεων ὀφθαλμον βασιλεος εἶναι"); and if the Jews at the period of the Babylonian captivity borrowed that appellation from the Persians, it might possibly have passed over with some of their colonies to America. It is singular, however, that the concluding sentence of the reply of Moses to Hobab the son of Jethro, in the thirty-first verse of the tenth chapter of Numbers, might have suggested the choice of the term 'puno' to the Peruvians. "And he said, Leave us not, I pray thee; forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead *of eyes*." The same analogy likewise presents itself in the civil institutions of the Peruvians, as is evident from the following passage of the eleventh chapter of the licenciate Fernando de Santillan's Reply to the queries proposed "by the prince on behalf of the emperor" to the royal audience of Lima in the year 1553. The manuscript which contains this valuable information is inedited, and is preserved in the library of the Escurial. "Para tener mas particular noticia de la gente que tenia debajo de su señorio y govierno, y ordenar que gente habia de servir y tributar en cada servicio ó tributo, mandó contar todos los Indios, chicos y grandes, y dividiólos en *doce* edades. La primera es la de los viejos, quese llama *Punuc locò*: en esta edad entran los que son de sesenta años para arriba, porque quiere decir, no son sino para dormir, y asi con esta edad no se tenia cuenta para cosa de tributo ni servicio, antes el Inga mandaba darles de su hacienda, y los Curacas tenian gran cuidado con ellos, y los tenian por consejeros en lo que convenia al govierno de aquella provincia. La segunda edad se llama *Chaupiloco*; entran en ella de cincuenta años hasta sesenta: tambien estos eran reservados de tributo, solo se ocupaban en regar y beneficiar las chacaras de coca y axi y otras legumbres. La tercera edad se llamaba *Ponc*: entran en ella desde veinte y cinco años hasta cinquenta: estos llevaban todo el trabajo, porque de ellos sacaban para la guerra, y estos pagaban el tributo y lo llevaban al Cuzco, y labraban las chacaras del Inga y las de los Curacas. La cuarta edad se llama *Miauguaina*, que dice casi mozo; entraban en ella los de veinte años arriba: estos no tributaban mas que ayudar á sus hermanos y parientes á llevar las cargas y otras cosas. La quinta edad se llamaba *Coca palla*,

chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' last referred to, that the system of discipline which was observed in the colleges of Calmecac and Telpuchcalli was of the most austere kind, the youths being obliged to shun every possible temptation to vice, and to guard against even an approach to levity or immodesty in their looks or gestures. "En los actos exteriores eran todos muy honestos, y en viendo mugeres bajaban los ojos, y eran obligados por ley á ser en todo castisimos hasta que se casasen..... Llegada la edad de que se podian casar, *que era de veinte ó veinte y dos años*, demandaban licencia para buscar muger y dabansela. En otras partes se dice que el sumo pontifice les mandaba que se casasen, *y si no se querian casar, dende adelante habian de ser continentes toda su vida*, y al que no lo hacia, era pregonado de malo é infame de tal manera, que ninguno despues queria darle su hija para con quien se casase. En la provincia de Tlascala se acostumbraba, que si se pasaba el tiempo de casarse, y alguno lo disimulaba, ó se descuidaba, ó no se queria casar, tresquilabanlo en pena, que no era chica entre aquellas gentes de la Nueva España, como ariba queda dicho, y hechabanlo de la compañia de los mancebos..... Por maravilla dicen que acaecia no casarse quando se lo mandaban. Por el contrario, si alguno se casaba sin licencia, era bien castigado, allende lo qual era tenido por desvergonzado y de poco seso y mui notado." It is, however, in the writings of the modern Rabbis and the usages of the Jews of later ages rather than in the books of the Old Testament (although the phrase "κατακλεισται παρθενοι" does certainly occur in the book of Maccabees, and mention is made in the tenth chapter of the second book of Kings of the seventy sons of Ahab who were brought up by the great men of the city of Samaria,) that traces may be discovered of habits and prejudices which were likely to give rise to the institution of colleges such as those of Calmecac and Telpuchcalli amongst the Mexicans, which colleges it is highly probable the Jews founded not long after their arrival in America; and with the fourfold object of enforcing a rigid regard to public morals; of remedying the evil which dispersion was likely to entail on the Hebrew nation, namely depopulation; of realizing God's promise to Abraham, in the seventeenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Genesis, that his seed should be as the stars of heaven and the sand of the sea in multitude, which could not be accomplished, physically speaking, "ἀνευ ταχυγαμιας"; and fourthly, of perpetuating the doctrines of the Jewish faith by the establishment of places of instruction for the rising generation, which, simultaneously accompanied with an attempt to revive the old law in America, and to establish the same order of things as existed in the prophetic and therefore the glorious age of the Jewish monarchy, necessarily led to the revival of the same kinds of superstition; for example, faith in dreams, a belief in witchcraft, seeking after the Lord by means of false prophets, a vain confidence in signs and omens, a stupid regard for types, and the complete resumption of all the other paraphernalia of a degraded superstition, defiled with the blood of human sacrifices; thus assimilating the manners of the Mexicans* to those of the Jewish popu-

que es desde diez y seis años hasta veinte: estos se ocupaban en lo mismo que los de la precedente, y en cojer la coca del Inga y de los Curacas. La sexta edad se llamaba *Puellgamara,* que es de ocho años hasta diez y seis. La septima se llama *Tatan rezi,* que es de poco menos de ocho años. La octava, *Macha pori,* que es los menores de seis años. La novena se llamaba *Lloc llaguarama,* que es de menos de cinco años. La decima ..... que es de menos de cuatro años. La oncena se llamaba *Layo guamarac,* que es de menos de dos años. La docena se llamaba *Moxo capauc,* que dice recien nacido. De estas edades daba el Inga cargo á los Curacas de Pachaca, de manera que en la Pachaca entraban cien Indios casados de veinte y cinco años hasta cincuenta, con sus mugeres y hijos, que son los tributarios, y demas de ellos los que entre ellos habia de las dichas edades. A estos Curacas tenia encargado el Inga el criar y alimentar la dicha gente, y tener cuenta con los que nacian y morian, y de todos le diese cuenta, porque se preciaban los Ingas de saber cuantas animas habia debajo de su señorio y govierno, y cuantos en cada edad, y cuantos se multiplicaban; y como iban multiplicandose los Indios y entrando en edad para poder ser tributarios les acrecentaba Curacas y Señores, porque de la dicha edad no habia de tener ningun Curaca mas numero de cien Indios tributarios, sino era por via de merced que el Inga hacia á algun Curaca en darle algunos Indios en lugar de Yanaconas, y estos no entraban en cuenta para tributo, mas de para el provecho de aquel á quien hacia merced de ellos. Estos Indios de la tercera edad, á que llaman Atunlunas ó Aucapuric, tributaban al Inga cada uno conforme á su oficio y segun les mandaba tributar."

* Oviedo thus briefly describes the manners of the Mexicans, in the forty-ninth chapter of the fourteenth book of the second part of his inedited History of the Indies: "Aquella gente é sus costumbres es mucho lo que se puede decir de ellos. Comen carne humana, hacen sacrificios matando muchos Indios y abriendolos por los pechos, é sacandoles el corazon le arrojan al sol. Los que tienen cargo de los Ochilobos se llaman *Papat,* que quiere decir 'persona santa'. *Muchos de ellos no comian sino solamente la sangre de los que se sacrificavan.* Estos aborrecian el coito é no conversavan con mugeres, é mucho mas el pecado de la sodomia: é antes de que tengan cargo del Ochilobo, han de tener su año de aprobacion sin salir del Ochilobo, é al cabo del año si quieren quedar en aquellos templos, les pasavan unas varas por las lenguas, é quedaban alli en el templo para siempre; nunca se cortaban ni peinaban los cabellos. Estos han de ser hijos de caciques é hombres principales; é los que quieren salirse no entraban mas en el templo para servir en él. Los Españoles despues de haber llegado á Temixtitan é poblado alli, embió Cortes á Panuco al comendador Pedro de Alvarado é Cristoval

lace, who are declared in Scripture to have worshiped Moloch; to have sacrificed their children in the valley of Tophet, or the son of Hinnom; to have built high places, or teocallis, in all the corners of the streets of Jerusalem; to have profaned the sanctuary with the blood of human victims; to have adored all the host of heaven, and principally the *sun*, and the moon, and the *evening star*; and to have committed idolatry upon every high hill and under every green tree; thus converting their boasted institutions of Calmecac and Telpuchcalli into nothing else, to use the phrase of an old Spanish missionary, than so many real synagogues of Satan, which, with all their professed regard for morality and outward show of sanctity, could only be likened to the whitened sepulchres to which Christ compared the Pharisees in a memorable verse of the New Testament. This confession is demanded of us by Truth, whose voice, like that of the fabled goddesses of the Iliad *, who feebly pursued the chariot of Mars, praying Jupiter

de Olit, é despues de pacificado poblaron un pueblo que se llamó Santiestevan." That this is no exaggerated picture of Mexican barbarity in the age of Montezuma is evident from the testimony of the Mexican paintings; whilst the passage in which Oviedo states that the Mexicans drank the blood of their human sacrifices is the more deserving of notice, because it is corroborated by the evidence of the same paintings, notwithstanding some celebrated Spanish authors, including in the number Gomara, have declared that the Mexicans were never seen *to taste blood*: and this leads to the conclusion that it was only in the interior of their temples that a *particular order* of the priesthood ever drank the blood of sacrifices. The impression which the sight of such dreadful scenes produced on the minds of the Spaniards who first witnessed them will best appear from the perusal of the following extract from Francisco de Aguilar's inedited History of the Conquest of Mexico, who himself was an eye-witness of what he here relates, and who thus records what took place when the Spaniards killed their prisoners, and threw their bodies, together with the royal corpse of Montezuma, to the enraged citizens of Mexico: "Montezuma herido en la cabeza dió el alma á cuya era, lo cual seria hora de visperas, y en el aposento donde él estaba, habia otros muy grandes Señores detenidos con él, á los quales el dicho Cortes con parecer de los capitanes mandó matar sin dejar ninguno: á los quales ya tarde, sacaron y hecharon en los portales donde estan ahora las tiendas, los quales llevaron ciertos Indios que habian quedado que no mataron, y llevados sucedió la noche, la qual venida alla á las diez, vinieron tanta multitud de mugeres con hachas encendidas y braseros y lumbres que ponia espanto. Aquestas venian á buscar sus maridos y parientes que en los portales estaban muertos, y al dicho Moteczuma tambien, y asi como las mugeres conocian á sus deudos y parientes, *lo qual veiamos los que velabamos en la azotea con la mucha claridad*, se hechaban encima con muy gran lastima y dolor, y comenzaban una grita y llanto que ponia espanto y temor, y *el que aquesto escrivió, que entonces velaba arriba*, dijo á su companero, *No haveis visto el infierno y el llanto que ella hay, pues si no lo haveis visto, catadlo aqui*; y es cierto que nunca en toda la guerra por trabajos que en ella pasase, tube tanto temor como fué él que recibi de ver aquel llanto tan grande."

* These goddesses were Prayers, whom Homer feigned to be the daughters of Jupiter, and whose functions, as intercessors for mankind with Jove, he thus describes in the ninth book of the Iliad:

Ἀλλ', Ἀχιλευ, δαμασον θυμον μεγαν· οὐδε τι σε χρη
Νηλεες ἠτορ ἐχειν· στρεπτοι δε τε και θεοι αὐτοι,
Των περ και μειζων ἀρετη, τιμη τε, βιη τε.
Και μεν τους θυεεσσι και εὐχωλης ἀγανῃσι,
Λοιβῃ τε, κνισσῃ τε, παρατρωπωσ' ἀνθρωποι
Λισσομενοι, ὁτε κεν τις ὑπερβηῃ και ἁμαρτῃ.
Και γαρ τε Λιται εἰσι Διος κουραι μεγαλοιο,
Χωλαι τε, ῥυσσαι τε, παραβλωπες τ' ὀφθαλμω·
Αἱ ῥα τε και μετοπισθ' Ἀτης ἀλεγουσι κιουσαι.
Ἡ δ' Ἀτη σθεναρη τε και ἀρτιπος· οὑνεκα πασας
Πολλον ὑπεκπροθεει, φθανει δε τε πασαν ἐπ' αἱαν,
Βλαπτουσ' ἀνθρωπους· αἱ δ' ἐξακεονται ὀπισσω.
Ὁς μεν τ' αἰδεσεται κουρας Διος, ἀσσον ἰουσας,
Τον δε μεγ' ὠνησαν, και τ' ἐκλυον εὐξαμενοιο·
Ὁς δε κ' ἀνῃνηται, και τε στερεως ἀποειπῃ,
Λισσονται δ' ἀρα ταιγε Δια Κρονιωνα κιουσαι,
Τῳ Ἀτην ἀμ' ἑπεσθαι, ἱνα βλαφθεις ἀποτισῃ.

"Now be thy rage, thy fatal rage, resign'd,
A cruel heart ill suits a *manly* mind:
The gods (the only great, and only wise)
Are moved by offerings, vows, and sacrifice;
Offending man their high compassion wins,
And daily prayers atone for daily sins.
Prayers are Jove's daughters, of celestial race,
Lame are their feet, and wrinkled is their face;

to redress the wrongs which that god inflicted on mortals, will, though weak in the beginning, at last prevail over Falsehood with all her brazen tongues. With the full expectation that the time is approaching when the sun of a much brighter reformation than that which gilded the sixteenth century will beam upon those nations that still 'sit in darkness', we shall conclude these remarks with one more observation on an analogy in the manners of the Jews and the Mexicans, which requires for its elucidation the insertion of the following passage from the ancient constitutions of the Talmud, where it is extremely deserving of notice, that the analogy alluded to extends to the clause admitting the relaxation of the general rule, without however giving the Mexicans the benefit of the second exception. The passage itself is the more remarkable, because it affords incontestible proof of the contrariety of moral doctrines which may be deduced from the selfsame texts of Scripture; this we have already observed in allusion to the slave trade in the three hundred and ninety-eighth page of the sixth volume of this work, since the Rabbis do not scruple to impugn the doctrine of St. Paul, in the seventh chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, who grounds his adverse reasoning on the words of Christ in the twelfth verse of the nineteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Primum præceptum est de matrimonio; hoc præceptum maxime Hebræi observant, et scribunt in suis commentariis, si quis excesserit *viginti* annos et non duxit uxorem, vel si duxerit uxorem sterilem, æquè peccat ac si hominem interfecisset*, et meretur pœnam Onan, quem Deus interfecit. Tamen *qui addictus est studio legis*, ut

With humble mien and with dejected eyes,
Constant they follow where Injustice flies:
Injustice, swift, erect, and unconfined,
Sweeps the wide earth, and tramples o'er mankind,
While Prayers, to heal her wrongs, move slow behind.
Who hears these daughters of almighty Jove,
For him they mediate to the throne above:
When man rejects the humble suit they make,
The sire revenges for the daughters' sake."

* The Rabbis indulge in the most absurd speculations upon the nature and degree of guilt incurred by this imaginary species of infanticide, which all resolves itself into the *petitio principii* that the very reverse of Christ's declaration, in the tenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, is really the case, or, in other words, that the doctrine which he inculcated in his address to his disciples, "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And *one* of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father; but the very hairs of your head are *all* numbered," is totally destitute of truth. Reasoning, however, on other than scriptural grounds, we may be permitted to inquire, How is it possible that the existence of immortal souls can be a thing so dependent either on precarious chance or the blind impulse of human passion as that they should be destroyed, if not generated, at a particular moment in the circle of time, or on the other supposition that the human soul cannot be subject to this species of annihilation, but that its origin and existence being quite independent of matter which is liable to generation and corruption, it might possibly be born at a later period, or in some other country, whether it would be very material to such a soul when or in what country it might chance to be born, provided only that when born its nativity was not cast amongst rude and savage tribes? If, however, the reasoning of the Rabbis approximated in any degree to consistency, it would necessarily follow that polygamy ought to be encouraged by the laws of every state, and that Clemens Alexandrinus, in referring to Moses as his authority, where he says, "'*Ο Μωσης ἀπαγει των ἐγκυων τους ἀνδρας, ἀχρις ἀν ἀποκυησωσιν,*" did not impute to Moses a law which the Hebrew legislator had not some reason for enacting. This remarkable passage of one of the most ancient and learned of the Fathers occurs in the second book of his Pædagogus, which we the more readily transcribe because the Mexicans appear to have retained many of the Jewish prejudices on the same subject; and the discourse of the Mexican orator, in the twenty-fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, is strongly tinctured with the same species of Hebrew rhetoric. "*Θειας γε τοι μοιρας της δημιουργικης μεταλαβοντας, σπερμα οὐκ ἐκριπτεον, οὐδε καθυβριστεον, οὐδε μην κερασθολα σπαρτεον. Ὁ γουν αὐτος οὑτος Μωσης και ταις γαμεταις αὐταις ἀπαγορευει πλησιαζειν, ἠν ταις ἐπιμηνιοις καθαρσεσιν ἐνεσχημεναι τυχωσιν· οὐ γαρ πω εὐλογον τῳ ἀποκαθαρματι του σωματος το γονιμωτατον του σπερματος και μετ' ὀλιγον ἀνθρωπον μολυνειν, οὐδε μην ἀποκλυζειν τῳ ῥυπαρῳ της ὑλης ῥευματι και ἀποκαθαρματι. Σπερμα δε γενεσεως εὐφυᾳ των της μητρας ἀποστερουμενον αὐλακων. Οὐδε τινα των παλαιων Ἑβραιων ἐγκυμονι τῃ αὐτου γυναικι συνιοντα παρηγαγεν. Ψιλη γαρ ἡδονη, κἀν ἐν γαμῳ παραληφθη, παρανομος ἐστι, και ἀδικος, και ἀλογος. Ἐμπαλιν δε ὁ Μωσης ἀπαγει των ἐγκυων τους ἀνδρας, ἀχρις ἀν ἀποκυησωσιν.*" A comparison of the above passage with the following extract from the third book of the same author's Stromata, will place this resemblance in a still stronger point of view. "'*Οτι γαρ σωφρονως ἐβουλετο ταις γαμεταις χρησθαι τους ἀνδρας ὁ Νομος, και ἐπι μονῃ παιδοποιΐᾳ, δηλον ἐκ του κωλυειν μεν τῃ αἰχμαλωτῳ παραχρημα ἐπιμιγνυσθαι τον ἀγαμον· ἐπιθυμησαντος δε ἀπαξ, τριακοντα πενθειν ἐπιτρεπειν ἡμερας, κειραμενῃ και τας τριχας· εἰ δε μηδ' οὑτως μαραινοιτο ἡ ἐπιθυμια, τοτε παιδοποιεισθαι, δεδοκιμασμενης της ὁρμης της κυριευουσης κατα την προθεσμιαν του χρονου, εἰς ὀρεξιν εὐλογον. Ὁθεν οὐ δειξειας ἐγκυμονι πλησιασαντα των πρεσβυτερων τινα κατα την Γραφην· ἀλλ' ὑστερον μετα τε την κυοφοριαν, μετα τε την του τεχθεντος γαλακτουχιαν, εὑροις ἀν παλιν προς των ἀνδρων γινωσκομενας τας γυναικας. Αὐτικα τουτον εὑρησεις τον σκοπον και τον του Μωϋσεως πατερα φυλασσοντα, τριετιαν διαλιποντα μετα την του Ἀαρων ἀποκυησιν, γεννησαντα τον Μωϋσεα. Ἡτε αὐ Λευϊτικη φυλη, τουτον φυλασσουσα τον της φυσεως NOMON ΕΚ ΘΕΟΥ, ἐλαττων τον ἀριθμον παρα τας αλλας εἰς την προκατηγγελμενην εἰσηλθε γην. οὐ γαρ ῥαδιως αὐξανει γενος εἰς πολυπληθιαν, σπειραντων μεν των ἀνδρων τον κατα τους νομους*

uxorem non curet habere, is nihil peccat; si vero senserit cupiditatem illam invalescere, debet uxorem ducere." Although it would be easy to adduce other arguments to strengthen the conjecture that the Mexican colleges of Calmecac and Telpuchcalli were a continuation of those religious seminaries which the Jews founded in many parts of Asia after Christian persecution had forced them to abandon the land of Palestine, we shall refrain from prolonging this discussion on a question involved in so much obscurity, and one which after all must rest on probable foundations, and is not capable of demonstration. Those, however, who may deem the chain of evidence insufficient, can easily refer to the Rabbinical authors who have treated of the colleges which the Jews founded in ancient times in Syria, Babylon, and on the banks of the Euphrates, the discipline of which it may easily be conceived might in after ages, and in another hemisphere, have become much more austere, and been associated with all the revolting rites to which the Jews were addicted in the ages antecedent to the Babylonian captivity; thus realizing, as it were, in the case of the Mexican proselytes to Judaism, the denunciation of Christ in the fifteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, concerning the Jewish converts of his day: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make *one* proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the *child of hell* than yourselves." How after this unequivocal declaration of Christ in the New Testament, and the confession of St. Paul in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians, an able and eloquent advocate for the total abolition of the civil disabilities under which the Jews labour in this country, Mr. Macaulay, in whose manly sentiments every friend to justice and of his country must coincide, could have asserted in his speech delivered in the House of Commons, that the Jewish religion was essentially *not* a proselyting religion, it is difficult to comprehend, especially since it is an undoubted fact that the Mosaic law enjoined proselytism, that the ancient Jews practised it, and that all the Rabbis, including in the number even Maimonides, strongly recommended it. The particular passage in Mr. Macaulay's speech to which we here allude is the following, which, as likewise that portion of Mr. Grant's speech in which he referred to the precedent set by the Persian monarch Ahasuerus, who commanded the enemies of the Jews, at the instigation, be it observed, of Mordecai and Esther, to be massacred simultaneously throughout the hundred and twenty-seven provinces of the Persian empire, as recorded in the ninth chapter of the book of Esther, would have furnished his opponents with a powerful argument against himself, as proving that the Jewish religion was both proselyting and persecuting. The words made use of by Mr. Macaulay were the following, if reliance can be placed on the accuracy of his speech as reported in the public newspapers: "There was not the slightest chance that their doctrines would spread. It was notorious that the Jews did *not wish* to make proselytes—nay, they almost rejected them, and seemed to think it culpable presumption in any one who did not belong to their race to aspire to belong to their religion. Under these circumstances it was not at all extraordinary that the conversion of a Jew to Christianity was at least as rare an occurrence as a total eclipse of the sun." Whatever be the opinions of the Jews of modern times, it is quite evident, that such were not the sentiments of their ancestors or the lesson of moderation inculcated by the maxims of the Mosaic law, which of all the religious codes that God or man ever

γαμον, ἀναδεδεγμενων ἀναμενοντων δε οὐ την κυοφοριαν μονον, ἀλλα και την γαλακτουχιαν. Ὀθεν εἰκοτως και ὁ Μωϋσης κατ' ὀλιγον εἰς ἐγκρατειαν προβιβαζων τους Ιουδαιους, τριων ἡμερων κατα το ἑξης ἀπεσχημενους ἀφροδισιου ἡδονης προσεταξεν ἐπακουειν των Θειων λογων." It is an undoubted fact, that in Mexico, Peru, and New Granada, it was considered extremely calamitous to families for a woman to give birth to twins; but whether the custom of not permitting both to live might have originated in a confused tradition of the twin births of Cain and Abel, or in Jewish prejudices, and the disgrace which, in the opinion of the Indians, attached to the parents of such infants, for the reason assigned by Alonzo de Zamora in the following passage of the hundred and forty-first page of his History of the Kingdom of New Granada, it would be extremely difficult to determine. Gumilla, however, alluding to the existence of the same custom amongst the Indians of the Orinoco, unhesitatingly ascribes it to the latter cause. "No casaban con hijas, hermanas, ni sobrinas, grados de *consanguinidad* prohibidos, pero en parentesco de *afinidad* jamas repararon; y aun en los tiempos presentes no reparan algunos en este impedimento. Parir *dos criaturas* de un parto era afrenta, porque no creian que *de un ajuntamiento se podian concebir dos hijos*, y dezian era demasiada luxuria." To the testimony of Torquemada, in the two hundred and twenty-first page of the sixth volume of this work, respecting its being a Mexican custom to put to death one of two twins, from a superstitious fear that if they were both permitted to live they would kill one of their parents, we shall add that of Las Casas, in the following passage of his inedited 'Historia Apologetica': "Si la muger paria dos hijos ó *hijas* de un vientre, que asaz en todas estas tierras es muy comun, creian que habia de morir en breve el padre ó la madre. Tenian por remedio que el demonio les habia enseñado, *matar el un hijo de los dos* para que no muriese padre ó madre. Á los que asi nacian de un vientre, llamabanlos 'Cocoua,' que quiere decir *culebras*, porque dicen que la primera muger que parió asi dos, se llamó Couatl, que quiere decir culebra, y de alli venian y estimaban que los asi nacidos habian de comer á su padre ó madre, sino mataban el uno de ellos."

invented was by far the most persecuting and intolerant. It is sufficient, however, for our argument to have proved that the religion of the Jews was proselyting *in the age of Christ*, to establish the probability that the first Jewish colonies who proceeded to America would have strenuously endeavoured to proselyte the Indians to their faith, and have instituted schools and seminaries as the most proper means for deeply engrafting the principles of Judaism in the hearts of the native population of America; this, we trust, has been satisfactorily done, and we shall accordingly proceed to the consideration of the next Hebrew analogy.

The extreme importance which the Jews attached to vows formed so peculiar a feature in their national creed, and led to the performance of so many offerings* and sacrifices, which the law itself did not require, but which it was most beneficial to the priests to exact, that this analogy in the ceremonial law of the Mexicans and the Jews is exceedingly deserving of notice. We cannot, therefore, refrain from inserting in this place the two chapters of the

* Diego Duran compares the offerings which the Mexican priests received from the laity, to the sin offerings and oblations given by the Jews to the Levites. The above analogy is noticed by that author in the fifth chapter of the second part of his inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España': "Era tan ordinario el acudir á ellos, que fuesen á ofrecer sacrificios por ellos á los montes, llevando ofrendas de incienso y comida y vino y ollin y caxetillos y escudillejas y cestillos, como lo es agora el traer la limosna para que les digan una misa, ó como lo era en la ley vieja ofrecer becerros, corderos, cabrones, &c. á los sacerdotes por los pecados." It would appear, however, from the following passage of the third chapter of the same History, that a religious offering of the tenth of certain kinds of seeds, or in other words tithe, was paid by the Mexican laity to their priesthood, who gave the custom the most solemn sanction of religion by imposing it as a duty on all who ate the body of their god Huitzilopochtli on the solemn festival of the Teoqualo, which was celebrated annually in the Mexican month Panquetzaliztli, thus connecting the obligation of paying tithes with their sacrament. And Diego Duran further expressly declares, that all persons, of both sexes and every age, including even *infants in the cradle*, partook of this communion, which, as regards the Christian mode of communion, deserves to be compared with an ancient usage of the Abyssinian church, which we have already mentioned, in the two hundred and fourteenth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume. "Este mismo dia era precepto muy guardado en toda la tierra, de que no se habia de comer otra comida sino *tzoales* con miel, que era la masa de que el idolo era hecho, la cual comida se habia de comer luego en amaneciendo, y no habian de beber agua ni otra cosa ninguna sobre ellos hasta pasado el medio dia; lo cual tenian por agüero y por sacrilegio el beber sobre aquella comida ninguna cosa hasta despues de pasadas aquellas cerimonias y sacrificios, y asi escondian el agua á los niños, y avisaban á los que tenian uso de razon que no bebiesen, pues habian comido tzoales, porque vendria la ira de aquel dios sobre ellos y moririan; lo cual guardaban tan rigurosamente y tan por lo estremo, como los Judios el no comer carne de puerco. Acabadas las cerimonias, bailes y sacrificios, entremeses y juegos, que entre los dioses habia, digo entre aquellos que los representaban, ibanse á desnudar, y los sacerdotes y dignidades de templo tomaban el idolo de masa y desnudabanle aquellos aderezos que tenia, *y asi á él como á los trozos que estaban consagrados en huesos y carne suya, hacian los muchos pedacitos, y empezando desde los mayores los comulgaban con ellos á todo el pueblo, chicos y grandes, hombres y mugeres, viejos y niños, y recibianlo con tanta reverencia y temor y alegria que era cosa de admiracion, diciendo que comian la carne y huesos de Dios, teniendose por indignos de ello. Los que tenian enfermos pedian para ellos, y se los llevaban con mucha reverencia y veneracion. Todos los que comulgaban quedaban obligados á dar diezmo de aquella semilla de que se hacia aquella masa para la carne y huesos de aquel Dios.*" We have, however, not only the authority of Diego Duran in the above passage, but likewise that of Herrera, for asserting that all persons who received the Mexican sacrament paid a contribution to the priests of all the seeds of which the body of Huitzilopochtli was composed, and that those seeds consisted of all kinds of maize, pulse, and every other kind of grain eaten by the Mexicans, must be inferred from the following passage of Cortes's third letter to Charles the Fifth, which makes particular mention of the manner in which such images of paste were compounded. "Los bultos y cuerpos de los idolos son de muy mayores estaturas que el cuerpo de un gran hombre. Son hechos de masa *de todas las semillas y legumbres que ellos comen*, molidas y mezcladas unas con otras, y amasanlas con sangre de corazones de cuerpos humanos, los quales abren por los pechos, vivos, y les sacan el corazon, y de aquella sangre que sale de él, amasan aquella harina, y assi hacen tanta cantidad, quanta basta para facer aquellas estatuas grandes." Upon this passage of Cortes's letter we may be permitted to remark, that the mixture of human blood with the Mexican sacrament might have originated in the equivocal sense in which the Gnostics understood the declaration of Christ, "This is *my* blood," in the New Testament, and have been an attempt on their part to render a literal obedience to the command of Christ to drink his blood, and yet at the same time avoid the doctrine of the *real presence* in the sacrament; in which case we must of necessity suppose two things, first, that some of the Gnostic sect had proceeded, together with the Jews, in early ages to America, which would appear to have been the opinion of the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus in the one hundred and seventy-second page of the sixth volume of this work, who, under the name of Manicheans, doubtless comprised other sects; and secondly, that they understood the phrase "This is my blood," to have been employed by Christ in a literal but not in a *reflective* sense, that is to say, not as blood belonging to his body, but as blood consecrated to and accepted by him; and it may easily be imagined to what abuses such a doctrine might in the long course of ages have been corrupted by fanaticism. Enough having been said of the Mexican rite of Teoqualo, of which a more particular account will be found in the two hundred and twentieth page of the sixth volume of this work, and the forty-seventh page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, we shall only remark, that however cautiously the payment of tithes is noticed by the Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth century as a long-established usage amongst the Mexicans, the testimony of Diego Duran, but especially that of Alonzo de Zorita, in a passage of his 'Breve y Sumaria Relacion,' which we shall insert in a subsequent note, is sufficiently corroborative of that fact, whilst the strong probability that such a

Pentateuch, which treat expressly of vows and their irrevocable nature, even in cases where the sacrifice of human life was the necessary condition of preserving a vow inviolate. The first of these chapters is the twenty-seventh chapter

usage existed will immediately appear from the perusal of the following passage of the one hundred and forty-first chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas[1]. "Y porque los templos y sacerdotes y ministros de los dioses, que eran muchos, como parece por lo dicho, hacian muchos gastos, necesaria cosa es dar noticia de que ó de donde se mantenian y proveian. Para sustentacion pues de los sacerdotes y ministros, y para refeccion y reparacion de los edificios, y para los otros gastos ordinarios que en los templos se hacian, habia en la Nueva España fabrica, habia como en nuestras iglesias mesa capitular, conviene á saber, estaban ciertas tierras y heredades dedicadas por los reyes y señores para propias de los templos. En estas habia muchos vecinos como vasallos de los templos, que tributaban de vestidos y ornamentos, maiz que es el trigo de que se hace el pan, y el vino y otras muchas cosas de potajes, y comida que hacen de él, gallinas y los mantenimientos necesarios que habian los sacerdotes y ministros menester; y allende los tributos que aquellos pueblos y vasallos daban, los pueblos realengos de comunidad hacian grandes sementeras para lo mismo. Habia provision de mugeres ancianas y honestas, para que hiciesen el pan y comida y otras cosas de fuera, que á las monjas susodichas hacer no pertenecian. Parecian en haber proveido de tierras y heredades á los templos y sacerdotes y ministros del culto divino, imitar á los Egipcios que tenian dedicadas tierras y heredades en posesion á los sacerdotes, en tiempo del santo patriarca Joseph, para su mantenimiento y sustentacion, segun arriba se dijo, y la Escritura quarenta y siete capitulo de Genesis lo testifica: donde parece que no solo tenian los sacerdotes de Egipto tierras donde tenian sus heredades y quizas pueblos y vasallos libres de tributos que se pagasen al rey, como alli se dice, pero aun se les daban de las trojes publicas del rey ó de la comunidad los mantenimientos necesarios á la vida. De donde manifiesto parece que el mantenimiento y el honor y reverencia se debe de derecho natural á los sacerdotes y ministros del culto divino, pues todas las naciones sin lumbre de fé lo hacian. De aqui és que entre los Cristianos de los diezmos que dan las comunidades, proveen las iglesias y mantienen los obispos y sacerdotes y ministros del verdadero culto divino, y esto aunque Dios no lo espresara por su ley divina positiva, por la misma ley natural se les debia. De las tierras y heredades dedicadas á los templos y ministros en tiempo de la infidelidad de estas gentes, vemos ahora en la Nueva España muchas, sobre las quales no faltan entre nuestros Españoles hartos pleitos, por haberse metido en ellas unos y quererlas otros. Los sacerdotes iban algunas veces á ciertos tiempos, segun estaba por ley ordenado, á visitar sus vasallos y considerar como estaban, si recibian algunos agravios ó habian menester administrarles justicia, ó darles algun favor, y asi los dejaban consolados. Junto á los templos habia unas grandes trojes y graneros donde se recogia el trigo y los bastimentos que á los templos pertenecian, y de alli sacudo lo necesario para los ministros y gastos que para los templos eran menester, se repartia limosna por muchos viejos pobres, casados y solteros ó enfermos que padecian necesidades. En las ciudades principales, como era Mexico y Tlascalla y Cholula y otros grandes pueblos, habia hospitales dotados de rentas y vasallos, donde se recibian y curaban los pobres enfermos." Without inquiring in this

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[1] The following extract from the one hundred and thirty-second chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas is extremely interesting, as not only explaining the true cause of our knowing so little of the history and ancient institutions of the Peruvians, but likewise as throwing considerable light on the present question by the opportunity it affords of relatively considering the immense revenues and possessions of the Mexican and Peruvian temples, and of thus forming an opinion whether the support of such great ecclesiastical establishments did not originate in the Hebrew law of tithes, which the first Jewish colonies may be supposed with great probability to have carried over with them to the New World. The commencement of this extract is likewise remarkable, and singularly corroborates what we have already said, in the hundred and sixty-ninth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, of the Jews having instituted amongst the Indians the Mosaic ordeal for the detection and punishment of adultery. "Si alguna cometia pecado alguno secreto en violacion de la castidad, tenian que *sus carnes habian de podrecerse*; por lo qual hacian gran penitencia porque los dioses les encubriesen su pecado y no fuesen difamadas. Pero si era publico y averiguada la verdad, mataban *entrambos*. Esto se ha entendido de la religion de aquestas mugeres ministras ó sacerdotisas de los templos, y de los otros ministros y sacerdotes que habia en la Nueva España; y segun tengo colegido, lo mismo fue de las provincias de Guatemala, y de la de Nicaragua y Honduras y de otras muchas provincias, por mas de ochocientas leguas bien largas, puesto que algo mas y algo menos en ministros, cerimonias y sacrificios haya alguna diversidad en diversas partes: y asi podemos juzgar de todas las naciones de este orbe, porque no de todas podemos saber las diferencias ó variedad que tenian en su religion; y aunque las supiesemos todas, no convendria referir tantas, porque seria componer ó escribir infinita obra. Del sacerdocio y ministros de los templos y dioses de los reynos del Peru, no se ha podido colegir su cierta orden, su numero y definicion, mas de que habia sumo sacerdote y otro que llamaban en su lengua Vilaoma, y otros sacerdotes á aquel sugetos é inferiores, y aun esto no se sabe decir muy en particular; los sacerdotes que habia, dicese que no eran casados. La causa creemos fue, que como las riquezas que habia en aquellos reynos fueron las mayores que juntas se hallaron en todo el mundo, y estas por la mayor parte poseian los templos y las guardaban y conservaban los sacerdotes, como los nuestros entraron tan de subito, y todo su principal negocio era recojer y no dejar punta de todo aquello que fuese y aun que pareciese oro, lo primero que los sacerdotes quando lo pudieron hacer, procuraron, fue transportarlo y ponerlo en cobro; por miedo de que no los atormentasen, desaparecieron; y asi se quasi enterraron aquel nombre de sacerdote. Sucedió la conversion y el dexamiento y aniquilacion intempestiva celerima y momentaria de toda su republica, que los nuestros en mas breves dias que ninguna de las otras regiones de estas Indias hicieron, con sus mismas que entre si tubieron, discordias. Y asi como desapareció tan presto el sacerdocio de la manera que se ha referido, no se ha podido alcanzar en particular la distincion y numero de sus individuos ni su orden. Podrá tambien haber concurrido alguna inadvertencia de los religiosos que despues supieron sus lenguas, los quales como preguntaron y escudriñaron muchas otras cosas de la religion, no miraron en preguntar lo que tocaba á esta del sacerdocio."

of Leviticus, in which particular mention is made of tithe, because tithes were an offering *devoted* to the Lord. The second is the thirtieth chapter of Numbers, which contains the rule of exceptions to the preceding ordinances. "And

place, as foreign to our subject, to what uses tithes might have been applied by the ancient constitutions of the church, or whether the arguments of those who maintain that this source of ecclesiastical revenue was originally divided into three parts—one of which was appropriated to building and keeping in repair sacred edifices, the other to the support of the clergy, and the third to the maintenance of the poor,—are founded in *theory* or in fact, we shall merely remark, that if it should plainly or probably appear that the Mexicans paid tithe, the principle must be conceded that that custom existed amongst the Indians, and its accidental modifications or commutations are of no importance to the present inquiry. That they paid first-fruits and kept the festival of New Moons is stated by Torquemada, in the two hundred and eighty-third page of the sixth volume of this work. Reasoning therefore by analogy, we come to the inference, even were all other kind of proof wanting, that nonconformity on a point so strongly insisted on by the Mosaic law would have been quite unlikely to have constituted the only anomaly in the rites and religious institutions of the Mexicans and Jews. Returning for a moment to our previous subject, we may here remark that Herrera's description of the Mexican Teoqualo in the four hundred and seventeenth page of the sixth volume of this work, nearly agrees with that of Acosta, and they both appear to have borrowed their accounts from Diego Duran's inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España', who expressly says, that the virgins who kneaded the dough of which they made the body of Huitzilopochtli bore for that day the honorary appellation of 'Ypihuan Huitzilopochtli,' i. e. the sisters of Huitzilopochtli; which might lead one to suppose that the Mexicans had a tradition of the speech of Christ to his disciples, as recorded by St. Matthew in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of his Gospel: "While he yet talked to the people, behold, his mother and his brethren stood without, desiring to speak with him. Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? and who are my brethren? And he stretched forth his hand and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and *sister*, and mother;" and in order to verify it in a literal sense, bestowed the appellation of sisters of Quetzalcoatl upon the virgins of the college of Calmecac, which title is particularly mentioned as belonging to them in the following passage of the fortieth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, where a mother thus addresses her daughter, whom she had *vowed* when an infant to place in that religious society: "Oye, hija mia, muy amada, quando eras chiquita y tiernecita, aqui estan los que te engendraron, tu padre y tu madre, de los quales eres carne y sangre. En tu ternura y tu niñez *te prometieron y te ofrecieron* á nuestro Señor, el qual esta en todo lugar, para que seas una de las perfectas *hermanas de nuestro Señor*, de las hermosas virgenes que son como piedras preciosas y como plumas ricas, para que entres y vivas donde estan en su guarda y recogimiento con las religiosas virgines de Calmecac; y agora que ya eres de edad de discrecion, ruegote, que de todo corazon *cumplas el voto* que ellos hicieron." "Hearken, my dearly beloved daughter, those who begot thee, thy father and thy mother, whose flesh and blood thou art, are here present. In thy tender years and infancy *they promised* and offered thee to our Lord, who is everywhere, that thou shouldest become one of the perfect *sisters of our Lord*, of the beautiful virgins who resemble precious stones and rich feathers, to the intent that thou shouldest enter and live with the religious virgins of Calmecac in their dwelling-place and retreat; and now that thou hast arrived at years of discretion I entreat thee to fulfill with all thy heart *the vow* which they have made for thee." Upon this passage we shall only remark that the epithet *sons of God* is bestowed by St. John, in the twelfth verse of the first chapter of his Gospel, upon those who believed in Christ, which also agrees with the appellation of sons of God (hijos de Dios), which is applied by the Mexican orator to the friends of Quetzalcoatl in the following passage of the sixteenth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, and which singularly agrees with the words of St. Paul in the fourteenth verse of the eighth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, and in the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians: "O Señor, siquiera *las migajas de las sobras* de lo que se ha dicho han cogido y gozado, y es lo que les ha *caido de la mesa de los que son ricos* y tienen abastanza de bienes, y son nuestros señores: donde quiera que estubiere algun amigo y conoscido de Dios sin falta se aprovechara y tomara para si estos beneficios y mercedes, y sera agradecido á nuestro Señor Dios, y tomara esta doctrina *para hacerse hijo de Dios*, conformandose con la voluntad del mismo Dios." "O Lord, at least they have gathered and benefited by the crumbs which have remained, of what has been said, which is that which has fallen from the table of those who are rich and possess abundance of means and are our lords. Wheresoever there is a *friend* or acquaintance of God's he will not fail to derive advantage, and to take to himself these favours and acts of kindness, and will be thankful to our Lord God, and will receive this doctrine in order to become a *son of God*, conforming himself with the will of the same God." The singular metaphor recurred to by the Mexican orator in the above passage might tempt one to ask whether the Mexicans could by any possibility have become acquainted with the language of Christ in his famous parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, as recorded in the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, whilst the commencement of the same chapter in which Quetzalcoatl is recognised as the *son* of man and the *father* of mankind, and is expressly named *our Lord and Son*, suggests to us a question analogous to that which Christ put to the Pharisees in the twenty-second chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, namely, How, if the Mexicans called Quetzalcoatl Lord and *Father*, was he their son? The testimony of Diego Duran, so far as it relates to the fact of the tenth of certain kinds of grain being applied by the Mexicans to religious purposes, is so explicit that we cannot but feel considerable surprise that Sahagun should pass it over in complete silence in the third book of his History of New Spain. There can, however, exist but little doubt that that book has been extremely mutilated by the hands of those zealous ecclesiastics who attempted in the first instance to consign the entire of his history to oblivion, since it would be reasonable to suppose that he would have discussed at length and investigated with diligence the origin of so singular a rite as the Mexican teoqualo, and would not have been guilty of so glaring an attempt at concealment in his definition of the meaning of the term Teoqualo as that exhibited in the following passage of the first chapter of the third book of his History of New Spain: "Cada uno comia un

the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When a man shall make a singular vow, the *persons* shall be for the Lord by thy estimation. And thy estimation shall be of the male from twenty years old even unto sixty years old, even thy estimation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the shekel of the sanctuary. And if it be a female, then thy estimation shall be thirty shekels. *And if it be from five years old even unto twenty years old,* then thy estimation shall be of the male twenty shekels, and for the female ten shekels. *And if it be from a month old even unto five years old,* then thy estimation shall be of the male five shekels of silver, and for the female thy estimation shall be three shekels of silver. And if it be from sixty years old and above; if it be a male, then thy estimation shall be fifteen shekels, and for the female ten shekels. But if he be poorer than thy estimation, then he shall present himself before the priest, and the priest shall value him; according to his ability that vowed shall the priest value him. And if it be *a beast,* whereof men bring an offering unto the Lord, all that any man giveth of such unto the Lord shall be holy. He shall not alter it, nor change it, a good for a bad, or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then it and the exchange thereof shall be holy. And if it be any *unclean beast,* of which they do not offer a sacrifice unto the Lord, then he shall present the beast before the priest: and the priest shall value it, whether it be good or bad: as thou valuest it, who art the priest, so shall it be. But if he will at all redeem it, then he shall add a fifth part thereof unto thy estimation. And when a man shall sanctify his *house* to be holy unto the Lord, then the priest shall estimate it, whether it be good or bad: as the priest shall estimate it, so shall it stand. And if he that sanctified it will redeem his house, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be his. And if a man shall sanctify unto the Lord some part of *a field* of his possession, then thy estimation shall be according to the seed thereof: an homer of barley seed shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver. If he sanctify his field from the year of Jubilee, according to thy estimation it shall stand. But if he sanctify his field after the jubilee, then the priest shall reckon unto him the money according to the years that remain, even unto the year of the jubilee, and it shall be abated from thy estimation. And if he that sanctified the field will in any wise redeem it, then he shall add the fifth part of the money of thy estimation unto it, and it shall be assured to him. And if he will not redeem the field, or if he have sold the field to another man, it shall not be redeemed any more. But the field, when it goeth out in the jubilee, shall be holy unto the Lord, as a field devoted; the possession thereof shall be the priest's. And if a man sanctify unto the Lord a field which he hath bought, which is

pedaçito del cuerpo de Vitzilopuchtli, y los que comian eran mancebos, y decian que era *cuerpo de dios que se llamaba Teuqualo,* y los que recibian y comian el cuerpo de Vitzilopuchtli se llamaban *ministros de Dios.*" "Every one ate a morsel of the body of Vitzilopuchtli, and those who ate it were young men, and they said that it was the body of a god who was named Teuqualo, and those who received and ate the body of Vitzilopuchtli were named the servants of God." A strong indirect corroboration of the payment of tithe by the Mexicans, and of its being imposed as a duty on those who ate the body of Huitzilopochtli, is, however, still afforded by Sahagun in his admission in the same chapter of the third book of his History, that those who received the body of Huitzilopochtli were under a particular obligation *to make large offerings* at his temple. Reserving for another occasion some further observations on the Mexican rite of teoqualo, we shall conclude this note by observing, that the subject of the interesting painting in the sixth page of the Codex Borgianus is the celebration of the solemn festival which took place in the Mexican month Panquetzaliztli, and which is described by Diego Duran with great exactness in the second part of his inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España,' since we there behold the magnificent shrine of Huitzilopochtli crimson with the blood of human sacrifices, and the Totectlamacazqui or priest who officiated at those horrid rites descending the stairs of the temple with the image of the god Paynalton in his arms, which he is about to present to the prisoners destined for sacrifice, who are drawn up in a file at the foot of the oratory named Tzonpantli, which word, literally interpreted, signifies Mount Calvary, immediately in front of the temple, at the bottom of which are the eagles preying on human sacrifices, and verifying the language of Christ in the following passage of the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke: "Two men shall be in the field; *the one shall be taken,* and the other left. And they answered and said unto him, *Where,* Lord? And he said, Wheresoever the *body is,* thither will the eagles be gathered together;" which extremely obscure prophecy would seem to allude retrospectively to the more ancient prophecy of Isaiah, in the sixteenth verse of the sixty-sixth chapter of his Prophecies, and prospectively to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, which city might, figuratively, have been named the body of the Jewish state, as being the metropolis of Judea, and to the eagles conspicuously displayed on the Roman standards, which triumphantly waving in the holy of holies, constituted the abomination of desolation which happily restored peace to Palestine. It may be right to remark that the seven first pages in the Codex Borgianus are painted in a horizontal position, exactly in the manner represented in the facsimile of that splendid painting, which, together with the other facsimiles of the Mexican paintings preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna, in the Royal Library at Dresden, in the Library of the Institute at Bologna, and in the Vatican Library, we have deposited in the British Museum, that in after-years they may attest the accuracy and care with which the lithographic plates contained in these volumes have been executed from the correct facsimiles of the original Mexican paintings. Facsimiles of the paintings preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford have not been presented to the Museum, because the originals existing in this country it was deemed unnecessary.

not of the fields of his possession; then the priest shall reckon unto him the worth of thy estimation, even unto the year of the jubilee: and he shall give thine estimation in that day, as a holy thing unto the Lord. In the year of the jubilee the field shall return unto him of whom it was bought, even to him to whom the possession of the land did belong. And all thy estimations shall be according to the shekel of the sanctuary: twenty gerahs shall be the shekel. Only the firstling of the beasts, which should be the Lord's firstling, no man shall sanctify it: whether it be ox, or sheep, it is the Lord's. And if it be of an unclean beast, then he shall redeem it according to thine estimation, and shall add a fifth part of it thereto: or if it be not redeemed, then it shall be sold according to thy estimation. *Notwithstanding no devoted thing*, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that *he hath*, both *of man* and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted *of men*, shall be redeemed; but shall *surely be put to death*. And all *the tithe** of the land, whether of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the Lord's: it is holy unto the Lord. And if a man will at all redeem ought of his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof. And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock, even of whatsoever passeth under the rod, the tenth shall be holy unto the Lord. He shall not search whether it be good or bad, neither shall he change it: and if he change it at all, then both it and the change thereof shall be holy; it shall not be redeemed. These are the commandments, which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in *mount Sinai*."—"And Moses spake unto the heads of the tribes concerning the children of Israel, saying, This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded. If a man vow a vow unto the Lord, or swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond; he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth. If a woman also vow a vow unto the Lord, and bind herself by a bond, being in her father's house in her youth; and her father hear her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand. But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand: and the Lord shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her. And if she had at all an husband, when she vowed, or uttered ought out of her lips, wherewith she bound her soul; and her husband heard it, and held his peace at her in the day that he heard it: then her vows shall stand, and her bonds wherewith she bound her soul shall stand. But if her husband disallowed her on the day that he heard it; then he shall make her vow which she vowed, and that which she uttered with her lips, wherewith she bound her soul, of none effect; and the Lord shall forgive her. But every vow of a widow, and of her that is divorced, wherewith they have bound their souls, shall stand against her. And if she vowed in her husband's house, or bound her soul by a bond with an oath; and her husband heard it, and held his peace at her, and disallowed her not: then all her vows shall stand, and every bond wherewith she bound

* The following account of the revenues of the Peruvian temples, and the sources from which they were derived, is taken from the one hundred and thirty-first chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica'. It will be perused with interest when it is recollected that we are indebted for the information it contains to so learned and eminent a prelate as Las Casas. "Aquestas provisiones y reditos propios de los templos y sacerdotes de aquellos reynos puesto que no nos conste muy en particular por la razon en el capitulo antecedente asignada, quantas ni quales fueron, podemos empero de la gran religion que los reyes alli tubieron y devocion á los templos del sol, y de la señalada prudencia y solicitud que tubieron en la governacion, congeturar, y que no fueron qualesquieras sino muy grandes, opulentas y copiosas mas que ninguna otra parte. Tenian pues los templos de los reynos del Peru, mayormente los consagrados al sol, grandes heredades y en las mas fertiles y gruesas tierras para sus trigos ó maiz y las otras cosas de comida y las otras de sacrificar, las quales *primero que las de los reyes* se mandaban labrar y cultivar, cuyo cargo tenian toda la comunidad de la provincia. Para la cosecha y guarda y encerramiento de los frutos, habia grandes trojes y graneros reales: de estos se mantenian los sacerdotes y ministros del templo, y suplian los otros gastos que se habian de hacer. Tenian tambien grandes hatos de ganados, carneros y ovejas de todas especies, como en el capitulo se refirió, para los sacrificios que se hacian en honor del sol y mantenimiento de los sacerdotes y ministros y de las monjas y demas servidores. Estos ganados eran inumerables en cada provincia y pueblo, y si se hubieran de vender, fueran de grandisimo valor. Todas las dichas heredades y ganados y pastores que los guardaban, tenian titulo de ser dedicados para servicio del sol, y asi se llamaban las heredades, los ganados, los hatos y los pastores del sol. Mas particularidades de lo que está dicho, no hemos podido alcanzar. Por esta quasi generalidad, de esto y de lo demas se podra mucho entender y juzgar. Lo que agora se debia tratar segun la orden que desde arriba se trae larga, era cotejar el sacerdocio de estas nuestras gentes Indianas con él de las otras naciones que vivieron sin conocimiento del verdadero Dios en los siglos pasados; pero porque segun ya esta dicho, *habemos tenido muy poca noticia de las particularidades de la religion y los secretos de ella y de los usos y costumbres que aquestas gentes tenian, por haber todo quasi repentinamente cesado con nuestra entrada*; y despues de muchos años hayamos sabido las lenguas, y aun estas en muchos de nosotros no muy penetrandolas, y lo que de estas cosas se ha sabido, ha sido no con mucha curiosidad y á pedazos; de lo qual parece seguirse ignorar la *mayor parte*; aunque por poco que hayamos entendido y que avemos escrito, se puede arguir ser mucho mas notable *lo ignorado*."

her soul shall stand. But if her husband hath utterly made them void on the day he heard them; then whatsoever proceeded out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning the bond of her soul, shall not stand: her husband hath made them void; and the Lord shall forgive her. Every vow, and every binding oath to afflict the soul, her husband may establish it, or her husband may make it void. But if her husband altogether hold his peace at her from day to day; then he establisheth all her vows, or all her bonds, which are upon her: he confirmeth them, because he held his peace at her in the day that he heard them. But if he shall anywise make them void after that he hath heard them; then he shall bear her iniquity. These are the statutes, which the Lord commanded Moses, between a man and his wife, between the father and his daughter, being yet in her youth in her father's house."

That the Mexicans attached the same importance as the Jews to vows, and considered them equally binding on the people, whether made for the purpose of the recovery of health after sickness, for long life, for children, or victory over the enemy, will plainly appear from the perusal of the following passage of the hundred and seventy-ninth chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas, who, although he is treating more particularly of the manners of the Indians of Guatemala, takes occasion to observe, that their religious rites and ceremonies differed very little from those of the Mexicans. "Cuatro cosas principales eran las que con sus sacrificios de Dios, ó de los dioses, alcanzar pretendian, y estas eran las que ellos siempre procuraban. La una *la vida larga**, la otra *la salud* y sanidad de los cuerpos, la otra *hijos*, la otra *lo necesario*† para sustentar la vida. Para la primera se enderezaban los sacrificios comunes y sus penitencias y observancias que estan dichas; y aunque para conseguir aquella y salud y *paz* y buenos temporales‡, tenian mucho cuidado los sacerdotes y los señores y reyes por *todo* el pueblo§, pero en particular cada uno con sacrificios y ayunos y otras observancias, trabajaban de pedirlo dentro de sus puertas, en todas sus obras: finalmente invocaban el ausilio de aquello que creian ser Dios ó cosa divina. Para la salud, si alguno enfermaba, lo primero que hacia, era hacer sacrificio ó embiar codornices‖ ó otras aves de tal ó de tal color aplicada¶ á la enfer-

* It is extremely deserving of notice, that the sacrifices of the old law were in like manner principally directed to the attainment of the four things which Las Casas informs us formed the primary object of the vows of the Indians. The promise of long life, for example, was particularly held out by Moses to the Jews, as the reward of obedience to the commands of God, in many books of Scripture; and Solomon is commended by God himself, in the eleventh chapter of the first book of Kings, for not preferring riches, or honours, or length of days, to wisdom and knowledge. "And God said to Solomon, Because this was in thine heart, and thou hast not asked riches, wealth, or honour, nor the life of thine enemies, neither yet *hast asked long life*, but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou mayest judge my people, over whom I have made thee king, wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee, and I will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour, such as none of the kings have had that have been before thee, neither shall there any after thee have the like." How, after this accumulation of inestimable gifts from the Deity, Solomon could, in the latter end of his days, have erected high places to all the host of heaven, and worshiped the sun and the moon, is a fact not to be explained on any principle of moral reasoning, since Aristotle lays it down, in the tenth chapter of the first book of his Ethics, as an indisputable fact, that the *habit* of virtue and wisdom, but especially of the former, when once acquired, is, of all human possessions, the most permanent, and the least liable to change, and for the reasons which he assigns in the following passage of the same chapter: "*Μαρτυρει δε τῳ λογῳ και το νυν διαπορηθεν. περι οὐδεν γαρ οὑτως ὑπαρχει των ἀνθρωπινων βεβαιοτης, ὡς περι τας ἐνεργειας τας κατ' ἀρετην. μονιμωτεραι γαρ και των ἐπιστημων αὐται δοκουσιν εἰναι· τουτων δ' αὐτων, αἱ τιμιωταται και μονιμωταται, δια το μαλιστα και συνεχεστατα καταζῃν ἐν αὐταις τους μακαριους. τουτο γαρ ἐοικεν αἰτιῳ του μη γιγνεσθαι περι αὐτα ληθην. ὑπαρξει δη το ζητουμενον τῳ εὐδαιμονι, και ἐσται δια βιου τοιουτος· ἀει γαρ, μαλιστα παντων, πραξει και θεωρησει τα κατ' ἀρετην, και τας τυχας οἱσει καλλιστα, και παντῃ παντως ἐμμελως ὀγ', ὡς ἀληθως ἀγαθος και τετραγωνος ἀνευ ψογου.*" "Atque huic rationi testimonio est hoc ipsum, de quo prius dubitatum est: nullâ enim in re humanâ tanta inest firmitudo, quanta in iis actionibus quæ cum virtute consentiunt; nam hæ vel *scientiis ipsis stabiliores* ac diuturniores esse videntur: atque harum ipsarum ut quæque *plurimi* est, ita *diutissime permanet*, propterea quod in eis maxime et assidue ætatem agunt beati: quæ videtur esse causa, cur nullâ unquam oblivione deleantur. Inerit ergo in beato id quod quærimus, talisque in vitâ futurus est: nam vel semper, vel omnium maxime ea et *aget*, et animo *cernet*, quæ cum virtute conjuncta sunt, fortunæque casus pulcherrime omnique ex parte et plane concinne feret, ut vere vir bonus et sine vituperatione quadratus."

† It deserves to be remarked that the entreaty for daily bread precedes the supplication for the forgiveness of sins in the Lord's prayer, which prayer, though expressly composed for the use of Christians, might still have nearly agreed with some ancient formula of Jewish faith.

‡ The immediate dependence of the seasons on the Deity, and the direct influence which human conduct exercises over the weather in causing showers to be sent or withheld, is particularly pointed out by Moses in the twenty-eight chapter of Deuteronomy.

§ A sort of *representative* religious worship was recognised by the code of the Pentateuch, more particularly in the case of the annual sacrifice of atonement, where the high priest represented the *whole* Jewish nation.

‖ The Indians might possibly have sacrificed quails from a tradition of the quails with which God fed the Israelites in the wilderness.

¶ We are informed in the tenth verse of the fifth chapter of the second book of Kings, that it was the water of the river Jordan, and *not* the water of the rivers Abana and Pharpar of Damascus, that was made *applicable* to the cure of the leprosy of Naaman, the captain of the host of the king of Syria.

medad segun sus abusos, al sacerdote para que las ofreciese por él. Si era señor siempre tenia el medico delante como se dira; la otra gente no: pero luego tomaba la muger si el marido era el enfermo, ó él si enfermaba ella, una manta ú otra cosa de valor, é iba con ella al medico y deciale: Fulano vuestro *hijo* esta malo, ruega os mucho que lo visiteis, y sin esperar que le respondiese algo, le ponia lo que le traia delante. El medico se desocupaba é iba luego con el mensagero y visitaba al enfermo, y si era la enfermedad liviana, poniale algunas yerbas y otras cosas que él usaba por remedios; pero si era la enfermedad aguda y peligrosa, deciale: *Tu algun pecado has cometido*, y tanto le importunaba y angustiaba con repetirselo, que le hacia confesar lo que habia muchos años quizas de antes hecho: y esto era teniendo por principal medicina, *hechar el pecado de su anima para la salud del cuerpo.* De aqui és que agora despues de convertidos, es cosa maravillosa la devocion y fé que tienen con los santos sacramentos, en especial con él de la confesion, y es increible á quien no lo ha visto, con quanta importunidad lo piden, y hasta lo alcanzar quan suma es su perseverancia y diligencia. Confesado pues su pecado, hecha suertes el medico sobre que sacrificios seran bien ofrecerse; y era el enfermo* al medico tan obediente, que ninguna cosa le mandaba hacer y sacrificar que no hiciese, aunque fuese dar para ello toda su hacendeja. Muchos viendose afligidos y puestos en alguna tribulacion, hacian votos si sanaban ó eran librados de ella, harian esto y esto, y cosas muy dificultosas ó costosas, como eran que *ofrecerian un esclavo*, y algunas veces *un hijo ó hija*†. Lo mismo hacian quando se veian cautivos ó en algun gran peligro; y nuestros religiosos convirtieron un Indio que en tiempo de su infidelidad viendose cautivo, hizo voto de sacrificar un hijo; y desque se soltó, vino á su casa y sacrificólo. *Asi lo hizo Jepta por cumplir el voto que habia hecho de su hija*, puesto que indiscretamente sacrificando, como parece por el libro de los Jueces. *Tenian por el pecado mayor de todos no cumplir los votos, y asi los cumplian ó morian por cumplirlos.* Y hay aqui una cosa digna de ser notada, que habiendo como hay, muchas ó diversas lenguas ó lenguajes que no se entienden unos á otros mas que Bizcainos y Alemanes, *en todas ellas el voto no tiene mas de un vocablo, y es Elah*‡, y no debe ser sin causa: asi que por alcanzar salud y vida hacian todo lo que podian. Para conseguir el beneficio de hijos quando no los tenian, ofrecian muchos

* Las Casas remarks, in the following passage of the hundred and forty-first chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' that there were public hospitals in the cities of Mexico, Tlascala, and Cholula, expressly endowed for the relief of the sick. Hence it may be inferred, as well as from the fact of surgeons attending the Mexican armies to render assistance to the wounded, that they had attained some skill in medicine and surgery; and if this be considered, as undoubtedly it must, a proof of their advanced state of civilization, the next question to be asked is, by whom were they instructed in the rudiments of sciences which the most enlightened men have in every age professed, and which the greatest monarchs have felt it a duty to their subjects to protect? And here again, in the absence of certainty, we must express it as our decided opinion, that the Mexicans were indebted to the Jews for much of their knowledge in those two arts, and especially for the use of the temazcalli, or vapour-bath, so very serviceable in many diseases peculiar to their climate, and for their frequent and judicious application of bleeding, with whatever else could be considered scientific in their treatment of the sick, and likewise for their knowledge of the medicinal properties of many herbs which they professed to have derived from their ancestors, the Tultecas, whose knowledge of chemistry they likewise extolled, whilst their acquaintance with surgery was probably improved by the facilities afforded to the study of anatomy by the human sacrifices, of such daily occurrence in the city of Mexico. The following is the passage of the 'Historia Apologetica' in which the above-mentioned curious fact is stated: "En las ciudades principales, como era Mexico y Tlascala y Cholola, y otros grandes pueblos, habia *hospitales dotados de rentas y vasallos*, donde se recibian y curaban los pobres enfermos."

† That the same custom existed amongst the Jews, is evident from the interrogation of the prophet Micah, in the sixth chapter of his Prophecies: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my *first-born* for my transgression, *the fruit of my body* for *the sin of my soul*?" And it may further be inferred from the parable of the sour grapes, in the eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel, where God himself expostulates with the Jews on the absurdity of their supposing that the sin of the father could be expiated by the death of his guiltless child, whose reply, in the nineteenth verse of the same chapter, impeaching the moral justice of the Deity for pronouncing a decision so contrary to their prejudices, abundantly proves that the proverb in Israel, "*The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge*," was understood in the same dire sense by the Jews as by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians, amongst whom Acosta declares it was no unusual thing for a father to atone for *his own* sins by putting to death an innocent child. We may remark, in concluding this note, that the Jewish doctrine of the atonement, or of a *vicarial* sacrifice, so liable to be misunderstood by an ignorant race of men, might have been abused in the New World to the perpetration of the most horrid crimes.

‡ The term Elah, which Las Casas says was the general name for a vow in all the various Indian languages, would seem to be derived from El, which in Hebrew signifies God, and from which word is formed Allah, the Mahometan name for the Deity. It occurs, likewise, as a Hebrew proper name in the ninth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the first book of Samuel: "And the priest said, The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom thou slewest in the *valley of Elah*, behold it is here, wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod." It would hence appear, that after the death of Goliah, his sword had been hung up before the Lord, as a *dedicated* thing; which reminds us that the Mexicans were accustomed to dedicate the spoils which they took in battle to Tezcatlipoca, and to hang them up as trophies before his shrine.

generos de sacrificios; sacabanse mucha sangre de las partes susodichas de sus cuerpos, sacrificaban muchas aves, hacian muchas promesas, llamaban á los medicos y sortilegos para que les diesen consejo que debian de ofrecer para alcanzar á tener hijos: los quales hechadas sus suertes respondianles, que por algun pecado suyo* los dioses no les habian dado hijos†; muchas veces se los confesaban, y finalmente les mandaban hacer penitencias, y lo que mas frecuente les aconsejaban era que apartasen cama de las de sus mugeres *quarenta* y cinquenta dias, que no comiesen cosa *con sal*, que comiesen pan seco ó solo maiz, y que estubiesen tantos dias en el campo en alguna cueva que les señalaban, que durmiesen *en la haz de la tierra* para que aplacasen á Dios, que no se bañasen tanto tiempo‡, que al

* Thus God is said, in the eighteenth verse of the twentieth chapter of Genesis, to have deprived Abimelech, king of Gerar, of children, as a punishment for the sin which he had incurred on account of Sarah, the wife of Abraham, whom that patriarch had denied, pretending that she was his sister, and not his wife, whose dissimulation his son Isaac likewise followed, apprehensive that the subjects of the same king would deprive him of his wife Rebekah. It is a curious fact stated by Sahagun, in the sixth chapter of the ninth book of his History of New Spain, that the Mexican merchants practised a similar sort of dissimulation in denying their goods when they arrived amongst strangers, pretending that they were not their own, but merely confided to their care by other merchants.

† Las Casas elsewhere observes, that "I have sinned" was a phrase emphatically expressive amongst the Indians of contrition for the commission of sin: that prelate's account is corroborated by Zorita in the following passage of the first chapter of his inedited 'Relacion Sumaria de los Señores que habia en la Nueva España': "De su natural aquellas gentes son muy sufridas, y ninguna cosa basta á los turbar y alterar; son de suyo muy sujetos y corregibles, y si les reprehenden ó riñen algun descuido, estan con gran humildad y atencion, y no responden mas que *pequè*, y quanto mas señores son, con mas humildad lo dicen, y algunas veces dicen *pequè, no te enojes*, mira lo que quieres que haga. Hablo de los que esten en su simplicidad natural, porque los que han sido esclavos, ó viven ó tratan con Españoles, estàn muy trocados, y *en este auto* que hacian los del pueblo con estos nuevos señores, se entiende bien su gran humildad y sufrimiento." Three examples from the earlier books of Scripture, and the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, may be adduced to prove that the Indians borrowed this form of speech from the Jews, who were expressly commanded by God to use it in *the far land* of their captivity, and who, it is therefore to be presumed, would have found themselves under a peculiar obligation to do so when they arrived in America, which was a part of the world so extremely remote from Palestine. Scripture, for instance, records, in the thirty-fourth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Numbers, that Balaam exclaimed, "I have sinned," on the angel expostulating with him for beating his ass; and Achan makes use of the same form of confession in the twentieth verse of the seventh chapter of Joshua, on being convicted of embezzling the spoils of the enemy. David likewise returns a similar reply to the rebuke of the prophet Nathan, in the thirteenth verse of the twelfth chapter of the second book of Samuel, whose twofold crime of murder and adultery was accordingly pardoned by that prophet. The prayer of Solomon, however, at the dedication of the temple, as recorded in the eighth chapter of the first book of Kings, was the solemn act which was most likely to have consecrated the use of this short form of confession in all succeeding ages amongst the Jews, but especially amongst those captives or strangers in far lands, who in remote ages had colonized America. We shall here insert a passage from that celebrated prayer. "If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the Lord *toward the city* which thou hast chosen, and toward the house that I have built for thy name: then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause. If they sin against thee, (for there is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them, and deliver them to the enemy, so that they carry them away captives unto the land of the enemy, far or near; *yet if they shall bethink themselves in the land whither they were carried captives*, and repent, and make supplication unto thee in the land of them that carried them captives, saying, *We have sinned*, and have done perversely, we have committed wickedness; and so return unto thee with all their heart, and with all their soul, in the land of their enemies, which led them away captive, and pray unto thee toward their land, which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name: *then hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven thy dwelling-place*, and maintain their cause, and forgive thy people that have sinned against thee, and all their transgressions wherein they have trangressed against thee, and give them compassion before them who carried them captive, that they may have compassion on them: for they be thy people, and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst of the furnace of iron: that thine eyes may be open unto the supplication of thy servant, and unto the supplication of thy people Israel, to hearken unto them in all that they call for unto thee. For thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance, as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt, O Lord God. And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven."

‡ The Jews were accustomed to abstain from washing and anointing their bodies during the whole period of their religious mortifications. This is evident from what Samuel says in the twentieth verse of the twelfth chapter of his second book, of David arising and anointing himself when his attendants informed him that his son was dead: "Then David arose *from the earth*, and anointed himself, and changed his apparel, and came into the house of the Lord, and worshiped: then he came to his own house; and when he required, they set bread before him, and he did eat." It deserves to be remarked, that the Mexicans named mourning in dust and ashes, without changing their apparel or washing or anointing themselves for a prescribed period of time, *luto de puerco*, "the mourning of a hog;" a proverbial expression corresponding in some measure with that of "the burial of an ass," which was a name that we learn, from the nineteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Jeremiah, was bestowed by the Jews on funerals unaccompanied with the usual solemn rites for the dead, and from which it would appear, even were all other proof wanting, that the Mexicans, like the Jews, considered swine

fin de los dichos dias diesen tanto incienso y tantas codornices y tantos pajaros de tal y tal color: y hecho todo esto, mandabanles que tornasen á comenzar como deantes vivian. *Era tanto el deseo que tenian de haber hijos*, que nin-

a highly impure and unclean animal[1]: and this perhaps is the reason why no representation of the hog occurs in any of the Mexican paintings, with the single exception of the figure of a boar in the sixty-second page of the Dresden MS. The above-mentioned curious Mexican proverb is preserved by Diego Duran, in the following passage of the thirty-eighth chapter of the first part of his inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España', which likewise contains an interesting account of the solemn ceremonies with which the Mexicans honoured the memory of those who were slain in war. "Ponian estas estatuas todas en un pieza que llamaban tlacochcalco, y luego entraban las viudas, ponian cada una á su estatua un plato de comida de un guisado que llamaban *tlacatlacualli*, que quiere decir *comida humana*, y unas costillas, que ellos llaman papalotlaxcalli, que quiere decir *pan de mariposas*, y una poca de harina de maiz tostado, desleida en agua para bebida: luego que ponian esta comida, tomaban el atambor los cantores, y empezaban á cantar cantares de luto, y *de la suciedad* que el luto y lagrimas traen consigo, y traian los cantores vestidas unas *mantas muy sucias* y manchadas, y unas *cintas* de cuero atadas á las cabezas muy llenas de mugre: llamaban á este canto *tzacuicatl*, que quiere decir, *cantar puerco, ó de porqueria*." We must not omit to point out here four striking analogies in the manners of the Jews and the Mexicans, which the above passage serves to illustrate; all connected with their solemn mournings for the dead, and all elucidating obscure passages of Scripture. The author of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, for example, observes, in the fifteenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of that book, that it was an ancient Jewish custom for fathers afflicted with untimely grief for the death of their sons to make an image of the deceased; and we accordingly find that it was a Mexican custom to make cloth or wooden images of their deceased kings and warriors, and to pay those images the greatest honours when consigning their bodies to the tomb; and Ezekiel commemorates, in the twenty-second verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of his prophecies, another ancient Hebrew custom, that of *eating the bread of men* as a mourning ceremony for the dead;

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[1] The extreme aversion which the North American Indians felt for swine, and the opprobrious term of Shukapa, or swine-eaters, which they bestowed on Europeans because they perceived that they ate the flesh of that animal, have already been noticed by Adair in the twelfth Argument of his treatise on the Descent of the American Indians from the Jews. Whether, however, the fact of no mention being made by any Spanish authors of the flesh of the *pecari*, or Mexican hog, being eaten by the Mexicans, or of that animal being domesticated amongst them or sacrificed in their temples, or even offered as provision to the Spanish soldiers, before whom they placed all other kinds of food when on their marches through their country, can be considered a *negative* proof of the Mexicans entertaining the same aversion for swine as the more northern Indian tribes, we shall leave it to others to determine. The following account, however, of the indignant manner in which the Cazonçin, or king of Michuacan, received a present of hogs from the Spaniards, affords strong presumptive grounds for supposing that the Indians of Michuacan considered swine an unclean animal, on which account, but certainly not from any outward similarity of form in the hog to the rat, the king of Michuacan compared them to the latter animal, and commanded that they should be killed, and their bodies (lest, as it would appear, their flesh should be eaten by any of his subjects,) cast forth on the surface of the ground to be devoured by the fowls of the air, which was the Jewish mode of treating such dead bodies as they considered accursed and odious in the eyes of the Deity. This account is taken from a valuable inedited 'History of Michuacan' many years preserved in the library of the Escurial. "Digeron los Españoles al Cazonçi, que querian rescatar con los mercaderes, que traian plumages y otras cosas de Mexico, y dijoles el Cazonçi que fuesen, y por otra parte mandó que ningun mercader ni otro señor comprase aquellos plumages, y compraronlos todos los *sacristanes* y guardas de los dioses, con las mantas que tenian los dioses, diputadas para comprar sus atavios; y compraron todo lo que los Españoles les traian, y *dieron al Cazonçi diez puercos y un perro*, y digeronle que aquel perro seria para guardar su muger y llevar sus cargas. Dioles el Cazonçi mantas y xicales y cotaras de cuero, y tornaronse á Mexico: *Y como viese el Cazonçi aquellos puercos dijo: Que cosa son estos? son ratones que trae esta gente, y tomolo por agüero, y mandolos matar y al perro, y arrastraronlos y hecharonlos por los herbazales.*" "The Spaniards told the Cazonçi that they wished to barter with the merchants, and that they had brought feathers and other things from Mexico. The Cazonçi informed them they had his consent to do so; but he gave private orders that no merchant or other lord should purchase feathers of them; and all the *sacristans* and overseers of the gods purchased them with the mantles which belonged to the gods, and were applied to the use of buying them ornaments; and they purchased whatever the Spaniards brought with them. They gave the Cazonçi ten hogs and a dog, and told him that the dog would guard his wife and carry burthens. The Cazonçi gave them mantles and vases, and leather buskins, and they returned to Mexico: *when the Cazonçi saw the hogs, he said, What are these? they are rats, which this nation brings with them*; and he considered it *ominous*, and commanded that they and the dog should be killed, and they were *drawn* and *cast out on the plain*." Upon this passage we shall only further remark, that the use of the term *sacristanes* by the Spanish author, and its association in the same sentence with the phrase 'guardas de los dioses,' i. e. the overseers of the gods, or *keepers of the holy things*, affords a complete illustration of the meaning of the word 'Parariecha' in Plate I. of the present volume, which the same author explains by the phrase 'los sacristanes' in the curious drawing which he has inserted in his 'Historia de los Indios de Mechoacan', and which we have caused to be engraved in the above-mentioned plate, because it affords the most unequivocal proof of the Indians of Michuacan resembling the Jews, as Zorita declares was the opinion of many, in the hundred and sixty-third page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume; since nothing could savour more strongly of Judaism than their *making use of an ark in war*, which is likewise stated by Adair of the Cherokee Indians in the three hundred and fiftieth page of the present volume, and also recorded by Las Casas of the Indians of Honduras in the hundred and eightieth chapter of his inedited 'Historia Apologetica', who esteemed their ark so sacred, that to profane it by a touch they thought would be followed by the instant death of the guilty party.

gunas cosas les decian los tales medicos por dificilima que fuese, que no hiciesen. De aqui procedia que en teniendo qualquier hombre el primer hijo ó hija, luego perdia el padre su nombre y le llamaban el padre de Francisco*, y lo

which passage is translated in the Septuagint, "και ἀρτον ἀνδρων οὐ φαγεσθε," where the phrase ἀρτον ἀνδρων exactly corresponds in signification with the Mexican term *tlacatlacualli*, the latter being compounded of *tlacatl*, defined by Molina, in the hundred and fifteenth page of his Dictionary of the Mexican Language, to be 'hombre', a man, and of *tlaqualli*, otherwise spelt *tlacualli*, defined by the same author to be 'comida', *food* or bread. That it was a Hebrew custom, likewise, to lament in songs the deaths of warriors who had been slain in battle, is evident from the following passage of the thirty-fifth chapter of the second book of Chronicles, which thus describes the death of Josiah king of Judah, who was killed in an engagement with Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt. The same passage likewise proves that the dirges sung on such occasions were preserved in the recollection of the Jews for many years after the particular occasion for which they were composed. "After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho king of Egypt came up to fight against Charchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away, for I am sore wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and *all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.*" Notwithstanding the melancholy fate of Josiah, it need scarcely be observed that he was one of the Jewish kings most commended in Scripture for his piety, whose zeal for the extirpation of idolatry in Israel actually led him, on one memorable occasion, to immolate all the priests of the high places upon those very altars which they had consecrated to Baal, and publicly, in the presence of all the Jews, to offer *a human sacrifice* to the Deity, not unlike those which the Mexicans celebrated in honour of Huitzilopochtli. This remarkable fact in sacred history is recorded in the following passage of the twenty-third chapter of the second book of Kings, where the *manner* of Josiah's putting the priests to death assimilates his act to a sacrifice; since to sacrifice is to slay *a victim upon an altar* in honour of some deity; and Josiah's act was doubtless in honour of Jehovah. "And all the *houses* also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke the Lord to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he had done in Beth-el. And he *slew* all the priests of the high places that were there *upon* the altars, and *burned men's bones* upon them, and returned to Jerusalem." This immense massacre of human victims by Josiah may be compared with Ahuitzotl's sacrifice of seventy-five thousand men on one occasion at the shrine of Tezcatlipoca, with the intention, as it would appear, of doing honour to a religious festival: and in the same manner we learn that after the slaughter of the priests of Baal Josiah commanded the Jews to keep *their* passover, and that *such* a passover had never before been kept in Israel. The fourth analogy is strikingly exemplified in the following passage of the third chapter of Zechariah, where Joshua is described as being clothed in filthy garments, undoubtedly because the Jews, like the Mexicans, were accustomed to wear such garments as a sign of contrition for sin; and the Mosaic law required that the Jewish high priest should in his official character mourn for the sins of the people. "And he showed me Joshua the *high priest* standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing *at his right hand* to resist him. And the Lord said unto Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; even the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee: is not this a brand plucked out of the fire? Now Joshua *was clothed with filthy garments*, and stood before the angel. And he answered and spake unto those that stood before him, saying, *Take away the filthy garments from him.* And unto him he said, Behold, I have caused thine *iniquity* to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee *with change of raiment.*"

* This confirms what Adair says, in the three hundred and sixty-third page of the present volume, of its being customary with the Indians to name a father and mother by their children's names: for example, to call the father Choollingge, or 'the father of the fox', because his son was named 'the fox'; and the mother Pakahlishke, or 'the mother of the blossom', because her daughter was named 'the blossom', the adjunct syllables *ingge* and *ishke* here serving the purpose of affiliation. We may likewise remark, that it savours strongly of an idiomatic form of speech peculiar to the Jews, since all must admit that the difference is slight between the phrases 'Moses the *son* of Maimon' or 'Maimon the *father of* Moses'; and that the use of the former phrase would naturally have led to the adoption of the latter, both being intended to distinguish individuals of the same name from each other by adding a patronymic to their usual appellation, and either expression being merely the transposition of correlative terms. A similar form of speech occurs in the fourteenth verse of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where we read that Peter's *wife's mother* lay sick of a fever; and likewise in the fifty-sixth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of the same Evangelist, where he says that Mary Magdalene, and Mary the *mother of* James and Joses, and the *mother of* Zebedee's children, were present at the crucifixion. Two causes may be assigned for the constant and familiar use of such a form of speech among the Jews; the first in surnames not being used amongst the Hebrews; and secondly, in the extreme partiality which that people always manifested for genealogies and pedigrees, to which circumstance the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus alludes in the one hundred and seventy-third page of the sixth volume of this work, where he assigns that as a reason for supposing that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews. That the Jews were extremely fond of reasoning about genealogies in the age of St. Paul, is evident from that Apostle's admonition to Titus in the ninth verse of the third chapter of the Epistle addressed to that disciple. "But avoid foolish questions and *genealogies*, and contentions and strivings about the law, for they are unprofitable and vain." When we reflect on the theological controversies which from the age of the Apostles to the present time have agitated the peace of states, and

mismo si era hija perdia el nombre la madre, y llamabanla la madre de Juanica ó de Velica. Ya se ha dicho que ponian los nombres á los que nacian de los dias en que nacian. No es de pasar de aqui sin considerar en quanto aquellas gentes sin lumbre de fé tenian aquello por malo y dañoso á los hombres, que estimaban por pecado, y quanta diligencia ponian para limpiarse de él, teniendo por cierto que los *malos temporales* que les venian eran por los pecados. Y quanto es de creer que temieran cometer pecados, sabiendo que eran pecados, si alcanzaran conocimiento que despues de esta vida se daba premio eterno á los que no pecaban y vivian bien, y tormentos á los que hacian al contrario: y ciertamente parece que pocos pecados cometian, creyendo que eran pecados, antes todo su error en las costumbres y en el culto y religion era por ignorancia, ó por la mayor parte. Al proposito volviendo, en naciendo el hijo ó la hija, luego tomaban una *gallina** y la *sacrificaban*, ó la embiaban al sacerdote, que por ellos haciendo gracias, la sacrificaba. Todo su principal estudio principalmente era dar gracias á los dioses por haberles nacido hijo ó hija, aunque tubiesen otros hijos. Hacian *convites* á todos sus deudos y amigos y al mismo Señor supremo, cada uno segun la facultad que tenia. Cuando lavaban la criatura, ofrecian sacrificio de incienso y papagayos, el qual hacian en alguna buena fuente, y si no la habia, en un rio, y en alguna parte señalada de él, y donde mas corria ó si algun salto hacia. Todos los vasos y cosas que habian servido en el dia que la criatura nacido habia, y una piedra con que solian calentar el vientre de las mugeres paridas, dedicaban todo y ofrecian en la fuente ó en el rio."

Ablutions forming so essential a part of the ceremonial law of the Jews, it becomes important to inquire whether any traces of that rite, connected with the belief of *water being able to wash away sin*†, existed amongst the Mexicans; since it would necessarily follow, that if the Mexican code was derived from the Hebrew, it would have attached the same importance to all the Jewish rites and ceremonies, but more especially to those which were scrupulously observed by the Israelites whilst they continued zealously addicted to the law of God. We accordingly find that the Mexicans laid the greatest stress upon washings and ablutions; and hence ablutions, consisting of the total or partial immersion of the body into water, washing of the hands after meals, rinsing of vessels, &c., entered largely into all their religious rites and ceremonies, the due observance of which was particularly enjoined by their priests. Of the great importance which the Pharisees in the age of Christ attached to frequent washing of the hands and daily ablutions, we have a striking example in the following passage of the seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark, who thus records the anger which the Pharisees felt at perceiving the disciples dispensing with that part of their ceremonial law. "Then came together unto him the Pharisees, and certain of the Scribes, which came from Jerusalem. And when they saw *some* of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say with unwashen, hands, they found fault. For the Pharisees, and *all* the Jews, except they wash their hands oft, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders. And when they come from the market, except they wash, they eat not. And many other things there be, which they have received to hold, as the washing of cups, and pots, brasen vessels, and of tables. Then the Pharisees and Scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to *the tradition of the elders*, but *eat bread with unwashen hands*‡?" That the same adherence to the law of Moses and blind regard for the tradition of the elders existed to a great extent amongst the Indians of New Spain is asserted by Las Casas in the following passage of the hundred and eighty-second chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica', who declares that the Peruvians, and the Indians generally of New Spain and the islands of St. Domingo and Cuba, entertained the erroneous belief that *water could wash away sin*. "Hacian una cerimonia, como

frequently plunged Europe in warfare, it is much to be lamented that the Apostle, in making use of the expression 'foolish' in the above passage, did not more particularly define in what *sense* he intended the term to be understood.

* The hen on this occasion might have been considered a fit substitute for the pair of turtle-doves mentioned in the following passage of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, both being *domestic* birds, and the former, from its size, double the value of a single pigeon. "And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to *present* him to the Lord; (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;) and to offer *a sacrifice* according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons."

† Reference to the eighteenth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume will show that the Mexicans named the water which they used in the baptismal rite *the mother* of the infant. Without discussing in this place the real origin of the Mexican baptism, we shall merely observe that a probable reason for the selection of so strange an appellation for water will be found in the fifth verse of the third chapter of the Gospel of St. John; *Απεκριθη ὁ Ιησους· Αμην αμην λεγω σοι, ἐαν μη τις ΓΕΝΝΗΘΗ, ἐξ ὑδατος και πνευματος, οὐ δυναται εἰσελθειν εἰς την βασιλειαν του Θεου.* "Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be *born* of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

‡ The Mexican custom of washing the hands after meals has been already mentioned in the fifty-third page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume.

penitencia, quando se hallaban haber ofendido en algun pecado, y esta era que se iban al rio, y se desnudaban*, y lavaban todo. Creian, como ya es dicho, muchas naciones que las aguas tenian virtud de quitar ó lavar los pecados, *y esta erronia opinion creo que tenian y tubieron todas estas Indianas naciones;* pero tan frequentes y espesas veces se lavaban todos, no solo quando estaban sanos, pero quando muy enfermos, y como primer remedio y ultimo. Y en *esta isla* é islas, fue muy exercitada y frequentada esta cerimonia y uso. Si sentia el pecador que su pecado era grande, tomaba por penitencia y remedio *quemar*† *los vestidos* que á la sazon tenia quando lo cometio."

The ten commandments being that part of the Mosaic law which is held to be equally binding on Christians and Jews, it may not be improper to conclude the present note with the following extract from the third chapter of the second part of Diego Duran's inedited 'History of New Spain', from which it will appear that an exact similitude may even here be traced between the Mexican and Mosaic codes. "Note el lector cuan propiamente está contra-hecha esta cerimonia‡ endemoniada á la de nuestra Iglesia sagrada, que nos manda recibir el verdadero cuerpo y sangre de nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo, verdadero Dios y verdadero hombre, por Pascua florida, donde notaremos otra cosa, que la fiesta de este idolo se celebraba por Pascua florida, digo á diez de Abril, que por la mayor parte suele caer en el mismo tiempo y mes, que por ser fiesta movible cae á ocho ú diez dias unas veces mas otras veces menos; de lo cual se coligen dos cosas, *ó que hubo noticia*§, *como dejo dicho, de nuestra sagrada religion Cristiana en esta tierra;* ó que el maldito de nuestro adversario el Demonio las hacia contra-hacer en su servicio y culto, haciendose adorar y servir, contra-haciendo las catolicas cerimonias de la Cristiana religion como en otras muchas partes notaremos, y muy en particular en lo que en este mismo dia y fiesta se hacia, y era, que acabada la solemnidad y cerimonias, se subia

* It is evident from the fifth verse of the third chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, that baptism, or the immersion of the body into running streams as a mode of purification from sin, was a Hebrew rite of *general adoption* among the Jews before the advent, or at least the public ministry of Christ. When therefore Christ came to John the Baptist to be baptized, the latter is declared in the fourteenth verse of the same chapter of St. Matthew to have at first refused, well knowing that he who was sinless could stand in no need of water to wash away sin; but when Christ answered, "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness," in allusion no doubt to the righteousness of the law, and the propriety of acquiescing with the usages of his countrymen, then John consented to baptize him, Christ being at that time, as St. Luke informs us in the twenty-third verse of the third chapter of his Gospel, about thirty years of age.

† This particular kind of penance would certainly appear to have been prescribed by the priests in obedience to St. Jude in the twenty-third verse of his general Epistle: "And others, save with fear, pulling them out of the fire, *hating even the garment* spotted by the flesh."

‡ The Mexican *teoqualo*, or sacramental rite of eating the body of Huitzilopochtli, is that which Diego Duran supposes the devil instituted to counterfeit the communion, or Christian sacrament. Reference to the two hundred and twentieth page of the sixth volume of this work, will show that the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus nearly agreed with him on this curious and mysterious subject.

§ The following account of a sermon delivered by one of these dignitaries of the Mexican temples, is taken from the ninth chapter of the second part of Diego Duran's inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España': "Al cabo de estos *cuarenta* dias tan festejados y solemnizados, tomaban todos los cueros, y en el mismo templo del idolo Xipe, y abajo al pie de las gradas de él, los enterraban en el soterraño y bobeda dicha, la cual tenia una piedra movediza que se quitaba y se ponia. Enterrabanlos con cantos y solemnidad como á cosa *sagrada*, al cual entierro acudia toda la tierra á sus templos, donde acabado el entierro, habia un sermon muy solemne, el cual hacia una de las dignidades, todo de retorica y de metaforas con la mas elegante lengua que él podia ordenalle; en el cual sermon referia la miseria humana, la bajeza que somos, y lo mucho que debemos al que nos dió el ser que tenemos, amonestaba la vida quieta y pacifica, el temor, la reverencia y verguenza, la crianza y miramiento y buen comedimiento, la sugecion y obediencia, la caridad con los pobres y forasteros peregrinos, vedaba el hurtar, el fornicar y adulterar, y *desear lo ageno*, finalmente amonestaba todo genero de virtudes, y vedaba todo genero de males, *como un catolico predicador lo podia persuadir y predicar*, con todo el fervor del mundo, prometiendo al que cometiese aquestos delitos, que dejaria en esta vida nombre de malo y perverso, y que *descenderia al infierno* con la misma fama, y que seria allá tenido por tal; y á los buenos amonestaba y persuadia y prometia que permaneciesen en el bien y en su vida quieta y pacifica, que el Señor de las *alturas* le querria mucho y daria el galardon, y que saldria de esta vida para la otra con buen nombre y que *iria á ser allá muy honrado.* Todo esto que he dicho aqui, con lo demas *demuestra* haber tenido esta gente noticia de la ley de Dios y del sagrado evangelio, y de la bienaventuranza, pues predicaban haber *premio* por el bien y *pena* por el mal. Yo pregunte á Indios de los predicadores antiguos, y escribí los sermones que predicaban con la misma retorica y frasis suyo y metaforas *y realmente eran catolicos*, y que me pone admiracion la *noticia* que habia de la bienaventuranza y del descanso de la *otra vida*, y que para conseguirla era necesario el *vivir bien*; pero iba esto tan mezclado de sus idolatrias y *tan sangriento y abominable* que desdoraba todo el bien que se mezclaba; pero digolo á proposito de que hubo algun predicador en esta tierra que dejó la noticia dicha. Sea Nuestro Señor y Dios bendito y alabado para secula sin fin, que tubo por bien de sacar á estos miserables de tan gran servidumbre y ciegos errores, y destruir tan abominable sacrificio como de sangre y corazones de hombres se hacia al demonio, lo cual algunos conocen el bien que les vino con la suave ley de Dios, y alaban al dador de tan gran beneficio, el cual sea loado por siempre jamas."

un viejo de mucha autoridad de las dignidades del templo, y á voz alta predicaba su ley y cerimonias, *juntamente los diez mandamientos* que nosotros somos obligados á guardar; conviene á saber que temiesen y honrasen á sus Dioses y los amasen, los cuales eran tan honrados de ellos y reverenciados que el ofenderles se pagaba con la vida, harto con mas temor y reverencia que lo es nuestro Dios de nosotros; tambien el no tomar á sus Dioses en la boca* en ninguna materia ni platica, en *santificarlas* las fiestas con un rigor estraño† cumpliendo las cerimonias y ritos de ellas con sus ayunos y vigilias inviolablemente; el honrar á los padres y á las madres y á los parientes y á los sacerdotes y viejos; no hay gente en el mundo ni la ha habido, que con mas temor y reverencia honrase á sus mayores que esta, y asi á los que irreverenciaban á los viejos padres ó madres, les costaba la vida‡, y asi lo que mas esta gente encargaba á sus hijos y les enseñaba era reverenciar á los ancianos§ de todo genero de dignidad y condicion que fuesen, de donde venian á ser los sacerdotes de su ley tan estimados y reverenciados de grandes y chicos, de señores y populares, de ricos y de pobres, cuanto agora en nuestros infelices tiempos son de abatidos y menospreciados y menos honrados. El matar uno á otro era muy prohibido, y dado que no se castigaba con muerte natural‖, pagabase

* We have already observed, in the note subjoined to the one hundred and fortieth page of the Appendix to the present volume, that the Peruvians as scrupulously refrained from taking *the divine name in vain* as the ancient Jews; and their acquaintance with the *second* commandment may reasonably be inferred from the following passage of Mango Ynga's exhortation to his Peruvian subjects when about to flee from Spanish persecution to the Andes, as duly authenticated by his son Don Diego de Castro Titucusi Yupangui, in an official document presented by him to the King of Spain, and still preserved in the library of the Escurial. "Lo que mas haveis de hacer es que por ventura estos os diran que adoreis á lo que ellos (los Españoles) adoran, que son unos *paños pintados*, los cuales dicen *que es Viracocha*, y que le adoreis como á guaca, el cual no es sino paño. *No lo hagais*, sino lo que nosotros tenemos, *eso tened*, porque como veis, las Villcas hablan con nosotros, y al Sol y á la Luna vemoslos por nuestros ojos, y lo que esos dicen no lo vemos. Bien creo que alguna vez por fuerza ó con engaño os han de hacer adorar lo que ellos adoran: cuando mas no pudiereis hacerlo delante de ellos, y por otra parte *no olvideis nuestras cerimonias*, y si os digeren que quebranteis vuestras guacas, y esto por fuerza, mostrarles lo que no pudiereis hacer menos, y lo demas guardadlo, que en ello me dareis á mi mucho contento. Acabadas todas estas cosas arriba dichas, y otras muchas, despidióse mi padre de los Indios, trayendome á mi alli delante para les decir como yo era su hijo, y como despues de sus dias me havian de tener en su lugar por señor de todos ellos, el cual lo hizo y se levantó en pie para partirse de su gente, la cual cuando lo vió en pie, fueron tales y tan grandes los alaridos que todos comenzaron á dar, que parecia que se horadaban los cerros."

† The institution of sabbaths, or stated days of rest from all manual labour, formed so peculiar a feature in the Mosaic law, and was so characteristic of Judaism, that it is but reasonable to suppose that the Mexicans, if descended from the Jews, would have retained some memorial of this long-established usage of their ancestors. We are accordingly informed by Diego Duran, in the following passages of the second chapter of the second part of his History of New Spain, that they religiously refrained from all work on their principal festivals, including in the number not only their *new moons*, but likewise the *first sign* of their lesser cycles of thirteen days, which, as we are assured by Sahagun, constituted the moveable feasts of their calendar: "De estas semanas no he podido hallar otra cosa de que hacer relacion, ni de que este numero de dias sirviese de otra cosa mas de honrar y festejar las veinte figuras, y darles dia particular en que se solemnizasen una vez en el año, y *digo una vez en el año*, porque aunque el numero uno se cumpliese dos veces con el discurso del año y rueda, la primera que le cabia la celebraban y hacian fiesta, pero la segunda no, *aunque holgaban el dia y le guardaban como á Domingo y principio de semana*, porque eran tan amigos de fiestas que no perdonaban dia que fuese *de holgar*, y asi todo el año se les iba á estos naturales en fiestas, porque ellos tenian las fiestas de sus principales dioses y diosas, luego tenian las fiestas que cada principio de mes celebraban que era de veinte en veinte dias, luego celebraban *los primeros dias de la semana de trece en trece dias*, tan entretejidas y continuas que se atropellaban unas con otras, de donde se entiende y se colige ser esta gente tan aragana y enemiga del trabajo y tan holgazana y amiga de fiestas y banquetes y areytos como vemos, y el dia de hoy experimentan los ministros que entre ellos en su ministerio andan ocupados..... En cada *principio* de mes en el dia que nombramos Cabeza de Sierpe, celebraban una fiesta solemnisima como adelante en el calendario veremos, la cual era tan guardada y festejada, *que ni aun barrer la casa ni hacer de comer no se permitia, todo lo cual del dia antes habia de quedar hecho y aderezado.* Esta figura primera era como *letra Dominical* donde celebraban en toda la tierra generalmente aquel dia, harto con mas rigor que nosotros celebramos el Domingo, *con el mismo celo que los Judios celebraban el sabado y le guardaban.*"

‡ This was in accordance with the law of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus: "And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death." "And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death." The great power which the Mosaic law gave Hebrew parents over their children has been already explained in the note subjoined to the fifty-eighth page of the sixth volume of this work; and it deserves to be remarked, in illustration of the law of the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy, that Tariacuri, the king of Michuacan, is said, in a manuscript preserved in the library of the Escurial, to have condemned his son Curatame to death, "porque se emborrachaba," because he was a drunkard, which sentence was carried into execution by emissaries secretely dispatched by the king.

§ This corroborates the account of the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus in the two hundred and thirty-first page of the sixth volume of this work.

‖ Diego Duran must here be understood to allude to homicide, to which crime the Mexican laws afforded the same degree of impunity

por muerte civil, el cual daban por esclavo perpetuo de la muger ó de los parientes del muerto, paraque les sirviese y ganase el sustento de los hijos que dejaba. Tambien se prohibia el fornicar y adulterar*, de suerte que si tomaban á uno en adulterio, le hechaban una soga á la garganta y le *apedreaban* y apaleaban, y le arrastraban por toda la ciudad, y despues lo hechaban fuera de la ciudad paraque fuese *comido de fieras*. Lo mismo del hurtar se guardaba harto mas que no se guarda agora, pues al que hurtaba, ó le mataban ó vendian por el precio del hurto. Tambien huian de no levantar falso testimonio, dando pena al que lo levantaba†, y asi los que habian caido en estos pecados y quebrantado la ley, andaban siempre temerosos y pidiendo á estos dioses favor para no ser descubierto; el perdon‡ de los cuales delitos era de cuatro en cuatro años como jubileo, donde tenian *remision* de ellos en la fiesta de Tezcatlypuca." Having considered at sufficient length the laws and the civil institutions of the Mexicans, and carefully compared their ritual enactments with those of the Jews, something remains to be said of the punishments which they inflicted on persons accused of a violation of the laws, all of which betray the unequivocal marks of Judaism, and are deeply tinctured with the sanguinary features of the Mosaic law; they are thus briefly described by Diego Duran in the twentieth chapter of the second part of his inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España.' "Dicen algunas personas que

as the ancient Hebrew code. There are few persons, we believe, who on reading the nineteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, and comparing its enactments with the ordinance of the twenty-first chapter of Exodus, "And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and *he die* under his hand; he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he *continue a day or two*, he shall not be punished, for he is his money,"—will not feel disposed to ask two questions; first, Whether it is not probable that Moses might have legislated with less severity in the case of homicides from his recollection of the culpable act which caused his own flight from Egypt, of which a more particular account will be found in the twelfth verse of the second chapter of Exodus? and secondly, Whether the slight importance which he attached in the Pentateuch to the murder of a slave by his master, might not have induced the Mexicans to consider the life of a slave, especially when offered as a human sacrifice, a matter of very trivial moment? That the more Northern American Indian tribes drew the same line of distinction between premeditated murder and homicide as the Jews, will immediately appear from the perusal of the following extract from 'Tanner's Narrative of his Captivity among the Indians,' which gives an account of a homicide committed by an Indian belonging to the Ottawwaw tribe, under the peculiar circumstances of intoxication. "It was evident to all, that the young man he had wounded could not recover; indeed he was now manifestly near his end. When our companion returned, we had made up a considerable present, one giving a blanket, one a piece of strouding, some one thing and some another. With these he immediately returned, and placing them on the ground beside the wounded man, he said to the relatives who were standing about, My friends, I have, as you see, killed this your brother, but I knew not what I did, I had *no ill will* against him; and when a few days since he came to our camp I was glad to see him. But drunkenness made me a fool, and my life is justly forfeited to you. I am poor and among strangers, but some of those who came from my own country with me would gladly bring me back to my parents; they have therefore sent me with this small *present*. My life is in your hands, and *my present* is before you; take whichever you choose; my friends will have no cause to complain. He then sat down beside the wounded man, and stooping his head hid his eyes with his hands, and waited for them to strike. But the mother of the man he had wounded, an old woman, came a little forward and said, For *myself and my children*, I can answer that we wish not to take your life, but I cannot promise to protect you from the resentment of *my husband*, who is now absent: nevertheless *I will accept your present*; and whatever influence I may have with him, I shall not fail to use it in your behalf. I know that it was not *from design* or on account of any *previous hatred* that you have done this, and why should your mother be made to cry as well as myself?"

* The changes which time introduces into penal legislation are strikingly illustrated by the contrast exhibited in the punishments which the laws of modern nations and those of the Mosaic code adjudge to the same kinds and degrees of guilt; yet no one will contend that the nature of justice has undergone any change since the creation of the world, or consequently that the claims of offended justice are at all altered within that period. Amongst the ancient Jews, for example, adultery was punished with death, whilst rape committed under the most aggravated circumstances, provided the female was neither a married nor a *betrothed* woman, was only visited with a pecuniary fine, with the further condition, it should be observed, annexed that the man should be compelled to marry the woman, and should not be empowered afterwards to divorce her, which in other cases the Hebrew law allowed. A slight acquaintance with the Greek language will enable the reader to comprehend the meaning of the phrase βιασαμενος, and will clear up the apparent ambiguity of expression in our authorized English version of the twenty-eighth verse of the twenty-second chapter of Deuteronomy.

† Gabriel de Chaves remarks in the following passage of his inedited 'Relacion de la Provincia de Meztitlan,' that the Indians of that state punished false witnesses by causing them to undergo the self-same sentence as would have been inflicted on the persons whom they accused, if their testimony had been found true. This we learn, from the nineteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, was the punishment which the Mosaic law adjudged to false witnesses. "Al testigo falso ó delator que levantaba testimonio, daban *la misma pena* que al reo se habia de dar, siendo convencido." We may here observe that Meztitlan was a small independent state, situated to the north of Mexico. Its name, the literal signification of which is 'the country of the moon,' De Chaves supposes might have originated in the Indians of that province being accustomed to attack their enemies by the light of the full moon or from the figure of the moon sculptured on a steep and almost inaccessible rock of their territory.

‡ This confirms what Adair says in the three hundred and twenty-sixth page of the present volume, of the Indian annual expiation for sin.

tubieron horca* en que ahorcaban los delincuentes; yo he preguntado é inquirido *todo lo posible*, y no hallo mas de cuatro generos de muertes con que estos castigaban los delitos; el uno era *apedrear á los adulteros* y echarlos fuera

* It would hence appear that hanging was a mode of execution very unusual amongst the Mexicans; and that it was seldom resorted to by the Jews was probably owing to some scruple which they felt about permitting their judges to aggravate the punishment of death by adding the *curse of God* to the extreme sentence of the law, or by the fear of a possible *defilement* of the holy land, the chance of which is particularly pointed out by Moses in the following passage of the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy. "And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is *accursed* of God;) that thy land *be not defiled*, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance." It deserves to be remarked, that St. Paul refers in the thirteenth verse of the third chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians to this very passage of Deuteronomy in proof of his particular doctrine of justification, making no distinction there between death by *hanging* on a tree and death by *crucifixion*. Could it be possible, we shall here take the liberty of inquiring, that the Indians of Yucatan, in order more perfectly to prove the fulfilment of the type, and confirm St. Paul's doctrine of justification, invented the story of Bacab having been *tied* to the cross, and so '*being made a curse for us*' rather than of his having been nailed to the accursed *tree*, as the cross is sometimes named in Scripture? to which tradition there is an evident allusion in the sixty-sixth page of the lesser Vatican MS., where, however, a *tree* is substituted in the place of a cross, and the two units in the lower compartment of the plate may possibly refer to the sign of the Cane, on which sign the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus says, in the hundred and eighty-sixth page of the sixth volume of the present work, that Quetzalcoatl was born. This tradition is recorded by Las Casas in the following passage of the one hundred and twenty-third chapter of his inedited 'Historia Apologetica,' and it fully authenticates the testimony of Torquemada in the hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of this work. "En el reyno de Yucatan quando los nuestros le descubrieron, hallaron cruces, y una de cal y canto de altura de diez palmos, en medio de un patio ó cercado muy lucido y almenado, junto á un muy solemne templo, y muy visitado de mucha gente devota, en la Isla de Cozumel, que esta junto á la tierra firme de Yucatan. A esta cruz se dice que tenian y adoraban por dios del agua y lluvia, y quando habia falta de agua le sacrificaban codornices como se dira. Preguntado de donde habia habido noticia de aquella señal, respondieron que un hombre muy hermoso habia pasado por alli y les habia dejado aquella señal para que de él siempre se acordasen. Otros, dice, que afirmaban que porque habia muerto en ella un hombre mas resplandeciente que el sol. Esto refiere Pedro Martir en el capitulo primero de su cuarta decada. Otra cosa referire yo harto nueva en todas las Indias, y que hasta hoy en ninguna parte de ellas se ha hallado: y esta es, que como aquel reyno entrase tambien por cercania dentro de los limites de mi obispado de Chiapa, yo fui alli á desembarcar como á tierra y puerto muy sano: hallé alli un clerigo bueno, de edad madura y honrado, que sabia la lengua de los Indios por haber vivido en el algunos años, y por pasar adelante á la cabeza del obispado me era necesario constituirlo por mi vicario, y roguele y encargele por la tierra adentro anduviese visitando los Indios, y con cierta forma que le di les predicase. El qual al cabo de ciertos meses, y aun creo que de un año, me escribió que habia hallado un señor principal, que inquiriendole de su creencia y religion antigua que por aquel reyno solian tener, le dijo, que ellos conocian y creian en Dios que estaba en el cielo, y que aqueste Dios era Padre y Hijo y Espiritu Santo; y que el Padre se llamaba Ycona, que habia criado á los hombres y todas las cosas: el Hijo tenia por nombre Bacab, el qual nació de una doncella siempre virgen llamada Civirias que esta en el cielo con Dios: al Espiritu Santo nombraban Echuac: Ycona, dicen que quiere decir el gran Padre. De Bacab que es el Hijo dicen, que lo mató Eopuco y lo hizo azotar, y puso una corona de espinas, y que lo puso tendidos los brazos en un palo, *no entendiendo que estaba clavado sino atado*, y asi para los significar estendia los brazos, donde finalmente murió. Estubo tres dias muerto, y al tercero que tornó á vivir y se subió al cielo, y que allá esta con su padre. Despues de esto luego vino Echuac, que es el Espiritu Santo, y que hartó la tierra de todo lo que era menester. Preguntado que queria decir Bacab ó Bacabab, dijo que hijo del gran Padre. Y de este nombre Echuac, que significa mercader, trujo el Espiritu Santo al mundo y buenas mercaderias, pues hartó la tierra, que son los hombres terrenos de sus dones y gracias tan divinas y abundantes. Chivirias suena madre del hijo del gran Padre. Añidia mas, que por tiempo se habian de morir todos los hombres, pero que de la resurreccion de la carne no sabian nada. Preguntado como tenian noticias de estas cosas, respondió que los señores lo enseñaban á sus hijos y asi descendia de mano en mano: y que afirmaban mas, que antiguamente vinieron á aquella tierra veinte hombres, de los quince señala los nombres, que porque es mala letra, y *porque no hace al caso* aqui no los pongo, de los otros cinco dice el clerigo que no halló rastro. El principal de ellos se llamaba Cocolcan, á este llamaron dios de las fiebres ó calenturas, dos de los otros del pescado, otros dos de los cortijos ó heredades, otro que truena, &c. Traian las ropas largas, sandalias por calzado, las barbas grandes, y no traian bonetes sobre las cabezas. Los quales mandaban que se confesasen las gentes y ayunasen, y que algunos ayunaban *el viernes* porque habia muerto aquel dia Bacab, y tiene por nombre aquel dia *Ymis*, al qual honran y tienen devocion por la muerte de Bacab. Los señores *todas* estas particularidades saben, pero la gente popular solamente creen las tres personas Ycona y Bacab y Echuac, y Chivirias la madre de Bacab, y en la madre de Chivirias llamada Yschen, que nosotros decimos haber sido Santa Ana. Todo lo de suso dicho me escribió aquel padre clerigo llamado Francisco Hernandez, y entre mis papeles tengo su carta. Digo mas, que llevó aquel señor ante un frayle de San Francisco que por alli estaba, y lo tornó á decir todo delante el religioso de que ambos quedaron admirados. Si estas cosas son verdad, parece haber sido en aquella tierra nuestra santa fé notificada, pero como en ninguna parte de las Indias habemos tal nueva hallado? Puesto que en la tierra del Brasil que poseen los Portugueses se imagina hallarse rastro de Santo Tomas, pero como aquella nueva no voló adelante? Todavia ciertamente la tierra y reyno de Yucatan da á entender cosas mas especiales y de mayor tiempo y antiguedad por los grandes y admirables y esquisita manera de edificios antiquisimos, y *letreros de ciertos caracteres* que en otra ninguna parte. Finalmente secretos son estos que solo Dios lo sabe." The concluding words of this passage suggest to us the reflection that nearly three hundred years have elapsed since Las Casas recorded his admiration of the sumptuous

de la ciudad *á los perros y auras**: á los fornicarios de fornicacion simple con virgen dedicada al templo, ó hija de

temples and architectural monuments of Yucatan, and that during the whole of that long period scarcely any European, animated by curiosity or a love of science, has visited that sequestered region of America for the express purpose of viewing its ancient edifices, and connecting their history with that of some long-forgotten race of men, and that none have published a description of them. When therefore Mr. Waldeck, an individual of high respectability and a gentleman of distinguished talents as an artist, has undertaken the labour of exploring its ruins for the sole purpose of making drawings of them on the spot and publishing a correct description of them, it is deeply to be regretted that any difficulties should have been thrown in his way by persons who appear infinitely more desirous to have 'the sphynx at home,' as Cicero wittily observed of Verres, than anxious that the public should benefit by the contents of that gentleman's portfolio. Passing over that subject, however, we shall merely, observe, that if Mr. Waldeck continues as successfully as he has begun to prosecute his researches in Yucatan and Guatemala, it is probable that the public will be favoured with such a work on the architecture and sculpture of the Indians, as will not only be unique in its kind but reflect the greatest light on the page of history and the communications which have taken place between the two hemispheres in very remote and distant ages. That the information of Las Casas was correct, where he says, that Yucatan contained great and superb ruins, exquisitely adorned with architectural embellishments, will immediately appear from the perusal of the following extract from the second chapter of the first part of Fuente's inedited History of Guatemala, a copy of which is preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, descriptive of the ancient monuments of Guatemala, and whose account singularly corroborates what M. Dupaix says, in the four hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of this work, of the amazing extent and perfection to which the art of *subterranean* architecture was carried in the New World. "Que en él habia numerosisimas y grandes ciudades con magnificos y decorosos edificios, lo asienta asi la verdad indelible de mi Castillo, llamandolos recios pueblos por lo numeroso que eran, pues havia poblaciones de ocho y de diez mil casas, siendo de tal calidad lo que hallaron erigido los conquistadores gloriosos de ete reyno de Goatemala, que hablando con Alvarado alegres y consolados le decian, que no tenia que hechar menos á Mexico con lo que havian descubierto. Y hoy se comprueba notoriedad de esta opinion con lo que vemos vestigioso, y en otras partes en pie de ostentativas machinas materiales, en lo que se admira en el Quiche Tecpangoatemala, pueblo antiguo de Mixco, edificios de Gueguetenango, de Chialchitan á modo de fortalezas, y otros admirablemente ordenados en la provincia de la Vera Paz, y la fabrica maravillosa y *subterranea* del pueblo de Puchuta, que siendo de firmisima y solida argamasa *camina y corre por lo interior de la tierra por distancia prolongada de nueve leguas hasta el pueblo de Tecpangoatemala,* que es argumento y prueva del soberano poder de aquellos reyes, y numerosidad sin calculo de los vasallos que los obedecian, fuera de que asi para esto como para testimonio de sus grandes fabricas, tambien autoriza esta opinion la fortaleza de Parrasquin, que se ve bajando de Totonicapa á la costa del Sur." When we recall to our recollection the stupendous monuments of the ancient Egyptians, and especially what Herodotus says of the subterranean architecture of the Labyrinth, which glorious pile was built on the banks of lake Mœris by twelve contemporary rulers of Egypt,—recollecting at the same time that what human art and labour has accomplished in any one climate may under similar circumstances and with the same means be accomplished in another, we may cease to wonder at or at least to discredit the account here given by Fuentes of the subterranean architecture of the city of Puchuta. That the Indians should however have been able to work the immense blocks of granite, of which many of their structures are composed, into a regular shape and perfect square form without the use of iron, and simply by means of rubbing one stone against another, as Dr. Robertson seems to suppose, is what it is utterly impossible to credit; but that it was possible to give a beautiful polish to their cut stones by the application of such means is highly probable, since Herodotus, making a distinction between the kinds of stone which the Egyptians used in their edifices, informs us that one kind was τμητος, or cut, and the other ξεστος, or rubbed. To attempt to prove that the Jews were acquainted with all or most of the mechanical arts of the Egyptians is a useless task, since that must have been the necessary consequence of their long residence in Egypt and of their being employed in masonry by their Egyptian taskmasters We may observe, in concluding this note, that Garcia affirms in the note subjoined to the one hundred and ninetieth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, that paintings were discovered by the early Spanish missionaries in the possession of the Indians of Quic Chapa, in which were represented the principal events of the creation, the deluge, the tower of Babel, and the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea, and likewise the Virgin Mary, with the Holy Ghost painted on her head in the form of a dove, encircled with rays of glory, which the Indians named Xipijbitao, which is another confirmation of the account given by Hernandez to Las Casas, of the Indians of Yucatan being acquainted with the doctrine of the Trinity and the incarnation, which doctrine Vanegas asserts was known likewise to the Indians of California, and which deserves to be compared with what Torquemada says on the same subject in the hundred and sixty-third page of the sixth volume of the present work.

* To be eaten by dogs was a judgement pronounced by Elijah the Tishbite against Ahab king of Israel and Jezebel his wife, who was a notorious adulteress, and whose fate was decreed by God himself in the following passage of the ninth chapter of the second book of Kings: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of the Lord, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab *thy master*, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the Lord, at the hand of Jezebel. For the whole house of Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off from Ahab him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is *shut up* and left in Israel: and I will make the house of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah: and the *dogs shall eat Jezebel* in the portion of Jezreel, and there shall be *none to bury her*." Whether this prophecy of Elijah might have led to the decapitation of the seventy sons of Ahab by Jehu the captain of his host and the usurper of his throne, as recorded in the tenth chapter of the same book of Kings, can only at this distance of time be matter of surmise; but it is a certain fact that Saul, imputing the rebellion of David to a conspiracy sanctioned by the high priest Ahimelech, and to the declaration of Samuel in the twenty-eighth verse of the fifteenth chapter of his first book, that God had rent the kingdom from him because he had spared the life of Agag the king of the Amalekites, made a most unmerciful massacre of nearly the entire of the Hebrew priesthood, as

honrados parentes, ó con parienta, apaleado y quemado*, y echadas las cenizas al aire†. Otra muerte habia que era *arrastrar*‡ los delincüentes con una soga por el pescuezo y hecharlos en las lagunas, y estos eran á los sacrilegos que

recorded by Samuel in the nineteenth verse of the twenty-second chapter of the same book: "And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and *sucklings*, and oxen, and asses, and sheep, with the edge of the sword. And *one* of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, named Abiathar, escaped, and fled after David." On this occasion Saul would appear to have determined to fulfill the sentence of utter destruction against the priests, which they were indignant at his not having executed against the Amalekites, and therefore to have put to death Ahimelech the high priest, who is said in the sixth verse of the twenty-first chapter of the first book of Samuel, to have given David the shew-bread, which does not agree with what Christ says to the Pharisees in the twenty-sixth verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark; whence it is evident that the book of Samuel must have been falsified, or that St. Mark must have mistaken the words which fell from the lips of Christ on the particular occasion to which he alludes.

* We learn from the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis, that the Jews were accustomed in ancient times to burn women who committed fornication, and thereby brought disgrace on their families; since this sentence was pronounced by the patriarch Judah against his own daughter-in-law Tamar, in the twenty-fourth verse of the same chapter of Genesis, who nevertheless at the time of her supposed guilt was an unmarried woman, who had long outlived her husband Onan.

† The Jewish custom of scattering the ashes of bodies reputed to be accursed to the winds or the waves of some running stream, has already been noticed in the one hundred and fifty-second page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume.

‡ The custom of dragging criminals to the place of execution, and embowelling those guilty of high treason, is deduced by a recent editor of Blackstone's Commentaries from Scripture precedent and the ancient usages of the Jews, who particularly instances the two cases of Bigthan and Abiathar. We may therefore suppose with equal degree of probability that the Mexican punishments of dragging, embowelling, burning, impaling, crucifying, putting out the eyes, flaying alive, cutting in pieces, throwing to wild beasts, running through the body, and casting from precipitous heights, were founded on Hebrew precedent and the laws of Moses in the Pentateuch. Of each of these modes of punishment, with the exception of impaling, examples might be adduced from Scripture, two of which, however, it will be sufficient to refer to here in proof of the truth of this assertion. These two last-mentioned punishments were running through the body with a lance (asaetear), and casting from a precipitous height, which latter kind of execution, though speedy in its effects, must, it will be confessed, have been a very awful mode of death for even spectators to witness. Of the first of these punishments we have an example in the eighth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Numbers, where an adulterer and adulteress were run through the body with a javelin by Phinehas the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, at which the Lord is said to have been so satisfied, that the plague which had destroyed *twenty-four thousand men*, was immediately stayed, and the promise of an everlasting priesthood, which of course still exists amongst the ten tribes—for in the tribe of Judah it *cannot* be discovered—was made to Phinehas for that very act, or, as it says in the thirteenth verse of the same chapter of Numbers, because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for Israel, which leads us to observe that to no religious rites were the Mexican priests so addicted, and none did they consider so acceptable in the eyes of the Deity, as offerings of *atonement*, by which perhaps they thought to verify in their own favour God's promise of an *everlasting* priesthood to Phinehas and his seed, by which expression, notwithstanding the evasions of modern commentators on the prophecies, must undoubtedly be meant the Levites, the descendants of Aaron, Jews by birth as well as by profession. Of the second of the abovementioned punishments we have an example in the twenty-fifth chapter of the second book of Chronicles, where the children of *Judah* and their king are said to have cast *ten thousand prisoners*, whom they took from the Edomites, from the top of a steep and precipitous rock. This revolting act of cruelty is thus recorded by the author of the book of Chronicles in the following passage of the abovementioned chapter, and strange to say not in any expressed terms of disapprobation; on the contrary, the title prefixed to that chapter is "Amaziah beginneth to reign well." "And Amaziah strengthened himself, and led forth his people, and went to the valley of salt, and smote of the children of Seir ten thousand; and other ten thousand left alive did the *children of Judah* carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, and *cast them down from the top of the rock*, that they all were broken in pieces." This inhumanity of the Jews to their prisoners some will perhaps justify in the old way, by saying that these captives were *devoted* to death by the Lord, and that to cast them from the rock was only to fulfill the sentence of utter destruction which ages before had been pronounced against the Canaanites and the other idolatrous nations of the Holy Land. To this specious reasoning we shall only reply by observing, that the Edomites were not included in the sentence of destruction pronounced against the other idolatrous nations of Palestine, but were, on the contrary, particularly excepted from it, and for the reason assigned in the following provision of the seventh verse of the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is *thy brother*," which alludes to the descent of the Edomites from Esau, the elder brother of Jacob. That the same mode of punishment was practised in later ages by the Jews, is evident from the account contained in the following passage of the fourth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, of the Jews *of Nazareth* leading Christ up the brow of a hill with the intention of casting him headlong to the ground: "And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might *cast him down headlong*." Future commentators on Blackstone's writings who may agree with the learned annotator of the earlier editions, that Scripture precedent and the ancient usages of the Jews warrant the introduction of new forms of trial, and new modes of punishment into the English code of law, will peruse with interest the following passage of the twentieth chapter of the first book of Chronicles, where a precedent for torturing criminals to death is recorded in terms which would not displease the grand master of the Inquisition, or any of the members of that holy fraternity: "And he brought also exceeding much spoil out of the city. And he brought out the people that were in it, and *cut them with saws*, and *with harrows of iron*, and *with axes*. Even so dealt David with *all* the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and *all* the people returned to Jerusalem."

hurtaban las cosas sagradas de los templos. La cuarta manera era la del sacrificio donde iban á parar los esclavos, donde unos morian *abiertos por medio*, otros degollados, otros *quemados*, otros *aspados*, otros *asaeteados*, otros *despeñados*, otros empalados, otros dessollados, con los mas crueles* é inhumanos sacrificios inventados por Satanas para vengarse aun en este mundo del genero humano, que se pueden imaginar ni pensar, ni caer en entendimiento humano, por ser los mas atroces y endemoniados que en el mundo hombres inventaron para servir y reverenciar á sus dioses imaginarios. Estas sentencias ya estaban dadas en la ley† conforme al delito, y asi los jueces oian el delito y hacian la informacion, y convencido, iba la causa al teniente real, y él la manifestaba al mismo rey, y el mismo firmaba la ley y decia se cumpliese en aquel delincuente, lo cual luego se ejecutaba *sin aceptacion de personas*, aunque fuese en su propio hijo; sobre lo cual podria traer grandes ejemplos de los reyes y grandes señores de estos Indios á quien tenemos por barbaros, que no perdonaron á sus propios hijos, ni quisieron que las leyes se quebrantasen en ellos

* The punishments sanctioned by the Peruvian laws were of a no less cruel description, as will immediately appear from the perusal of the following passage of the third part of Oviedo's inedited 'Historia General de las Indias,' in which the Inga Guaynacapa is said to have sentenced the entire population, both male and female, of a certain populous district to be deprived of the teeth of their upper jaw, for having committed some crime which provoked his anger. The nature of the crime is not explained; but if it was for profaning the religion of Pachacama, whom the Peruvians believed to be the sole creator of the universe and the one invisible God, or even rebelling against the authority of his vicegerents on earth, which the Ingas professed themselves to be, it was not unlikely that this judgement was to verify the anathema of David against God's enemies, in the sixth verse of the fifty-eighth Psalm: "*Break their teeth*, O God, in their mouth: *break out* the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord:" to the accomplishment of which imprecation there would appear to be an evident allusion in the seventh verse of the third Psalm: "Arise, O Lord; save me, O my God: for thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheek bone; thou *hast broken the teeth* of the ungodly." Reference to the twentieth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus, where it expressly says, eye for eye, *tooth* for *tooth*, would render it probable that to draw out the teeth was an exceedingly common mode of punishment among the Jews, since the law of retaliation for knocking out teeth must frequently have been put in force amongst them, and that law must of necessity have had officers to carry its fiat into execution. We have already observed, in the eighty-second page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, that the Ingas borrowed many customs from the Jews, especially that of trampling upon the bodies of their captives; to which custom David likewise alludes in the following passages of the eighteenth and forty-seventh Psalms: "Thou hast also given me the *necks* of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me." "He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations *under our feet*." And it must be admitted, that if the Peruvians borrowed one custom from the Jews in order to verify the denunciation of David against his enemies, they would have been equally likely to borrow another from them for the self-same reason. The following is the passage in Oviedo's 'History of the Indies,' to which we have above alluded: "Entre la punta de Santa Elena é Tumbez hay un rio muy grande y bien poblado, la gente que lo habita andan todos *desdentados*, que no tienen dientes en la mandibula superior, asi hombres como mugeres, que por cierto delito que hicieron, el Cuzco alias Guaynacaba, padre de Atabaliba, les impuso aquella *penitencia*, é al presente la guardan." "Between the point of St. Helena and Tumbez there is a very large and populous river, the inhabitants of which are all deprived of their teeth, having no teeth, either men or women, in their upper jaw, who, for a certain crime which they had committed, were sentenced by Cuzco, or Guaynacaba, the father of Atabaliba, to that particular penance, which they still observe." Assuming it as a highly probable fact that the Mexicans recorded in their paintings the denunciations of the Hebrew prophets against Jerusalem, which probability is almost reduced to certainty in the three hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of the present work, the emotion of terror exhibited in the attitude of three of the figures represented in the first page of the Codex Borgianus, the position of whose hands *upon their loins* is very expressive of surprise and horror, might lead one to suppose, if the word 'blackness' be substituted for 'paleness', that they were acquainted with the exclamation of Jeremiah, in the sixth verse of the thirtieth chapter of his prophecies: "Ask ye now, and see whether a man doth travail with child? wherefore do I see every man with *his hands on his loins*, as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into paleness? Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it: it is even the time of Jacob's trouble; but he shall be saved out of it." We must at the same time observe, that "All faces shall gather *blackness*," was a denunciation of the prophet Joel in the sixth verse of the second chapter of his prophecies.

† We had almost forgotten to mention two usages of the Mexicans, which Zorita classes under the head of laws, and which are so characteristic of their national manners that they deserve to be noticed in this place; the first, it may be remarked, singularly agrees with the manners of some of the North American Indian tribes, and the second with the Mosaic law against usury, in the nineteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury. Unto a *stranger* thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto *thy brother* thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it." These usages are noticed in the following passage of that author's inedited 'Relacion Sumaria de los modos y differencias de los Señores que hay en la Nueva España': "Si se soltaba algun principal que habian preso los contrarios en la guerra y *se iva á los suyos*, lo mandaban *luego matar*, diciendo que pues no habia sido hombre para los suyos y para defenderse y no morir en la guerra, que *muriera preso*, que era mas honra que no *volver fugitivo*. Tenian asi mismo leyes para hacer esclavos, y en el comprar y vender, y no se usaba entre ellos *dar á logro*, y si algo se prestaba era liberalmente sobre la palabra, ó sobre *prendas*. Tenian y usaban muchos oficios mecanicos, y con gran orden y concierto, como adelante se dira."

pudiendo, ni que el favor de ser hijos de reyes y grandes fuese ejemplo de mal á la republica y escandalos, ejecutando en ellos las muertes* conforme á sus delitos, y con aquello entendian quedar libres de la macula que de tener hijos mal criados y desmesurados se les atribuia á los padres, de lo cual recibian gran afrenta, de que nadie les dijese que castigase á su hijo que era desvergonzado y atrevido."

* History relates that Nezahualcoyotl, the celebrated king of Tezcuco, put to death his son, the hereditary prince Tetzauhpiltzintli, the elder brother of Nezahualpilli, his father's successor on the throne, because, as Ixtlilxochitl remarks in his inedited 'Relaciones Historicas', he was "muy sobervio y demasiado de belicoso," very proud and exceedingly warlike; and Nezahualpilli likewise put to death his son Huexatzicatzin. The example recorded in the tenth chapter of Leviticus, of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, having been burnt by fire from the Lord, and of the severe judgement which befell Eli on account of the wickedness of his two sons Hophni and Phinehas, as recorded in the twenty-ninth verse of the second chapter of the first book of Samuel, coupled with the history of Absalom's rebellion against his father king David, might have disposed the Mexican kings not to relax the severity of the law in the case of their own children.

☞ The denial of Las Casas in a preceding page, that the Mexicans believed in the immortality of the soul and in a future state of rewards and punishments, is quite unaccountable; since it is evident from many passages of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, that they believed in hell, but especially from the seventh chapter, which contains the following curious exhortation of a Mexican priest to a penitent whom he had confessed, and to whom he was about to grant *absolution* of his sins. "O hermano, has venido á un lugar de mucho peligro y de mucho trabajo y espanto, donde esta una *barranca* precisa y de peña tajada, que nadie que cae una vez en ella puede jamas salir. Has venido asimismo al lugar donde los *lazos* y *redes* estan asidos los unos con los otros, y sobrepuestos los unos á los otros, de manera que nadie puede pasar sin caer en alguna de ellos; y no solamente lazos y redes, pero *hoyos* como *pozos*. Tu mismo te arrojaste en la barranca del rio, y caiste en los lazos y redes, donde por ti mismo no es posible que salgas. Estos son tus pecados, que no solamente son lazos y redes y pozos en que has caido, pero tambien son bestias fieras que *matan* y despedazan el cuerpo y el *anima*. Por ventura has ocultado alguno ó algunos de tus pecados graves y enormes, sucios y hediondos, los quales ya estan publicos[1] en el cielo y en la tierra y en el infierno, y hieden hasta el postrero del mundo? Ya has agora presentadote *delante* del humanisimo señor nuestro y amparador de todos, al qual ofendistes y enojastes y provocastes su ira contra ti; el qual mañana ú esotro dia te ha de sacar de este mundo, y ponerte *debajo de sus pies*, y te embiara á la universal *casa* del infierno, adonde esta *tu padre* y tu madre, el dios y la diosa del infierno, abiertas las bocas con deseos de *tragarte* á ti y á quantos hay en el mundo. Alli te será dado lo que tu *mereciste* en este mundo segun la *justicia divina*, y lo que le demandaste con tus obras de pobreza y miseria y enfermedad. De diversas maneras seras atormentado y afligido por todo extremo, y *estaras zabullido en un lago de miserias y tormentos intolerables*. Y agora aqui estas, y llegado es el tiempo en que has hecho misericordia contigo mismo en hablar y comunicar con nuestro Señor, el qual *ve todos los secretos de los corazones*; pues *di* agora lo que has hecho, y los pecados gravisimos en que has caido como quien se despeña y se desbarranca en profunda barranca y en *sima sin suelo*. Quando fuistes criado y enviado á este mundo, limpio y bueno fuiste criado y enviado, y tu *padre* y madre Quetzalcoatl *te formó* como una piedra preciosa y como una joya rica de oro muy resplandeciente y muy pulida: pero por tu propia *voluntad* é *albedrio* te ensuciastes y te amancillastes, y te revolcaste en el estiercol y en las suciedades de los pecados y maldades que cometiste, y agora has confesado." "O brother! thou hast approached a place of much danger and of great hardship and terror, where there is a steep precipice of hewn rock, from which no one who has once fallen into it has ever been able to escape; thou hast reached likewise a place where snares and nets are set thick and laid across each other, so that no one can pass without falling into them; and not only snares and nets, but likewise pitfalls resembling wells. Thou thyself hast cast thyself into the gulf of the river, and hast fallen into the snare and the net from which it is impossible that of thine ownself thou canst extricate thyself. These are thy sins, which are not only snares and nets and wells into which thou hast fallen, but likewise savage beasts which tear in pieces and *kill the body and the soul*. Hast thou peradventure concealed any of thy great, enormous, foul and loathsome sins, which are already proclaimed in heaven, in earth, and in hell, and the pestilence of which reaches to the uttermost ends of the earth? Now thou hast presented thyself before our most compassionate Lord, the protector of all, whom thou hast offended and provoked, and whose anger thou hast excited against thee, who tomorrow, or the next day, will take thee from this world and cast thee *beneath his feet*, and send thee to the universal house of hell, where are thy father, and thy mother, the god and the goddess of hell, with jaws wide open ready to devour thee, and as many as are in this world. There there will be rendered unto thee that which thou hast deserved in this world *according to the divine justice*, and that

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[1] This language surprisingly accords with that of St. Luke in the third verse of the twelfth chapter of his Gospels: "There is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; neither hid, that shall not be known. Therefore whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets shall be *proclaimed* upon the house tops;" and it alludes to the publicity which the Deity will give to the most *secret* sins. The acquaintance which the Indians appear to have had with the doctrines contained in various chapters of the Gospels is really surprising; and the assertion of Father Hennepin in the thirty-first chapter of his 'Voyage into North America', that "If an ancient man should say unto a young man by way of *reproach* before others, Thou hast *no wit*, he would presently go and *poison* himself, they are so sensible of ignominy and disgrace," is not only entitled to credit, but suggests the probability that Christ, well knowing the disastrous consequences which the use of the reproachful epithet *Raca* was likely to be attended with in his day among the Jews, from the similarity of their *tempers* to that of the Indians, pronounced the denunciation of hell fire, in the twenty-second verse of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, against those who indulged in any such vituperative terms.

NOTE LII. Page 271.

The laws of a state necessarily requiring for their due administration an executive government, the present appears the most fit place for briefly describing the constitution of the Mexican monarchy, which in the great outlines of its

which thou hast asked with thy works of poverty and misery and infirmity. In different ways wilt thou be tormented and afflicted in an extreme degree, and thou wilt be plunged in *a lake of misery* and intolerable torment; and now thou art here present, and the time has arrived in which thou hast taken pity on thyself in speaking and communing with our Lord, who sees all the secrets of hearts; declare then what thou hast done, and the great sins into which thou hast fallen, as one who casts himself headlong and precipitates himself into a gulf and bottomless pit. When thou wert created and sent into this world, pure and good thou wast created and sent into it; and thy *father and mother* Quetzalcoatl formed thee like a precious stone, like a rich jewel of gold beautiful to look upon and of polished lustre, but thou by thine *own free will* and choice hast defiled and polluted thyself, and hast wallowed in the mire of the sins and iniquities which thou hast committed, and now thou hast confessed." It is impossible on reading this passage not to be struck with the Hebrew metaphors with which it abounds, one illustration of which we shall adduce from the seventh verse of the hundred and twenty-fourth Psalm, "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the *snare* of the fowlers: the *snare* is broken, and we are escaped;" and likewise with the scriptural notions which it presents us of the Deity, who is here represented as a just judge, the rewarder and punisher of human actions in another world, according to the deserts of individuals in this life, and as casting the wicked beneath his feet; whilst the epithet of father and mother, as applied by the Mexican orator to the god and the goddess of hell, reminds us that death and hell are distinguished from Satan in the fourteenth verse of the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, and that they are there *personified*, whilst the idea that they were demons of different *sexes* prevailed amongst some of the early Christian sects, and also that Christ emphatically names the devil the father of the wicked, in the forty-fourth verse of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, in contradistinction, as it would appear, to God, who was the father of the righteous. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus, in the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke, was probably adapted by Christ to the popular opinion of the Jews of his day, that hell was a gulf or lake of fire; and it is singular that the Mexicans should have entertained the very same sentiments, and that they should have evinced some acquaintance with the twenty-eighth verse of the tenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where Christ admonishes his disciples to fear Him, who could destroy both the body and *soul* in hell, and should have seemed resolved to verify the saying of Christ in the thirty-fourth verse of the same chapter of St. Matthew, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but *a sword*," grafting on the peculiarity of the phraseology employed the obvious signification of the thirty-ninth verse of the above-mentioned chapter, "He that findeth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it;" which possibly suggested to the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus the explanation which he gives of the Mexican phrase Tlatzolli Tzonpantli, in the two hundred and twenty-seventh page of the sixth volume of this work, and induced the Mexicans to consider it a religious

duty to die in war, as fully appears from the exhortation of the midwife to the infant, to whom she was about to administer baptism, in the following passage of the thirty-first chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain. "Esta es tu casa y el lugar donde reclines tu cabeza, solamente es tu posada esta casa: tu propia tierra otra es, en otra parte estas prometido que es el campo donde se hacen las guerras, donde se traban las batallas: para alli eres enviado, tu oficio y facultad es la guerra: tu oficio es ahora dar de beber al sol con sangre de los enemigos, y dar de comer á la tierra, que se llama Tlatecutli, con los cuerpos de los enemigos. Tu propia tierra y tu heredad y tu suerte es la casa del sol en el cielo: alli has de alabar y regocijar á nuestro Señor el Sol, que se llama Totonametlinmanic. Por ventura mereceras y seras digno de morir en este lugar y recibir en él muerte florida." "This is thy house, and the place where thou reclinest thy head; this house is only thy resting-place; thy proper country is a different one; thou hast been *promised* elsewhere, namely, on the field of battle, where armies engage, thither thou wert destined; thy business and profession is war, thy duty is henceforward to nourish the sun with the blood of thine enemies, and to feed the earth, which is named Tlatecutli, with the bodies of thy foes. Thy proper country, and thy inheritance, and thy *lot*, is the house of the sun in heaven; there thou wilt have to praise and to gladden our Lord the sun, who is named Totonametlinmanic. Perhaps thou wilt deserve and be worthy to die in that place, and to receive in it *florid* death." The concluding sentence of the above passage, in which the phrase 'florid death' evidently refers to martyrdom, reminds us of the language of David in the fifteenth verse of the hundred and sixteenth Psalm, "*Precious* in the sight of the Lord is the death of *his saints*:" whilst the expression 'to feed the sun and the earth with blood and the flesh of men' would appear simply to allude to the evaporation of the blood of slaughtered hosts by the rays of the sun, and to the earth being manured with the bodies of those left dead on the field of battle; in which sense the same phrase is employed by Mencius, the disciple of Confucius. It deserves likewise to be remarked, in allusion to the phrase 'the *house* of the sun', that Christ affirms in the Gospels, that in his Father's house there are many *mansions*; and that the sun appears to have been identified by the Mexicans with Quetzalcoatl, or at least typically to have represented him, Christ being himself named in Scripture the sun of righteousness. This analogy will more plainly appear by reference to the prayer of the Mexicans to the sun in the seventieth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, who offered up that prayer when they saw the city of Mexico ready to fall into the hands of the victorious followers of Cortes. It remains to be observed that the Jews agreed with the Mexicans in believing that hell was *a lake*: this curious fact is noticed by Josephus in the following passage of the fragment of his treatise *Περι της του παντος αἰτιας*, of which but a small portion has been preserved to our days, and which is usually printed in the editions of that author after his other works: "*Και οὗτος μεν ὁ περι δαιμονων τοπος· περι δε Ἅιδου ἐν ᾧ συνεχονται ψυχαι δικαιων τε και ἀδικων, ἀναγκαιον εἰπειν. Ὁ Ἅιδης, τοπος ἐστιν ἐν τῃ κτισει, ἀκατασκευαστος, χωριον ὑπογειον, ἐν ᾧ ΦΩΣ κοσμου οὐκ ἐπιλαμπει. Φωτος τοινυν ἐν τουτῳ τῳ χωριῳ μη καταλαμποντος, ἀναγκη σκοτος διηνεκως τυγχανειν. Τουτο το χωριον ὡς φρουριον ἀπενεμηθη ψυχαις, ἐφ' ᾧ*

political organization bore a striking resemblance to that of the Jews. The following account of that constitution is taken from the two hundred and eleventh chapter of the inedited Historia Apologetica of Las Casas, which, besides its value as an historical record, is further interesting from the description which it gives of the royal magnificence of Montezuma's court.

"Para tratar del govierno y policia que avia en los reynos de la Nueva España, lo primero que debemos referir como

κατεσταθησαν ἀγγελοι φρουροι, προς τας ἑκαστων πραξεις διανεμοντες τας των τροπων προσκαιρους κολασεις. Ἐν τουτῳ δε τῳ χωριῳ τοπος ἀφωρισται τις, ΑΙΜΝΗ πυρος ἀσβεστου ἐν ᾧ μεν οὐδεπω τινα κατερριφθαι ὑπειληφαμεν· ἐσκευασται δε εἰς την προωρισμενην ἡμεραν ὑπο Θεου, ἐν ᾗ δικαιας κρισεως ἀποφασις μια πασιν ἀξιως προσενεχθειη." "Et ille est dæmonum locus. Nunc necesse est dicere de Hade, in quo continentur animæ justorum et injustorum. Hades locus est in ipsâ creatione inconditus et inornatus. Receptaculum *subterraneum*, in quo *lux* mundi *non splendet*. Luce vero in isto loco non fulgente, necesse est tenebras ibi esse perpetuas. Locus ille tanquam carcer et custodia destinatus est animabus, in quo constituti sunt angeli custodes, dividentes varias et temporarias pœnas secundum cujusve mores, actiones et facinora. In isto receptaculo locus quidam separatur, *lacus* nimirum ignis inextinguibilis, in quem nullum adhuc conjectum et detrusum fuisse suspicamur; præparatus vero est ad determinatam a Deo diem, cum una sententia justi judicii de omnibus juste feretur." It may be proper to remark that the above fragment of Josephus has long been considered spurious by the generality of critics, and chiefly because a Jewish author would, in their opinion, have been very unlikely to discourse in a strain of such Christian orthodoxy, of the last day, and of the judgement of the world having been delegated to Christ by the Father; but still, as it has always been ascribed to that author, we are rather inclined to consider this fragment interpolated in that particular passage which relates to the future advent of the Messiah, than spurious; for it must be admitted that in other passages it accords well with the ancient opinions of the Jews, and admirably illustrates the Mexican doctrine of Hades, already explained in the seventy-fifth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume; fully corroborating the remarks which we have introduced in the sixty-seventh page of that collection of notes, and enabling us further to appeal to the following passages of the same fragment, in elucidation of other customs and opinions of the ancient Mexicans connected with the celebration of their funeral rites,—their belief in the resurrection of the body; in the terrestrial paradise; in an allotted place of rest for the patriarchs; in a place of torment for the wicked; in a chaotic state of insensibility for the souls of infants, or *limbo*, to use the technical language of some of the early Christian fathers; in the place of darkness and the shadow of death; in the sun's revolution round the earth; and, finally, in judicial astrology. To these passages we have added the Latin translation of Stephen Le Moyne. "Οἱ δε ἀδικοι οὐκ ἀλλοιωθεντα τα σωματα, οὐδε παθους ἡ νοσου μετασταντα, οὐδε ἐνδοξασθεντα ἀπολημψονται· ἀλλ' ἐν οἱς νοσημασιν ἐτελευτων, και ὁποιοι ἐν ἀπιστιᾳ γεγενηνται, τοιουτοι πιστως κριθησονται." "Injusti vero non immutata assument corpora, *nec liberata affectibus et morbis*, neque illa glorificata accipient. Sed *in iis quibus finierunt vitam morbis*, et qui in incredulitate vixerunt, tales certe judicabuntur."—"Οὐ δυσβατος γη, οὐδε δυσευρετος παραδεισου αὐλη," "non invia terra, non *inventu difficilis Paradisi aula*."—"Οἱς ὁ τοπος οὐ καματηφορος γινεται· οὐ καυσις, οὐ κρυος, οὐ τριβολος ἐν αὐτῳ, ἀλλ' ἡ των ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ δικαιων τε ὁρωμενη ὀψις παντοτε μειδιᾳ, ἀναμενοντων την μετα τουτο το χωριον ἀναπαυσιν και αἰωνιαν ἀναβιωσιν ἐν οὐρανῳ· τουτῳ δε ὀνομα κικλησκομεν Κολπον Ἀβρααμ." "Quibus locus ille nullos labores et molestias parit: non ibi ardor, non frigus, non tribolus, sed *Patrum* justorumque vultus subridet, expectantium post istud *receptaculum* (recogimiento) *quietem* et æternam vitam in cœlo. Locum vero istum vocamus 'Sinum Abrahami'."—"Οἱ δε αδικοι (εἰς) ἀριστερα ἑλκονται ὑπο ἀγγελων κολαστων, οὐκετι ἑκουσιως πορευομενοι, ἀλλα μετα βιας ὡς δεσμιοι ἑλκομενοι· οἱς οἱ ἐφεστωτες ἀγγελοι διαπεμπονται ὀνειδιζοντες, και φοβερῳ ὀμματι ἐπαπειλουντες, εἰς τα κατωτερα ὠθουντες· ἀς ἀγομενας ἑλκουσιν οἱ ἐφεστωτες ἑως πλησιον της Γεεννης." "Injusti vero ad sinistram trahuntur ab *angelis tortoribus*, non sponte incedentes, sed vi et violentiâ ut vincti rapiuntur: quos, angeli instantes et urgentes comitantur, illos convitiis lacerantes, torvis oculis minitantes, et ad inferiora detrudentes: quas animas trahunt urgentes angeli usque ad confinia Gehennæ."—"Χαος γαρ βαθυ και μεγα ἀνα μεσον ἐστηρικται." "Nam in medio chaos magnum et profundum extenditur et firmatur."—"Ἐν ᾗ οὐχ ὑπνος, οὐ λυπη, οὐ φθορα, οὐ φροντις, οὐδε νυξ, οὐδε ἡμερα χρονῳ, οὐχ ἡλιος ἀναγκῃ κυκλον οὐρανου δρομῳ ἐλαυνομενος, ὁρων μετρα ἡ κεντρα προς εὐγνωστον ἀνθρωπων βιον διαμετρουμενα οὐροθετουντος." "In quo nec somnus, nec dolor, nec corruptio, nec sollicitudo, nec nox, nec dies tempore mensurata, nec *sol necessitate quâdam per circulum cœli cursum suum agitans et impellens in horâ natali notantis et disponentis* terminorum mensuras et cardines commensuratos *ad facile cognoscendam hominum vitam*." On the clear assumption that the Mexicans believed with the Peruvians in the resurrection of the body, whose belief is expressly noticed by Garcia in the fifty-second page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, and with some of the Indian tribes of Canada, who, according to Sagard and Father Hennepin, celebrated, on certain solemn occasions, a mimic resurrection of the body, when they disinterred from their graves the bones of their most famous and renowned warriors, and committed them again to the earth with many ceremonies, and that they entertained the Jewish notion that the body would rise with the same affections and *diseases* with which it had died, the fact would be explained why the Mexicans were so extremely careful to bury the dead in habits which denoted the peculiar diseases of which they had died, or the crimes which had led to their execution, since this would have been typical of the day of judgement, and intended to denote the certainty of the resurrection, when all would be judged according to the works which they had done in the flesh. This particular usage of the Mexicans is noticed by Las Casas in his inedited 'Historia Apologetica', and it likewise is described by Clavigero in the following passage of the thirty-ninth section of the sixth book of his History of Mexico: "However superstitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they observed at funerals they exceeded themselves. As soon as any person died, certain masters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dressed the dead body, and took a glass of water, with which they sprinkled the head, saying, that that was the water used in the time of their life. They then dressed it in a habit suitable to the rank, the wealth, and *the circumstances attending the death* of the party. If the deceased had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacateuctli; if an artist, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had

fuente de donde la orden y consonancia de los citados de la republica y administracion de la justicia emana; a dar noticia de los reyes y señores, al menos de los principales que avia en ella. Porque muchos, é quasi innumerables eran los señores ó governadores no principales, como las provincias y pueblos, que comprehendia tanta tierra, fuesen tantos. Cinco reyes grandes y principalisimos sobre todos fueron los que huvo en aquella tierra; y el mayor y quasi monarca de todos era el rey de la gran ciudad de Mexico, que por otro nombre llamaban Tenuchtitlan. Este rey é quasi monarca llamaron Motezuma, y porque esta diccion *çi* significa honrra, dignidad y reverencia, añidiase al cabo, nombrabanlo Moteccumaçi, la ultima luenga, que quiere decir todo el vocablo 'hombre de autoridad, grave y modesto, y que se hace temer.' Significa tambien 'hombre triste y sañudo,' lo qual se cumplia en este rey; porque segun se avia prenunciado por sus adivinos y prophetas ó agoreros, teniase por cierto, que su grandeza, majestad, triumpho y estado real se avian de acabar y fenecer en sus dias, por ciertas gentes que habian de venir de otra parte, y aun de hacia donde salia el sol, y asi fue por esta causa dicen, que nunca vivia alegre, sino en continua tristeza. Este rey quando llegaron los primeros Españoles, vivia en la mayor felicidad y prosperidad, alteza y majestad de señorio, y estimacion de los hombres, y fue mas reverenciado, temido, y amado y adorado, y con mas cerimonias servido, que nunca sus pasados, ni aun quien rey del mundo entre los gentiles, aunque entre en ellos el rey Asahuero, jamas lo fue, ni parecese poder haver sido: todo esto por su gran valor, capacidad, prudencia, providencia, governacion y administracion de justicia. Arriba en el capitulo. . . . . hablando de los edificios, quedan dichas tantas excelencias y tan esmeradas partes y particularidades de los palacios reales de este rey, é de las cosas vivas y muertas, sensibles é insensibles, que contenian en si, que qualquiera que las leyere solamente, podra por ellas la prudencia y valor de este gran rey conocer, y della no poco se admirar. Nunca rey ni señor en el mundo asi se supo mandar servir, ni con tantas, ni tan diversas y delicadas cerimonias, y porque de muchas y quasi de infinitas algunas digamos, comenzaremos por la orden de las que comenzavan, como comienza el dia. Luego que la luz esclarecia, quinientos y seiscientos caballeros y señores principales iban á las casas reales y palacio, que ellos llamaban *tecpan*, y estabanse por las salas y corredores paseando, ó se asentaban y platicaban sobre las cosas que les ocurrian. Ninguno entraba donde el rey estaba. Los criados destos, y que los acompañaban eran tantos, que hinchian dos y tres patios de la casa real, y á una gran plaza. Todos estos señores y criados estavan perseverantes alli todo el dia, hasta que venia la noche.

been drowned was dressed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard, in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In short, as Gomara has well observed, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living." Of the Mexican belief in the terrestrial Paradise enough has been said in the thirty-eighth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, whilst reference to the seventy-fifth page of the same Notes will show how exactly their opinions accorded with those of the Jews, in believing Hades to be a subterraneous region where the light of the day could never penetrate, and a land of darkness and forgetfulness. The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus makes express mention in the hundred and seventy-first page of the sixth volume of this work, of the place to which the Mexicans believed that the souls of children went who died before they attained the age of reason, which he compares to that which the Jews assigned to the souls of infants who died without receiving the rite of circumcision. The other analogies are so obvious that it is sufficient in this place merely to refer to the sixty-ninth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, and to the fourth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, for an account of their theory of the sun's motion round the earth, and for their notions on the subject of judicial astrology. We cannot, however, refrain from observing that the Mexicans would have been extremely likely to have converted the torturing angels described by Josephus into 'diablos principalisimos,' real devils, in their mythological paintings, and to have assigned them a place in their infernal hierarchy not far removed from the god and the goddess of hell; in this manner it is probable that many of the traditions and doctrines of Scripture were at first imperfectly represented in their paintings, which, being afterwards variously explained by their priests, became grossly corrupted in the long course of ages until the whole was at length reduced into one mass of error and absurdity. Having shown that there is sufficient reason for supposing, judging from internal evidence, that the fragment which has been preserved of Josephus's treatise respecting the cause of the universe is the genuine production of that author, though by a pious fraud similar to that which made the Cumæan Sibyl attest the prophecies of David, shamefully interpolated by some transcriber of later ages, we shall take the opportunity of observing, for the information of those who may feel an interest in the writings of the Jewish historian, that there is much probability that a translation of the entire of his works, made at a period when the Greek text of Josephus was much less corrupt than it is at present, may still exist in Abyssinia; since the learned Ludolfus, who was by no means inclined to place too much reliance on the accounts of the missionaries respecting the existence of many of the long-lost works of antiquity in the monasteries of Abyssinia, correcting, as it would appear, from better information an error into which he was aware he had fallen in the earlier part of his Commentaries on his Ethiopian History, corroborates, in some degree, those very accounts, in the following passage of the three hundred and fifty-second page of the above-mentioned work: "Adhæc *plerosque* libros Græcos primitivæ ecclesiæ versos habent, veluti Johannis Chrysostomi opera, *Josephum* Scriptorem Historiarum Judaicarum," proceeding to add to his Latin specification of the authors the titles of the two last works in the *Abyssinian* language.

Ninguno entraba en palacio que no entrase *descalzo,* s entrava á negociar con el rey, ó el rey los llamaba, avian de llevar mantas *muy bastas* ó gruesas. Y si eran grandes señores, ó en tiempo de frio, sobre las mantas ricas ó delgadas se avian de poner sobre aquellas *las bastas* y pobres. Y entraban con las cabezas muy bajas, y los cuerpos humillados ó corvados, mostrando grandisima subjeccion, reverencia y humildad. Hombre viviente no le habia de *mirar á la cara,* sino los *ojos en tierra*; sino eran los señores de los cinco que se dirá: el uno era el rey de Tezcuco, y el otro el de Tlacuba ó Tlacupan. Si hablava ó respondia Motecçuma, era tan bajo que apenas parecía mover los labios. Y esto era pocas veces, porque las mas respondia ó hablava por ciertos ministros que alli tenia, que eran como de su consejo, ó como secretarios. Algunos de los reyes y señores grandes de aquella Nueva España usaban esto en sus tierras de hablar y responder por sus secretarios ó cercanas personas. Este uso de nunca mirar los subditos al rey en la cara, y de hablar y responder por terceras personas, introdujo Deyoces, primer rey de los Medos, segun trae Herodoto en el primero libro de su Historia; la qual contiene una notable industria que tuvo, para que sin sentir la fraude le eligiesen por rey. Quando Motecçuma salia fuera de su palacio real, que pocas veces lo hacia, iva delante un oficial suyo con tres varas muy delgadas y derechas en la mano, á lo que se cree para que todos entendiesen que venia el rey. Llevavanlo en unas andas de oro ciertos señores, en las manos ó en los hombros; é iban estos oficiales delante quitando las pajas del suelo por finas que fuesen. Todos los que iban cerca dél ó lejos, ninguno lo habia mirar; sino todos llevavan las cabezas y ojos bajos: todas las gentes que estaban en las calles ó lugares por donde pasaba, tenian las cabezas y los ojos bajos asi mismo; y en aquel lugar que los tomava la venida del rey, no se habian de mudar un canto de real ni moverse, sino estar como flayres en gloria Patri hasta que él pasase: porque la reverencia y temor que le tenian todos los chicos y grandes era tanta, porque dicen ser muy severo y riguroso en mandar castigar, que quasi lo adoravan y delante dél temblaban. Dicese que quando los Christianos primeros entraron en la tierra, preguntó Hernando Cortes su capitan á un señor de una provincia lejana de Mexico, si reconocia señorio á Motecçuma, respondio: Quien hay que no sea vasallo y esclavo de Motecçumaçi. Las cerimonias que le hacian en el servicio de su comida, y la magnificencia y suntuosidad de los manjares, eran muchas y admirables, y aun inexplicables. Entraban trescientos mancebos ó pajes, cada uno con su vasija de barro de diversas hechuras, en lugar de escudillas y platos, muy bien hechas y muy pintadas, y bien capaces, llenas de manjar, y ponianlas todas en una sala muy grande, donde solia comer, toda muy limpia, esterada de esteras muy hermosas, muy delgadas, muy pintadas, hechas de palma delicada, que llaman *petates,* la silaba de en medio luenga. Cada una de aquellas vasijas llenas de manjar, ponian sobre un braserillo muy hermoso de brasa, porque el manjar no se enfriase. El asiento suyo era en un cojin ó almohada de cuero de venado, ó de otro animal, maravillosamente adornado y pintado. Asi como se asentaba el rey, se asentaban cinco ó seis venerables viejos en la misma sala dél, algo desviados. Estaba un maestre sala, que de aquellos manjares servia al rey, los que ya sabia que le agradava. El comia muy poquito de ello, porque era de muy poco comer, y muy delicado, y alzado aquel plato y manjar, llevavanlo á los viejos el maestre sala. Y asi de cada manjar que le servian, por manera que comian los viejos *del plato real.* Servidos tres ó quatro manjares, ó los que de aquellos trescientos gustar el rey acostumbraba, sacaban los trescientos pajes todas aquellas vasijas ó platos á otra sala que junto á aquella, y fuera de ella estava; donde habia cien señores, los mas principales, asentados, y alli ponian aquellos manjares de que aquellos comian. Y comido lo que les bastava, sacavan lo que de aquellos sobrava á otra sala junto alli, donde estaban otros doscientos señores, no de tanta calidad: y aviendo aquellos comido, sacan lo que alli sobrava para otros de menor estado, y en aquestos se acabava. Y todos estos comian con tanta mesura, y con tanto compas, que en los servicios que mas se hacian, no havia estorbo alguno, ni en el servicio de la mesa real avia ninguna falta, porque en todas las salas y mesas avia sus diligentes servidores. Servian muy á menudo de pañezuelos blanquisimos y albisimos de algodon al rey y á los demas, en cada una de sus mesas segun sus grados. Hecbo este primer servicio, entrava otro de otros trescientos pajes con otra diversidad de manjares, y de la misma manera se servian y se gastavan. Despues de este segundo, entrava el tercero, y con este la comida se acabava. A su tiempo, en medio ó en fin de los manjares segun la costumbre que tenian, entravan otros trescientos pajes, cada uno con un vaso grande que cabia medio azumbre, y aun tres quartillos de la bebida en el mismo, y servia el un vaso al rey el maestresala, de que bebia lo que le agradava. De alli sacavan todas las vasijas ó tazas de que bebian los señores de las otras salas. Estas vasijas ó tazas que llaman *xicaras,* son de cierta especie de calabazas muy diferentes de las de Castilla y mucho mejores, y son tan pintadas por de fuera y por de dentro, que bebera qualquiera señor con ellas como si fuesen de oro ó de plata. La bebida es agua mezclada con cierta harina de unas almendras que llaman

cacao. Esta es de mucha sustancia, muy fresca, y sabrosa y agradable, y no embriaga. En aquellos tres servicios que de manjares hacian, se sirvia comida y manjares de todas las aves, y animales, y pescados y legumbres, de que hay muchas, y frutas, y todas las otras cosas comestibles, que en docientas leguas se podrian hallar de Nueva España. Lo mismo se hacia, y la misma orden se guardava al cenar, puesto que no devia de ser tanta copia y diversidad de manjares, porque todas estas gentes, como ya queda dicho, son de muy poco comer, y muy templadas. *Lavabase al principio y al fin del comer y de cenar el rey*, y creo (por lo que *he visto*) que tambien los otros señores en las otras salas, cada uno segun su grado y estado. La toalla ó pañezuelo que una vez se le dava, nunca mas la avia él de ver. Todos los vasos, platos, escudillas, y los braserillos, y las xicaras ó copas, y tazas con que bevia, y todas las otras cosas con que se servia, no avian de parecer mas de una sola vez en toda su casa. Tenia ordenada otra obra real, manifestativa de su gran liberalidad y magnificencia, conviene á saber, que sus despensas donde tenian todas las cosas que se havian de comer, y las botillerias de la bebida dicha, estavan siempre abiertas para quantos de los yentes y vinientes graciosamente quisiesen comer y beber. Aquesta franqueza y magnanimidad real de pocos reyes del mundo antiguos y modernos escripta la hallamos. Muchas otras eran las grandezas y cerimonias que representavan la grande autoridad y majestad y señorio y sabiduria del gran rey Motecçuma, segun el mismo Hernando Cortes escrivió al Emperador nuestro señor, que en mucho tiempo y mucho papel no se podrian explicar. El segundo rey ó señor, era él de la ciudad de Tezcuco, que está frontero de la maxima laguna en medio como seis leguas distante á la parte del poniente. Aqueste, como fuese despues de Motezuma el mayor señor de toda la Nueva España, dicen que señoreava quince provincias hasta la provincia de Tucapan, que está á la Mar del Norte; y asi avia en la ciudad de Tezcuco unos palacios reales y edificios muy mas señalados y ricos que en otras partes, despues de los de la ciudad de Mexico, como arriba en el capitulo . . . . queda explicado. Una legua de la ciudad de Mexico, está la ciudad de Tlacupan, ó segun agora decimos de Tacuba, y en esta y en otros muchos y grandes pueblos y dichas provincias sujetas á ella, señoreava el tercero rey de la tierra mas que otros despues de los dichos señalado. A la parte del norte á quatro leguas de Mexico, está el pueblo de Quahutitlan, en el qual residia y señoreava el quarto señor con otras muchas poblaciones. El quinto era el señor de Coyouacan, dos leguas de Mexico hacia el mediodia, señor de muchos vasallos. El pueblo grande llamado Azcapucalco, una legua de Mexico, era tambien gran señorio, y de muchas gentes sujetas á él. Otros muchos pueblos y ciudades avia en rededor de Mexico á quatro, y á ocho, y á diez leguas, asi dentro de la laguna, como por la tierra, que hermoseavan y acompañavan la gran ciudad real de Mexico, que contenian *infinidad de moradores*, cuyos señores eran grandes, y como los que llamamos proceres y magnates: pero sobre todos, mas principales y como reyes, eran los dos, el señor y rey de Tezcuco, y el señor y rey de Tlacupan, ó de Tacuba. Estos con todos los demas todo lo demas del tiempo residian en la ciudad de Mexico, haciendo corte y palacio al rey, que se pudo llamar rey de reyes, Motecçuma; de todos los quales era en supremo grado acatado, servido, estimado, temido y reverenciado, y asi se le celebravan fiestas y pasquas; y con tanta autoridad y majestad rescibia y gozaba la muchedumbre de los sirvientes, los edificios de sus casas reales, los templos, el immenso numero de las gentes que cada dia entravan y salian en la ciudad, que quando nuestros Españoles todo esto vian por sus propios ojos, teniendolo por cosas nunca otras tales vistas ni oidas, y como eran dignas, por admirables, decian unos á otros: Que es esto que con nuestros ojos vemos? Es verdad, dormimos ó soñamos? finalmente algunos no podian creer sino que estavan encantados. Donde tanta prudencia y autoridad avia, y majestad se representava, que asi sabia mandarse servir, y con tanta orden de cerimonias varias y muchas, y de tantos señores y tan grandes, y de tanto numero de sirvientes, y donde van infinitas gentes y cada dia y cada hora concurrian, y tan gran ciudad, y tantas en su circuito, y tan gran reyno, manifiesto es aun que mas prueva no trujesemos, que debia tener prudencia y sabiduria para establecer leyes, y constituir jueces, y mandar executar justicia, y no qualquiera, sino buena y recta justicia, quanto entre infieles que de conocimiento del verdadero Dios carecian, podia justicia hallarse. Era pues asi, que fuese ordenado todo aquel reyno y sus tantas provincias por el supremo rey, ó por sus antecesores, ó que cada rey è señor de los dichos en su señorio huviese la forma del regimiento introducido, ó que cada pueblo tuviese sus costumbres y leyes, como quiera que huviese sido, en toda la Nueva España, en unas partes poco mas, y en otras poco menos. El govierno y las leyes quasi no diferian, por manera que por lo que de unas partes dijeremos, y adonde tuvimos mayor noticia, se podra entender, y quiza sera mejor, decirlo en comun y generalmente. Avia pues jueces en aquellos reynos, y leyes por las quales se conservaban aquellas republicas en el estado politico y temporal, castigando los delinquentes, premiando los que se tenian por buenos, aunque no fuese el premio sino teniendolos por tales, dirimiendo

y determinando las contiendas y pleytos (que no eran muchas entre gente tan pacifica), dando á cada uno lo que era suyo, y asi conservandolos en toda paz y conformidad; puesto que todo aquesto con faltas y defectos, pero no con tantos segun parecera, como siempre fué, y siempre se halló en las gentes que carecieron del verdadero conocimiento de Dios. De los jueces el supremo despues del rey en el señorio Mexicano, era el presidente ó juez mayor, cuyo nombre por el officio era Cihuacoatl. Este oficio ninguno lo podia proveher sino solo el rey de Mexico. Qualquiera que este oficio para si usurpara, ó lo concediera á otro, avia de morir por ello, y sus padres y deudos eran *desnaturados* del pueblo donde acaeciese hasta lo *quarta** generacion. Allende que todos los bienes avian de ser *confiscados*, y aplicados para la republica. Este supremo juez no se proveia para todos los pueblos, sino para en las ciudades y poblaciones grands, y que tenian mucha comarca. Tenia cargo y oficio de proveher en las cosas de la governacion, y en la hacienda del rey. Oya de las causas que se devolvian á él por appelacion, y estas eran solas las criminosas, porque de las civiles no se appelaba de la justicia mayor. Deste presidente no se appelaba para el rey, ni para otro juez alguno, ni podia tener algun teniente, sino que por su misma persona se avian los negocios de determinar. "Avia otro juez despues del presidente superior, que era justicia mayor: el nombre de aquel oficio Tacatecatl, y su oficio era conocer de todas las causas civiles y criminales, que tenia por assesores y acompañados otros dos. Uno de los quales llamavan Acoahunotl, el qual era como alguacil mayor, y al otro Tlaylotlat, que quiere decir, rejidor. Estos tres tenian sus tenientes, que juntamente con ellos oyan y libravan las causas; pero en la pronunciacion de las sentencias, solo el Tacatecatl, que es la justicia mayor, se nombrava. Deste se appelaba para ante el Cihuacoatl, que dejimos ser el presidente. En las causas criminales oian ordinariamente á la mañana y á la tarde; los quales estavan muy aderezados con sus mantas, que son sus vestidos, mas ricas que las que traian ordinarias. Avia casas de audiencía para ello dedicadas: tenian sus porteros, oian con grande atencion y gravidad. El audiencia tenia por nombre *tlacontecoya*: la sentencia *tlacontelistle*; y asi podemos decir que tlacontecoya, significa 'el lugar donde se pronuncian las sentencias.' Tenian carceles asperrimas señaladamente, donde metian los de crimen, y los presos en guerra. Estavan en una casa oscura, ó de muy poca claridad, y en ella hacian una jaula ó jaulas, y á la puerta de la casa, que era pequeña como puerta de palomas, cerrada por de fuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras, y alli sus guardas. Y como las carceles eran crueles, los presos que en ellas estavan, en poco tiempo se paraban flacos y amarillos, y la comida era no demasiada, por lo qual desde la carcel comenzaban á padecer la muerte, que despues los davan. Nombraban estas carceles por dos nombres, segun la especie de las prisiones que les echavan: el uno era *tlelpiloca*, y el otro *quahucalco*, que venia de cepo. La justicia executaba el Acoahunotl, que era el alguacil mayor, por sus propias manos: el que la manifestava era Tecpoiotl, conviene á saber, el pregonero; cuyo oficio era de gran honra y autoridad, porque decian al pueblo la voluntad del rey. En cada ciudad de las principales, como la Mexicana, segun está dicho, y la de Tezcuco, y la de Tlacopan ó Tacuba, avia ordinarias audiencias con sus ciertos ordinarios jueces. Y despues de la audiencia de Mexico, fue señalada la de la ciudad de Tescuco, porque huvo en ella un rey ó señor llamado Neçaualcoyoçin, abuelo del que agora vive y tiene nombre de señor; el qual reynó quarenta y dos años, y fue muy prudente y de gran juicio, y en su tiempo establecio muchas y buenas leyes para el regimiento y conservacion de sus vasallos y de todo su señorio. A este sucedió su hijo, padre del que agora es, llamado Neçaualpilçintli, que reynó quarenta y quatro años, y añidió leyes y ordenamientos segun le pareció convenir á los tiempos de su vida. Y á estos dos reyes de Tezcuco, por su prudencia y buena governacion y antigüedad, dicese que los reyes de Mexico tenian y amavan en lugar de padre. Añidiase á la susodicha causa de los amar, ser como eran sus propinquos deudos; y asi enviavan y remitian los reyes de Mexico á los de Tezcuco muchas causas y pleytos, para que alli los determinasen ó ellos ó sus jueces. Empero siempre se guardó la preeminencia suprema en las cosas de la guerra á la audiencia de Mexico. Y aunque muchas provincias eran las sujetas al señorio de Tescuco, pero estaban reducidas en seis pueblos principales, donde havian como seis chancillerias, en las quales, y á las quales iban de todo aquel reyno á sus pleytos, y alli se cogian los tributos y rentas. En cada uno de aquellos pueblos avia dos jueces, personas muy escogidas, tenidas por cuerdas y habiles mas que otras para aquel oficio. Eran muchas veces estos deudos del rey. El salario y quitacion que á estos jueces se dava, era que el rey les tenia señaladas las tierras compe-

* The recollection of God's promise in the ten commandments to show mercy to the *fourth* generation of those who feared him and *kept* his commandments, might have suggested to the Mexicans the extension of punishment to the same number of generations in the case of those who, in this particular instance, were guilty of a *breach* of the law.

tenes, donde sembraban ó hacian sembrar, y cogian los mantenimientos necesarios para su sustentacion. Dentro de las mismas tierras, avia ciertas casas de vecinos, como renteros, que les sembravan y cogian los frutos. Muriendo algun juez de aquellos, no se traspasaba la tierra á sus hijos ó deudos, sino al juez que sucedia en aquel oficio. Estos jueces en amaneciendo, se asentavan en el lugar deputado y publico para aquello, en sus estrados de unas esteras muy lindas, que hay como se ha dicho. Luego acudia toda la gente que alli estava, y venia con sus quejas y con sus causas, y ya que habia gran rato que oyan pleytos, traianlos de comer de palacio y comian; despues de comer y reposar un poco, tornavan á oir á los que restaban hasta hora de visperas, y de alli se iban á sus casas. De donde parece, que por todo el dia residian en las casas de audiencia, ó publicas para administrar justicia. Destos se apelava para ante otros dos jueces, que presidian sobre todos, y aquestos sentenciaban con parecer del rey ó señor*.

Cada diez ó doce dias, el rey tenia acuerdo con todos los jueces sobre los casos arduos y de mucha importancia, concernientes al bien del reyno y de toda la republica. Todo lo que delante del rey se platicaba ya iba examinado y probado. Los testigos pocas veces se hallavan falsos, porque no osaban decir otra cosa sino la verdad. Lo uno por temor de la tierra por la qual juraban como por cosa divina; y la forma del juramento era, poner el dedo en la tierra y luego allegarlo á la lengua, como si dijeran por la diosa tierra, ó divina tierra, que nos sustenta y mantiene, que diré verdad: lo otro por miedo de los jueces, los quales eran muy solicitos y sotiles en interrogarlos, y quando alguno hallavan falso, terriblemente lo castigavan. Cerca de los juramentos que hacian los antiguos, dice Herodoto, libro quarto, que los Scythas juraban por la silla del rey, y los Nasamones por los muertos que fueron justisimos, poniendo la mano ó las manos en sus sepulturas. Plinio, (libro segundo, capitulo doce,) dice algunas gentes juraban por las manzanas hédiondas. Tornando al proposito, los jueces ninguna cosa recibian de presentes, ni dadivas algunas. No eran *aceptadores de personas*, porque igualmente se avian en el juicio y justicia con el chico y con el grande. Si se hallava que algun juez recebia presentes ó dones, y por ellos ó por algun otro respecto hacia contra justicia en agravio de alguna de las partes, ó tambien si se sabia que alguna vez se emborrachava, si estos defectos acaecian en cosas pequeñas, los otros jueces los reprehendian entre si, una y dos y tres veces asperamente, y sino se enmendava, á la tercera vez lo tresquilaban, y con gran confusion lo privaban de oficio. Estas penas eran de grande ignominia y afrenta entre aquellas gentes. Dicese del rey de Tezcuco, que como un juez favoreciese contra justicia en cierto pleyto á un principal hombre contra un labradorcillo plebeyo, desque supo la verdad, mandólo el rey ahorcar, y que se viese la causa otra vez, en la qual revisto, fue sentenciado por el plebeyo. En cada sala estava con los jueces un escribano, ó por mejor decir pintor, que servia de escribano diestro, que con sus pinturas ó caracteres, las personas que tratavan pleytos, y las causas y demandas y testigos, y lo que se concluia y sentenciaba, ponia por memoria. El señor y los jueces no daban lugar á que huviese dilacion, ni mas juicios de lo que estava ordenado. Y á lo mas largo, los pleytos de mucha importancia se concluian en la consulta de las ochenta dias, que llamaban *nappualtlatulli*, de que luego se dirá. Tenian aquellos *doce* jueces, otros *doce* ministros, que eran como alguaciles mayores, el oficio de los quales era prender á personas principales, y iban á los otros pueblos á llamar ó prender á qualesquiera personas que el señor ó los jueces los mandavan. Y estos eran como conocidos en las mantas de cierta manera pintadas, que sobre si llevavan. A los quales donde quiera que allegavan, se hacia grande acatamiento, como á principales ministros ó mensajeros del rey, ó de su justicia mayor. A estos llamavan achcauhtli, y á los jueces Tecuitlatoque. Avia otros mandoncillos que servian de emplazadores, y de mensajes, que en mandandoles la cosa iban volando, como gavilanes, fuese de noche, fuese de dia, y á qualquiera hora, lloviese ó ventease, ó cayese piedra del cielo, no sabian esperar tiempo, ni dilatar por un momento lo que se les mandava. En las otras provincias y pueblos sujetos á la principal ciudad, estavan jueces ordinarios, los quales tenian limitada el autoridad para sentenciar pleytos, como de menor quantia, y de poca calidad. Podian empero prender á todos los delin-

* On reading the account which Las Casas gives us in the above chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica' of the state kept up by Montezuma in Mexico, of the sumptuous magnificence of his palace, of the manner in which he was *served at table*, and of other traits of regal and Oriental magnificence, we are almost disposed to fancy that he might have had some acquaintance with the following passage of the tenth chapter of the first book of Kings, descriptive of the splendour of Solomon's reign, and have determined to realize in his own person the wisdom and glory of that far-famed Jewish king: "And when the queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the *house* that he had built, and the *meat of his table*, and the *sitting of his servants*, and the *attendance of his ministers*, and their *apparel*, and his *cup-bearers*, and his *ascent* by which he went up unto the house of the Lord; there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts and of thy wisdom."

quentes y examinar los pleytos y causas arduas, las quales guardavan para los ayuntamientos generales que se tenian de quatro en quatro meses de los suyos, que era de ochenta en ochenta dias. En este termino venian sin faltar uno todos los jueces á la ciudad y cabeza del reyno, y alli se ayuntaban todos delante el rey que solo presidia, y se hacia consulta general, donde se determinavan y sentenciaban todos los negocios y pleytos arduos y criminales. Llamavan esta congregacion nappualtlatulli, que quiere decir 'la platica y consulta de ochenta en ochenta dias.' Esta durava diez ó doce dias, dentro de los quales determinados y sentenciados los negocios particulares, se conferia tambien y proveia sobre las cosas universales de las republicas, y tocantes á todo el reyno, á manera de las cortes que se acostumbran en España y en otras partes. Y todo esto se hacia muy ordenadamente y sin alguna falta en la ciudad de Tezcuco.

Note LIII. Page 155.

The interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus informs us, in the hundred and fifty-fifth page of the sixth volume of the present work, that the Mexicans believed in the existence of nine different heavens, which they supposed were distinguished from each other by the comets which they contained, from the colour of which they received their several denominations. They also supposed that these heavens, acting as *secondary causes*, exercised a sovereign influence over the affairs of the world below, whilst the great first cause, whom they believed to be the Deity, resided in the highest heaven, and controlled the effects of all the inferior heavens. We have here a convincing proof of the astrological notions of the old continent having passed over to the new; since, although analogies in arts and similar discoveries in science afford no conclusive evidence of past communications having taken place between nations widely apart from each other, because the intellectual faculties of men under every climate are the same, still as the dreams of the ancient astrologers have no foundation in natural science and are derived from no fixed principles, uniformity of opinion discovered here amongst nations inhabiting different parts of the globe argues a communication having at some remote period necessarily taken place between them. When therefore we find that the ancient astrologers believed in the existence of *nine* heavens, which they severally *named* after the *planets*, to each of which they attributed a particular *colour* which they judged most suitable to the nature of that particular planet, (for example, red to Mars, white to Venus, a mixed colour to Mercury, and yellow to the moon,) such conformity in a mere matter of speculative opinion with the Mexicans, and on a subject so purely arbitrary in its nature, can scarcely be attributed to accidental causes; and although the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus does not expressly say that the Mexicans believed that their nine heavens were of a spherical form, still little doubt can be entertained that Homeyoca, their highest heaven, corresponded with the *cœlum immobile* of the ancient astronomers, which the Jews supposed the more immediate habitation of the Deity, and that they believed that the other heavens were eight lesser spheres, the lowest of which included the earth, whilst the highest was the empyrean heaven, thence in Scripture named the heaven of heavens, or the place of the Most High. And here we may remark that it is a singular coincidence that Ylhuicatl Tunatiuh, or the heaven of the sun, should be the fourth in order in the Codex Vaticanus, since the fourth heaven was designated by the old astronomers the heaven of the sun; and this leads us to observe that as they had one heaven which bore the appellation of a female divinity, so the Mexicans had their heaven of Huixtutla, which they placed immediately under Ylhuicatl Mamaluacoca, and which, if the former were the heaven of Venus, might lead one to infer that the latter was the heaven of Mars, since an arrow is confessedly a warlike symbol, and four arrows with their points resting on as many shields constituted the symbolical representation of the last-mentioned heaven, whilst its name Mamaluacoca is evidently derived from Mamaluaztli, explained in the fifty-eighth page of the present volume to be an arrow shot forth from a divine bow. For the better understanding of what is here said we shall insert an engraving of the nine heavens as represented by the ancient astronomers in their treatises, although it should at the same time be remarked that three of the spheres are wanting in the plate, since the elementary portion of the world, as opposed to the ætherial portion, or the heavens, is represented by the red, purple, and green circles immediately encompassing the earth, which severally denote fire, air, and water; each of these elements occupying that place in regard to the others which the laws of gravity assigned to them at the first formation of the universe; as, for instance, the uppermost place to fire, because in the opinion of the ancient philosophers fire is the lightest of all the elements, and for the same reason the lowest to the earth, as the heaviest. It is of little importance to observe that the ancient astrologers

did not precisely agree as to the number of the heavens, nor on many other points connected with astronomy, yet still it appears a somewhat singular coincidence that they, like the Mexicans, should have assigned a double or mixed colour to some of the planets, and that the latter should have agreed with the Jews in naming the South the right hand of the earth. The unfortunate zeal of the early Spanish missionaries, who consigned to the flames those Mexican paintings which would have made us better acquainted with the astrological notions of the Mexicans, renders the knowledge which we possess upon that subject extremely imperfect. We learn, however, from their writings that the Mexicans allotted the twenty signs of the Tonalametl, which name they gave to their astrological calendar, to various parts of the human body, and professed to cure diseases by reference to those signs. And this leads us to insert the following passage from a work published some centuries ago, entitled 'Margarita Philosophica', i. e. the Philosophical Jewel, in order that the plate which it serves to illustrate may be compared with the seventy-fifth page of the 'Codex Vaticanus', which contains a similar figure of the human body, with the signs accompanying it which were supposed to rule over each particular part, with the properties of which it was requisite for physicians to be well acquainted in order scientifically to treat and cure diseases. And here we may observe that it merits more than ordinary attention that the scorpion and the serpent, two reptiles so strongly assimilating in their nature to each other, are in both figures the signs which correspond with the same part of the body. Amongst the Mexicans the teczictli, or sea-snail, was the symbol of the moon, because, as the interpreter of the 'Codex Vaticanus' informs us, in the hundred and twenty second page of the sixth volume of the present work, the Mexicans believed that the moon presided over human generation, which was also the opinion of the old astrologers, who attributed Cancer, or the sign of the crab, to that planet, between which and the teczictli there are many common features of resemblance. We have elsewhere observed that the words of Moses, in the fourteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, favoured the growth of judicial astrology among the Jews, who assert that the command, "And let them be for *signs*," given immediately after the creation of the stars, could only refer to judicial astrology; the origin of which invention they accordingly fix as early as the age of Seth. It is not, therefore, so surprising that Leah, the wife of Jacob, should have invoked Gad, or good fortune, as noticed by Selden in the following passage of his treatise 'De Diis Syris': "Leam autem, mulierculam scilicet, ad astrologorum placita nascenti puero bene ominatam esse, haud ita est mirum, cum etiam de horis, quas vocant planetarias, sydere genethliaco, et quæ sunt hujusmodi, apud nos etiamnum vetulis verba facere ridicula sit solenne." Terminating, however, this digression, we shall here insert the passage from the 'Margarita Philosophica' above referred to, which is merely a fragment of a dialogue between a master and his pupil on the subject of astrology. The letters *M.* and *D.* stand for *Magister* and *Discipulus*. "*M.* Principiorum quæ introductoria pertractat, quædam sunt circa zodiaci partes et earundem naturas, quædam circa planetarum qualitates, nonnulla vero circa domorum divisiones et earundem significationes. *D.* Zodiacum in duodecim partes sive signa, et unumquodque ex his in triginta gradus longitudinis et duodecim latitudinis divisum ex præcedentibus liquet. *M.* Sicut circulorum in sphærâ descriptorum diversitas tantum est imaginaria, ita et divisio zodiaci non est ex naturâ aut primordiali creatione, sed pro arbitrio et astrologorum fictione ut initia et terminos calculandi motus habeant. *D.* Quare igitur zodiacum non in plura aut pauciora quam duodecim diviserunt signa? aut quare signum unum in gradus triginta; et rursus gradus in sexaginta tantum partiuntur minuta. *M.* Quia numerus iste divisionibus et calculationibus accommodatior est, ut testantur ipsi astrologi Hali Avendrodan in expositione Ptolomei, et Abraam Abenazra in libro rationum astrologicarum. *D.* Potuissent igitur si voluissent in plures paucioresve partes zodiacum dividere? *M.* Etiam, nam et Chaldei non signis sed imaginibus undecim tantum utuntur, libram et scorpionem simul copulantes. *D.* Memini hoc ultimum dum cœlestes imagines enumerares commemoratum, sed earundem naturas edicito. *M.* De signorum naturis astrologi etsi multa nimis disserant; nobis tamen satis erit pauca admodum commemorare magis quam tractasse. Aries, signum primum, calidum et siccum, igneum et cholericum, ex corporis compage caput sibi vendicans. Taurus vero, secundum signum, frigidum et siccum, terreum et melancholicum, colla respicit. Gemini, tertium in ordine, calidum et humidum, aereum et sanguineum, brachia intuentur. Cancer, quartum signum, frigidum et humidum, aqueum et flegmaticum, obtinet pectus, pulmonem et stomachum. Leo quintum, in qualitatibus cum ariete convenit; cor et epar regit. Virgo cum tauro concordat; sed intestina et fundum stomachi vendicat. Libra vero cum geminis congruit, sed renes et nates respicit. Scorpio cum cancro in qualitatibus congreditur, sed pudenda intuetur. Sagittarius rursum cum ariete et leone coincidit, et coxas intendit. Capricornus cum tauro item et cum virgine concordat, sed genua gubernat. Aquarius cum geminis et librâ convenit, sed cruribus et tibiis præest.

Pisces vero in qualitatibus a cancro non deviant, sed pedes vendicant. Et cum semper tria conveniant, *quatuor triplicitates* ex his fabricant. Primam videlicet arietis, leonis et sagittarii, dicunt orientalem, masculinam, diurnam et sapore amaram. Alteram tauri scilicet, virginis et capricorni, meridionalem, fœmineam, nocturnam, et sapore acrem nominant. Tertiam, quæ est geminorum, libræ et aquarii, occidentalem, masculinam et diurnam, item et sapore dulcem appellant. Quartam vero, quam cancer, scorpio et pisces integrant, septentrionalem, fœmineam, nocturnam, et sapore salsam vocant. Illis quoque trigonis dominatores ex planetis distribuentes, tantum inter se pugnant, ut cuivis magis credendum sit, facile non appareat. Amplius autem et signorum alia dicunt mobilia, quæ sunt aries, cancer, libra, capricornus. Alia fixa, quæ sunt taurus, leo, scorpio, aquarius. Reliqua vero communia sunt. Quædam insuper rationalia, ut virgo, gemini, libra, aquarius et prima medietas sagittarii. Quædam præterea sterilia. Quædam fœcunda; et cætera multa id genus figmenta ad gradus usque deducta, cum alios dicant gradus masculinos, alios fœmineos, lucidos quosdam, et alios tenebrosos, fumosos, vacuos, puteales, et alzemena sive valetudinarios. Præterea et singula signa in ternas facies dividuntur, in terminos autem inequales distinguuntur, quorum dominia planetis distribuunt et multiplices fortitudines ipsis ratione talium advenire credunt, nam a triplicitate planetarum fortitudines tres accipere autumant, a termino duas, a facie unam, a domo vero quinque, et ab exaltatione quatuor. Verum in istâ graduum, facierum, ac terminorum assignatione, inextricabilis apud astrologos non infimos invenitur diversitas. *D.* Domus planetarum quæ sunt? *M.* Signa zodiaci: nam Saturno pro domiciliis assignant capricornum et aquarium; Jovi sagittarium et pisces; Marti arietem et scorpionem; Soli leonem tantum; Veneri taurum et libram; Mercurio geminos et virginem; *Lunæ* solum *cancrum*. *D.* Exaltationes vero quæ sunt? *M.* Saturnus exaltatur in gradu 20 libræ; Jupiter in 15 cancri; Mars in 28 capricorni; Sol in 19 arietis; Venus in 26 piscium; Mercurius in 15 virginis; Luna in 4 tauri. Casus omnium sunt in locis oppositis. *D.* Plane: sed quid tradunt de planetarum qualitate? *M.* Saturnum frigidum et siccum, *colore nigrum*, et sapore stipticum dicunt. Jovem vero humidum et calidum, *colore cinericium aut viridem*, sapore dulcem. Martem siccum et calidum, *rubeum* et amarum. Solem calidum et siccum, *in colore peregrinum*, et sapore acutum. Venerem humidam et frigidam, *albam* et unctuosam. Mercurium varium, et planetæ cui jungitur in qualitatibus primis se conformantem, *in colore mixtum*, et sapore acetosum dicunt. Lunam frigidam et humidam *croceam* et salsam perhibent. Rursum ex his quidam graves et ponderosi nominantur, ut Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars. Alii leves, ut Venus, Mercurius, Luna. Sol autem nec ponderosus nec levis est. Quidam etiam fortunæ sunt, ut Jupiter fortuna major, Venus fortuna minor. Alii infortunæ sunt, ut Saturnus infortuna major, Mars infortuna minor. Mercurius autem cum bonis bonus, cum malis malus. Sol bonus per aspectum, malus per conjunctionem. Luna quasi nuncia per omnes currit, et ab ipsis fortunata et infortunata redditur. Venus et Luna fœminini sunt, reliqui omnes masculini. Nocturni sunt Mars, Venus, et Luna; diurni sunt alii omnes." It appears from the above extract that the astrologers made four triple junctions of the zodiacal signs, which they severally allotted to the four cardinal points of the compass, in the same manner as the Mexicans employed the four signs of their astronomical calendar, named the rabbit, the cane, the flint, and the house, to distinguish the four winds, the four quarters of the globe, and, as Boturini asserts in the fifty-fifth page of his 'Idea de una Nueva Historia de la America Septentrional,' the four seasons of the year. We have already observed, in the twenty-third page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, that the Mexicans might have borrowed the *twelve houses* which they assigned to the twenty signs of their calendar from the astronomers of our own hemisphere, who named the *signs* of the zodiac the *houses* of the several planets, the number of which is seven; which, added to that of the signs of the zodiac, makes nineteen, falling one short of the number of the signs employed in the Mexican calendar. Having considered at sufficient length these analogies, we shall further notice a very curious agreement in the name which the Jews and the Mexicans applied to the poles of the earth. The Mexicans, as we are informed by Sahagun, in the third and eighth chapters of the ninth book of his History of New Spain, named the north and south poles the left and right hand of the earth, and the learned Capellus, in his dissertation on the ground plan and architecture of the Temple of Jerusalem, which Bishop Walton has prefixed to the first volume of his polyglot Bible, affirms that the Jews gave the same name to the poles. The passages referred to in Sahagun's History of New Spain in proof of this striking analogy in the customs and opinions of the Mexicans and Jews are the following: " Hecho esto salian al patio y echaban de su sangre acia al cielo, poniendola sobre la uña del dedo: lo mismo hacian acia al Oriente, echando cuatro veces sangre con el dedo, como está dicho, acia al Oriente: lo mismo acia al Occidente: luego se volvian acia al Norte, que dicen ser la *mano izquierda* del mundo; y luego se

volvian acia al mediodia, que dicen ser la *mano derecha* del mundo, haciendo lo propio que arriba se dijo, y alli acababan de echar la sangre." "Having performed this ceremony, they went into the court, and threw some of their own blood towards heaven, placing it on a nail of their finger; they did the same towards the east, throwing blood four times, with their fingers, as noticed, towards the east; they did the same towards the west, and then turned themselves towards the north, which they affirm to be the *left hand* of the world; and afterwards they turned towards the south, which they say is the *right hand* of the world, each performing their part as has been already mentioned, and then they ceased throwing blood." "Descabezaba luego una codorniz y echabala en el suelo, y alli andaba revoleteando, y miraba á que parte iba, y si iba voleteando acia al norte, que es la *mano izquierda* de la tierra, tomaba mal agüero, y decia esto el dueno de la casa, enfermaré ó moriré: y si la codorniz voleteando iba acia al occidente, ó acia la *mano derecha* de la tierra, que es el mediodia, alegrabase y decia, pacifico está Dios, no tiene enojo contra mi." "He then wrung off the head of a quail and threw the body on the ground, where it continued for a short time fluttering; and he watched the way it went; and if it fluttered towards the north, which is the *left hand* of the earth, he considered it a bad omen, and the master of the house exclaimed, I shall fall sick or shall die; but if the quail fluttered towards the west, or towards the *right hand* of the earth, which is the south, he rejoiced, and said, 'God is *peaceably* disposed towards me; he is not angry towards me.' Capellus makes mention of the Hebrew term for the south in the following passage of the preface to Bishop Walton's polyglot edition of the Bible: "Deinde, si numini locus sive positus et situs aliquis in æde suâ κατ' ἀνθρωποπαθειαν assignandus est, omnino magis convenit et decet ut is statuatur et censeatur esse orienti potius quàm occidenti obversus, ab eâ enim parte lux, quæ Deum maximè decet, venit atque illucescit. Et sanè pars illa cœli in ipsâ Scripturâ *antica* censetur, unde est quod meridies ימין *dextra*, septentrio contra שמאל *sinistra* dicitur. Pontificii et qui primi Christianorum ædes sacras ita constituerunt, ut et populus orans et qui ad aram sacra peragit sacerdos, obvertantur ad orientalem cœli regionem, videntur consultò voluisse contraire Judæorum consuetudini, qui ad occidentem conversi adorabant, sed sic imprudentes ethnicorum mori sese conformarunt." We may here remark that the reason for the Jews worshiping towards the west, with their backs turned towards the east, was because the sanctuary of the temple faced the east, which was doubtless in *imitation* of the Hebrew tabernacle, the sides of which were adjusted to the four cardinal points of the compass, which fashion the Mexicans scrupulously observed in the position which they chose for their temples; whilst the holy of holies, as Cunæus remarks, looked towards the east, having its entrance facing the west. When, however, the Jews worshiped outside of the city of Jerusalem, it is to be presumed, from the words of David, in the second verse of the hundred and thirty-eighth Psalm, "I will worship *toward* thy holy temple," that they looked towards Jerusalem, as the Mahometans still look towards Mecca when they pray. The origin, therefore, of the Jews naming the south the right hand of the earth may be referred to the epoch of the flight of their ancestors from Egypt, and to the divine command that the ark of the covenant should face the east, which necessarily caused the south to be on the right hand of the holy of holies; from which it is to be presumed that the south received the appellation of the right hand of the earth. It is also probable that the origin of the Mexicans naming the south the right hand of the earth may in the same manner be referred to the position in which they placed the ark of Huitzilopochtli when on their pilgrimage from Aztlan, since Diego Duran affirms, in the following passage of the third chapter of his inedited History of Mexico, that the Mexicans built a tabernacle for Huitzilopochtli the sides of which were adjusted to the four cardinal points, and that the people encamped round about it in the manner in which the Israelites are said, in the second * chapter of Numbers, to have encamped round the Hebrew tabernacle in the desert. "Los Mexicanos no curando desta mormuracion, edificaron luego como solian, el tabernaculo de su Dios con el *propiciatorio* y *sacrificadero*, que á manera de altar usaban, y al rededor del todos los demas dioses de que arriba di noticia. Asentados ya y puestos en orden en *sus tiendas al rededor del tabernaculo*, por el orden que su Dios y sacerdote les mandaban *unos á oriente y otros á poniente, al mediodia y al norte*,

* The third chapter of the book of Numbers explains the order in which the Levites were to encamp in an inner square round the tabernacle. The fourth chapter treats of the service of the Levites, from which they became exempt at fifty years of age; and it is highly deserving of notice that amongst the Mexicans exemption from servitude was a privilege accorded to persons of both sexes who had attained the same age. This curious analogy in the customs of the Mexicans and Jews is thus noticed in a MS. preserved in the library of the Escurial: "Digo, el Indio que llegaba á la edad de cincuente y dos años era *libertado de toda carga y servicio* y tributo, y era tenido y acatado de todos, lo mismo la India." Whether the above privilege was accorded to all classes of the community, or only to persons of both sexes who served in the temples, is not particularly explained; the latter, however, appears the greater probability.

mandó en *sueños* á los sacerdotes que atajasen el agua de un rio que junto alli pasaba, para que aquel agua se derramase por todo el llano, y tomase en medio aquel cerro donde estaban, porque les queria mostrar *la semejanza* de la tierra y sitio que les habia *prometido*." It deserves to be remarked, that although Diego Duran makes no express mention in the above passage of an ark, but merely of a tabernacle and altar of sacrifice, still, as an ark was a very essential feature in the history of the migration of the Aztecas, it would be a great omission not to insert here the following passage from the second chapter of the same author's inedited 'Historia de la Nueva España,' in which express mention is made of an ark, with the additional curious fact recorded that the form of the god which it contained ever remained unknown; whence it is evident that that god could have had no *image*, which seems to confirm what Sahagun says, in the second chapter of the third book of his History of New Spain, of Tezcatlipoca being a spirit whose *shadow*, but not whose form, had been occasionally seen by men: "Traian un idolo, que llamaban Huitzilopochtli, el cual traian cuatro ayos que le servian, y á quien el decia muy en secreto todos los sucesos de su itinerario y camino, avisandoles de todo lo que les habia de suceder, y era tanta la reverencia y temor que á este idolo tenian, que otro ninguno que ellos no le osaba tocar ni llegar: el cual venia metido en *una arca* de juncos, que hasta *el dia de hoy no hay quien sepa ni haya visto destos naturales la forma de este idolo.* A este hacian estos sacerdotes adorar por Dios, predicandoles *la ley* que habian de seguir y cumplir, *y las cerimonias y ritos* con que habian de ofrecer sus ofrendas; y esto hacian en todos los lugares que asentaban real, á la misma manera que los hijos de Israel lo usaron todo el tiempo que anduvieron en el desierto." It is very deserving of remark, that as amongst the Jews the ark was a sort of portable temple in which the Deity was supposed to be continually present, and which was accordingly borne on the shoulders of the priests as a sure refuge and defence from their enemies, so amongst the Mexicans and the Indians of Michuacan and Honduras an ark was held in the highest veneration, and was considered an object too sacred to be touched by any but the priests. The same religious reverence for the ark is stated by Adair to have existed amongst the Cherokee and other Indian tribes inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi, and his testimony is corroborated by the accounts of Spanish authors of the greatest veracity. The nature and use of the ark having been explained, it is needless to observe that its form might have been various, although Scripture declares that the Hebrew ark was of the simplest construction. The form of the ark of the Indians of Michuacan has been already described in the three hundred and ninety-ninth page of the present volume. The Parariecha, who are there declared to be "*los sacristanes y guardas de sus dioses*", are represented bearing it in their arms; and they are attired in long and loose robes, with wide sleeves reaching to the wrists resembling the surplices worn by our own clergy. It would appear, from many passages of the Old Testament, that the Jews believed in the *real* presence of God in the ark, as the Roman Catholics believe in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, from whom it is probable the Mexicans borrowed the notion that He, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain and whose glory fills all space, could be confined within the precincts of a narrow ark and be borne by a set of weak and frail priests. If the belief of the Mexicans had not been analogous to that of the ancient Jews, the early Spanish missionaries would certainly have expressed their indignation at the absurd credulity of those who believed that their *omnipresent* god Huitzilopochtli was carried in an ark on priests' shoulders*; but of the ark of the Mexicans they say but little, fearing, as it would appear, to tread too boldly on the burning ashes of Mount Sinai. The following account of the ark of the Indians of Honduras is taken from the hundred and eightieth chapter of the inedited 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas: "Arriba queda dicho que la religion de la Nueva España por mas de ochocientas leguas en torno es toda quasi una; dentro de las quales se comprenden las provincias de Guatimala y de Honduras y de Nicaragua, en unas y en otras poco menos diferencia, ritos, cerimonias y devocion, y por eso de las que aqui no trataré en particular, ninguno se maraville. Solo esto quiero de la de Honduras, que vieron nuestros Españoles quando al principio alli legaron, brevemente decir. Tenian en un templo *un arca de madera*, y en ella un idolillo tamaño como una mano y quizas mas chico, y embuelto en mas de setecientas ó ochocientas vueltas de algodon. Esta arca entrando los Españoles en el templo con furor, como suelen en qualquiera que entran en

* It is impossible to read the last chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch without being impressed with the conviction that the Jews, even *after* they had been led captives to Babylon, were inclined to retain all their ancient predilection for the worship of idols; since, except on such a supposition, it would be absurd to suppose that the prophet Jeremiah would have addressed to them an epistle, consisting of seventy-three verses, in the long course of which he reasons with them as if they were *children* on the absurdity of trusting in senseless idols and forsaking the worship of the true God. It does not, however, follow that they paid the slightest attention to that prophet's exhortation.

aquellas tierras, tomaronla y desbarataronla y sacan el negro del dios. Estaban los Indios llorando con grandes lagrimas, suplicandoles que no llegasen á la arca ni á su dios, y temblando se apartaban, creyendo que se habia de caer el templo sobre todos, y la tierra abrirse y tragallos. Llevan el arca y dentro el idolillo los Españoles, y por honrarlo pusieronlo en una pieza donde tenian por caballeriza sus caballos, los Indios llorando y planteando tras ellos, rogandoles que le diesen su dios. Puesto el negro dios entre el estiercol de los caballos, no hizo milagro alguno, ni derrocó el templo y hundió la tierra para vengarse de su injuria. Finalmente por muchos ruegos é importunidades, y derramadas muchas lagrimas, los Españoles acordaron para ver lo que hacian, darselo. Habida licencia de tomar su dios, traian cinquenta ó sesenta ó mucha cantidad de incensarios con su brasa, en los quales ponian grandes y muchos perfumes: tomaban los sacerdotes su arca con grandisima reverencia y temblor, y los ministros incensando y perfumando, andando hacia atras, y otros infinitos sajandose las lenguas y las orejas, muslos y molledos y otros miembros, y derramando toda aquella sangre por el suelo por donde habia su dios de pasar. Los Españoles estaban mirandolos y admirados y con razon, porque cierto era cosa de admirar."

Note LIV. Page 409.

Having adduced many arguments in the course of these Notes in proof of Judaism having formerly been the established religion of the New World, another mystery no less deserving of attention remains to be explained, namely, how it happened that so many Christian rites could have been mixed up with the barbarous superstitions of the Mexicans, and such a wonderful knowledge of the facts recorded in the Gospels discovered amongst them. The solution of this great historical problem mainly depends on the admission of the probability that America was in very early ages colonized both by Jews and Christians who for a length of time maintained an obstinate struggle with each other for supremacy; but that at last the worshipers of Tezcatlipoca, who were the Jews, came to a compromise with the disciples of Quetzalcoatl, who were the Christians and inferior in number to their opponents, that if the latter would conform to the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic law, they in their turn would acknowledge Quetzalcoatl to be the Messiah who was to redeem Israel, and the star which was to rise up in Jacob. Of the history of Quetzalcoatl, or the first propagation of Christianity in America, we unfortunately know but little, owing to the exertions of the early Spanish missionaries to destroy and consign to oblivion all the monuments of American antiquity. Some traces, however, of that history will be found in the following extract from the first chapter of the second part of Diego Duran's inedited History of New Spain, which chapter is entitled by the author 'De quien se sospecha que fue un gran varon que hubo en esta tierra, llamado Topiltzin y por otro nombre Papa*, á quien los Mexicanos llamaron Hueymac, residió en Tulla.' "Antes que empeçemos á tratar de los dioses, en particular, y de los ritos y cerimonias que se les hacian, quiero tratar de un gran varon que aportó á esta tierra, de su vida religiosa, del culto que enseñaba, de donde los Mexicanos teniendo noticia de él se incitaron á componer cerimonias y cultos, á adorar idolos, edificar altares y templos, y á ofrecer sacrificios. Este Topiltzin, que por otro nombre llamaron estos Indios Papa, fue una persona muy venerable y religiosa, á quien ellos tubieron en gran veneracion y le honraron y reverenciaron como á persona santa. La noticia que de él se tiene es grande, el cual vi pintado á la manera que arriba parece en

* The following extract from an inedited letter of Juan de Tobar to Acosta informs us of the curious fact that Topiltzin, besides being named Papa, was occasionally represented with a triple crown, like that worn by the Roman pontiffs: "Llamavan á este con tres nombres que eran de dioses y de estima, el primero era Topiltzin, el segundo Quetzalcoatl como queda dicho, el tercero era Papa, y entre las figuras que se hallaron de su efigie, *le pintan con una tiara de tres coronas como la del Summo Pontifice*, y como tenian noticia de lo que dexo dicho de su vuelta, y vieron venir á la flota por la parte que el se fue, tuvieron por cierto todos que era el mismo, y que volvia á su reyno, y assi determinaron de irle á recebir y como á su señor, segun que queda dicho." The writer alludes in the same letter to a history of Mexico which had been composed by himself, who thus describes the manner in which it was obtained from him by Dr. Postillo, and, as it would appear, surreptitiously sent to Spain: "Hize una historia bien cumplida, la qual acabada llevó el mismo Dotor Postillo, prometiendo de hazer dos traslados, de muy ricas pinturas, uno para el rey y otro para nosotros. En esta coyuntura le sucedió el ir á España, y nunca pudo cumplir su palabra ni nosotros *cobrar* la historia, pero como entonces lo averigue y trate muy de espacio, quedoseme mucho en la memoria, demas de que vi un libro que hizo un frayle Dominico deudo mio, que estava el mas conforme á la libreria antigua que yo he visto, que me ayudó á refrescar la memoria para hazer esa historia que V. M. agora ha leido, poniendo lo que era mas cierto, y dejando cosillas dudosas que eran de poco fundamento."

un papel bien viejo y antiguo en la ciudad de Mexico, con una venerable presencia, demonstraba ser hombre de edad, la barba larga entre cana y roja, la nariz algo larga con algunas ronchas en ella ó algo comida, alto de cuerpo, el cabello largo muy llano, sentado con mucha mesura: estaba siempre recogido en una celda orando, el cual pocas veces se dejaba ver. Era hombre muy abstinente y ayunador; vivia castamente y muy penitenciero: tenia por ejercicio el edificar altares y oratorios por todos los barrios, y poner imagenes en las paredes sobre los altares, é hincarse de rodillas ante ellas, y reverenciarlas y besar la tierra algunas veces con la boca, otras veces con la mano: el ejercicio del cual era continua oracion: dormia siempre en la punta del altar que edificaba, en el suelo: llegaba á si discipulos y los eñsenaba á orar y predicar, á los cuales discipulos llamaban Tulteca, que quiere decir oficiales ó sabios en algun arte. Las hazañas y maravillas de Topiltzin y de sus hechos heroicos son tan celebrados entre los Indios y tan mentados, y casi con *apariencia de milagros*, que no sé que me atreva á afirmar ni escribir de ellos, *sino que en todo me sugeto á la correccion de la Santa Iglesia Catolica*, porque aunque me quiera atar al sagrado evangelio, que dice por San Marcos, que mandó Dios á sus sagrados apostoles que fuesen por *todo* el mundo y predicasen el evangelio á *toda* criatura, prometiendo á los que creyesen y fuesen bautizados la vida eterna, no me osaré afirmar en que este varon fuese algun apostol bendito; empero gran fuerza me hace su vida y obras á pensar, que pues estas eran criaturas de Dios racionales y capaces de la bien-aventuranza, que no las dejaria sin predicador, y si le hubo fue Topiltzin; el cual aportó á esta tierra, y segun la relacion que de él se da, era cantero* que entallaba imagenes en piedra, y los labraba curiosamente, lo cual leemos del glorioso Santo Tomas ser oficial de aquel arte, y tambien sabemos haber sido predicador de los Indios, y que escarmentado de ellos, pidio á Cristo cuando le apareció en aquella feria donde andaba, que le enviase donde fuese servido, escepto á los Indios, y no me maravillo se escusasen los sagrados apostoles de venir entonces á tratar con gente tan desabrida y tan inconstante y torpe, y tan tarda de juicio para creer las cosas de su salvacion, y tan mudables y presta á creer los fabulosos agüeros sin ningun fundamento ni apariencia de bien. Que hombre de mediano juicio habrá en nuestra nacion Española que le persuada que con chupar los cabellos con la boca, se quita el dolor de cabeza? ni que le hagan creyente que refregandole el lugar que le duele, le saquen piedras ni aguijas ó pedacillos de navajas, como á estos les persuadieron los envaidores, ni que la salud de los niños dependia de tener la cabeza tresquilada de esta manera ó de otra? Cosa bajisima y corto juicio, terrestre y abominable, y que para despersuadirlos de aquello lleguen á tresquilar su hijo, y á quitarle aquellos pegones de cabellos y *cruces* que les ponian, y ser tanta la fé que en aquello tenian, que se ponian descoloridas y mortales de turbadas temiendo que en quitandole aquello á su hijo, habia luego de morir. No me espanto que los que agora los tratamos se exasperen y huyan de tratarlos, pues los apostoles confirmados y llenos de gracia pedian no ir á los Indios, aunque no nos ha de acobardar eso, pues lo mas está ya por el suelo. Volviendo á nuestro proposito, Topiltzin era un hombre advenedizo de tierras estrañas, que casi quieren certificar que apareció en esta tierra, porque ninguna relacion puede hallar de que parte hubiese venido; pero sabese muy de cierto que despues que llegó á esta tierra y empezó á juntar discipulos, y á edificar iglesias y altares, que él y sus discipulos salian á predicar por los pueblos, y se subian á los *cerros*† á predicar, y que sus voces se oian de dos y tres leguas como sonido de trompeta‡. Predicaban en los valles y hacian algunas cosas maravillosas que debian de ser milagros; que admirada la gente les puso este nombre de Tulteca: tambien hacian cosas por sus manos heroicas, que hoy en dia me ha acontecido preguntar quien hizo esta abertura en este cerro§, ó quien abrió esta fuente, ó quien hizo este edificio; responden que los Tultecas, discipulos del Papa; y asi podemos probablemente tener que este varon fue algun apostol de Dios que aportó á esta tierra, y los demas que llamaban oficiales ó sabios, eran sus discipulos, que confirmaban su predicacion con algunos milagros, trabajando de convertir á estas gentes á la ley evangelica: y viendo la rudeza y dureza de sus terrestres corazones,

* The eighteenth verse of the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew might have given rise in the course of ages to this tradition amongst the Mexicans. We may here observe that Abdias affirms that St. Thomas entreated Christ not to be sent to the Indies.

† This might have been in imitation of Christ, whose sermon on the mount would naturally have disposed the early Christian missionaries to preach to the multitude from mountains.

‡ Abdias says of St. Bartholomew, "Vox ejus quasi *tuba* vehemens est,"—Apostolica Historia, lib. viii.

§ We are told in the twenty-first verse of the thirty-first chapter of St. Matthew, that faith can remove mountains. The effect of faith likewise on hills is particularly alluded to by St. Luke in the fifth verse of the third chapter of his gospel: "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth." It is somewhat singular that the *Peruvians* should have believed in both these articles of Christian orthodoxy.

desampararon la tierra y se volvieron á las partes de donde habian venido, y á donde sacasen algun fruto de sus trabajos y predicacion, y la pertinacia grande que tenian en su maldita y descomulgada ley, como hoy en dia esperimentamos los que entre ellos vivimos, de algunos que tubieron alguna noticia, los cuales son ya muy pocos, cuan pertinaces hayan estado en sus antiguos juguetes y en olvidarlos, que siendo cosas tan bajas, y alumbrados con la fé, ellos se estan reprobados por ser sin fundamento todos los pasados ritos y cerimonias. Contra Topiltzin y contra sus discipulos se levantó gran *persecucion,* que oi certificar que se levantó *guerra contra ellos, porque el numero de gente que habia tomado aquella ley era mucha,* y los que seguian la predicacion y ejemplo de aquel santo varon y de sus discipulos. *El caudillo de esta persecucion, segun dicen, fue Tezcatlipuca,* el cual fingiendo ser bajado del cielo para aquel efecto, fingia tambien hacer milagros, *juntando discipulos y gente maligna para molestar á aquellos varones de buena vida y desterrarlos de la tierra, no dejandolos hacer asiento en pueblo ninguno, trayendolos de acá para aculla, hasta que vino á hacer su asiento en Tula, donde reposó por algun tiempo y años, hasta que alli los volvieron á perseguir, de suerte que ya cansados de tanta persecucion, se determinaron de dar lugar á la ira de sus perseguidores é irse,* y asi determinados, Topiltzin mandó juntar el pueblo de Tula ó toda la gente de él, y agradeciendoles el hospedage que le habian hecho, se despidió de ellos, y preguntandole los de Tula la causa de su ida, como pesandoles de verlo ir, les respondió que la causa era *las persecuciones de aquella malvada gente,* y haciendoles una larga platica, les profetizó la venida de una gente estraña que de las partes de Oriente aportarian á esta tierra con un trage estraño y de diferentes colores, vestidos de pies á cabeza y con coverteras en las cabezas, y que aquel castigo les habia de enviar Dios en pago del mal tratamiento que le habian hecho y la afrenta con que le hechaban, con el cual castigo chicos y grandes perecerian, no pudiendo escaparse de sus manos de aquellos sus hijos que habian de venir á destruirlos, aunque se metiesen en las *cuevas* de la tierra, y que de alli los sacarian, y alli los irian á perseguir* y matar. Estas gentes luego pintaron en sus escrituras† aquestas gentes que el Papa les profetizaba, para tener memoria de ellas y esperar el suceso, como

* This reminds us of the language of Christ in the twenty-first chapter of the gospel of St. Luke, and of his famous prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and the near approach of the end of the world. "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away *captive* into *all* nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And there shall be signs in the *sun,* and in the *moon,* and in the *stars*; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the *waves* roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the *powers of heaven* shall be shaken."

† The accounts which we read in Spanish authors of the signs and wonders which preceded the destruction of the Mexican empire, most surprisingly agree with those mentioned by Esdras in the fifth chapter of his second apocryphal book. It is deserving however of remark that whilst they confirm the authenticity of Josephus's narrative, they confute the testimony of the Jewish historian by unequivocally proving that the Hebrew priests in the age of Titus and Vespasian, and the Mexican priests in that of Montezuma, were equally conversant with the traditions of the Apocrypha, and had in like manner endeavoured to convert *the signs of the end of the world,* as foretold by that prophet, into the same base means of popular delusion. The passage of Esdras to which we more particularly allude is the following, which deserves to be compared with the sentences printed in Italics in the accompanying Spanish extract from the eighth chapter of the third part of Augustin de Betancourt's Teatro Mexicano. "Nevertheless as concerning the tokens, behold, the days shall come that they which dwell upon earth shall be taken in a great number, and the way of truth shall be hidden, and the land shall be barren of faith. But *iniquity shall be increased* above that which now thou seest, or that thou hast heard long ago. And the land, that thou seest now to have root, *shalt thou see wasted suddenly.* But if the Most High grant thee to live, thou shalt see after the third trumpet that *the sun shall suddenly shine again in the night,* and *the moon thrice in the day.* And *blood shall drop out of wood,* and *the stone shall give his voice,* and the people shall be troubled. And even *he shall rule, whom they look not for* that dwell upon the earth, and *the fowls shall take their flight away together.* And *the Sodomitish sea shall cast out fish, and make a noise in the night, which many have not known*: but they shall all hear the voice thereof. There shall be a confusion also in many places, and *the fire shall be oft sent out again,* and *the wild beasts shall change their places,* and *menstruous women shall bring forth monsters.* And *salt waters* shall be found *in the sweet,* and *all friends shall destroy one another*; then shall wit hide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber, and shall be sought of many, and yet not be found: then shall unrighteousness and *incontinency be multiplied upon earth.*" "Las señas que en Mexico precedieron, fueron grandes, porque los viejos decian á sus hijos quatro generaciones antes, como avian de venir de el Oriente muchos hombres barbudos, que avian de poseer el reyno, y perecerian sus dioses. El año de 1505 hubo grande hambre, y en este tiempo los cazadores le truxeron á Motecuhzuma una ave como grulla, que tenia una diadema como espejo, *donde siendo de dia vió las estrellas,* y volviendola á ver segunda vez, *vió hombres de guerra armados*: en el palacio que llamaban Tlilancalmecac, 'sala teñida de tinta', llamó á sus echizeros, que le declarasen aquel pronostico, y mientras hazian sus juicios desapareció la grulla. El año de 1510 se en-

despues lo vieron cumplido en la venida de los Españoles. Tambien les dijo que la venida de aquellas gentes no la cendió el templo de Huitzilopochtli el mayor que tenian, y *salian las brasas de las entrañas de las vigas,* y por mas agua que le echaban, *crecia mas el fuego.* El templo de Xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego, que estaba en el barrio de Tzomolco, que es oy San Sebastian, *se encendió sin rayo* (*aunque llovisnaba*) *y se consumió toda la madera.* El año de 1501 *aparecieron en el ayre hombres armados que peleaban. Apareció un cometa* que cayó azia la tierra, *que tenia tres cabezas* y una cola: *llevaron unos hombres unidos en un cuerpo, y otros con cuerpos de dos cabezas* á la sala de la tinta negra, que era la sala de los agueros. Dos años antes de la llegada de los Españoles, *se oia de noche una voz continua de una muger, que á grandes gritos decia afligida: Hijos mios, ya vuestra destruccion se ha llegado, adonde os llevare paraque no os acabeis de perder*; duró esta voz dos años continuos. Y á este mismo tiempo salia á la media noche por el Oriente *una llama de fuego piramidal echando centellas,* que se iba moviendo con el movimiento del cielo azia la parte del Poniente, y al amanecer el sol llegaba al zenihit de Mexico, y perdia su luz hasta que la noche siguiente volvia á aparecer: duró por un año entero esta señal, y los Indios daban vozes al verla salir; dabanse *palmadas en las bocas,* y con el temor de algun mal suceso multiplicaban sacrificios. Y á este tiempo *se acordaban que la laguna de Mexico el año de* 1499 *avia hervido con tal estremo que muchas casas se inundaron, y golpeadas de las olas cayeron.* Juntaron este aguero con aquel que les causaba espanto, y el año de 1519 quando llegaron los Españoles, *apareció un cometa en el ayre con gran resplandor,* que fixo no se movia, y duró por muchos dias. El mas eficaz aviso que tubo este rey entre los demas, no fue tanto el que varias vezes le dió Nezahualpiltzintli rey de Tezcuco, á quien su padre Nezahualcoyotl havia dicho que los idolos no eran dioses, y que el sacrificar hombres no lo consintiese, que avian de venir hombres que dominarian la tierra, y que uno y otro prohibirian por malo, como el que tubo de una hermana suya llamada Papan: esta casó con el rey de Tlatilulco, emviudó, y algunos años antes de la conquista murió. Assistieron á su entierro los reyes y señores, y fue en una como bobeda enterrada, que cubrieron con una loza, y al segundo dia hallaronla en el jardin donde estaba el sepulchro: embió á llamar á su tio el rey de Tezcuco Nezahualpilli, y á su hermano Motecuhzuma, y con grande admiracion fueron *á verla que antes avian enterrado.* Luego que todos llegaron, en voz alta y sosegada les dixo: Sabed, que fui llevada á un campo grande, donde vi un rio que corria de aguas, y que alli se me apareció un mancebo resplandeciente como *el sol,* y de gallardo talle, que llevandome por la mano me dixo: Dios á quien no conoces, quiere que aun no mueras, para que avises á los tuyos lo que vieres. Vide á un lado muchos huecos, y muchas almas gimendo en penas, y dixo: Estos son tus antepasados, que penan por no aver tenido fee. Y luego vide muchos navios en que venian hombres mas blancos que nosotros, de diferentes trages, y me dixo: Estos han de publicar la verdadera fee, y al verdadero Dios: ha de aver muchas guerras: y aquellos que ves con cuernos, y tan feos y negros, preparan aquellas casas donde han de penar los que murieren: despues de apasiguada la guerra, estos forasteros reinaran, y publicaran un lavatorio, y tu has de ser la que los anime para que lo reciban. Vuelve al mundo, y da aviso de lo que has visto para que se redusgan avisados. Con atencion y silencio oyó Motecuhzuma á su hermana, pero atribuyendolo á locura y fantacia, lo redujo á desprecio, que tanto puede la ceguedad obstinada. Esta señora fue baptizada, y se llamó Doña Maria Papan, á quien los primitivos padres comunicaron, y de quien supieron el suceso: vivió como Christiana, y murió con fama de buena vida. Estas son las señales y avisos de el cielo, con que pudo disponerse á mejor vida este monarca y los suyos; y aun no faltó muy de cerca otro aviso, porque quando venian ya para Mexico los Españoles, viendo que avia enmudecido el idolo que le daba respuestas, determinó sacrificar quinientos hombres cautivos, y ofrecer quinientos coraçones; y entre ellos estaba un Tlazcalteco, que al llevarle al sacrificio dixo: Dios que en el cielo vives, y Dios de los que han venido, si tienes poder, librame de aquesta muerte: El satrapa que lo oyó, le dixo: No ay mas poder que el del Dios á quien te sacrifico. Volvió el cautivo á repetir su ruego, y al punto apareció un paraninfo, á cuya presencia todos cayeron por el suelo atonitos, y se libró el cautivo de la muerte, yendose á los Españoles á buscar la vida, y despues quando los Indios vieron los angeles pintados, decian que á ellos se parecia el que libró al cautivo. Trae este suceso Arias de Villalobos, que cita á Gomara y á otros." "The signs which preceded in Mexico were great; for the old men informed their children four generations before, that many bearded men would arrive from the East who would possess themselves of the kingdom and destroy their gods. In the year 1505 there was a great famine; and about the same time the hunters brought to Motecuhzuma a bird like a crane, which had a diadem resembling a mirror, in which *he beheld the stars by day,* and, turning to look in it a second time, *he beheld armed hosts.* Having summoned his diviners to the palace, called Tlilancalmecac, *i. e.* the hall dyed with black, in order that they might declare to him the omen, whilst they were delivering their judgement the crane disappeared. In the year 1510 the temple of Huitzilopochtli, the largest of their temples, took fire, and *the sparks proceeded from the interior of the beams,* and the fire increased in proportion as they attempted to quench it with water. The temple of Xiuhtecutli the god of fire, which was in the barrier of Tzomolco, which is now St. Sebastian, took fire without any lightning, although a mizzling rain fell at the time, and *all the timber-work was burnt.* In the year 1501 *there appeared in the air armed men who fought*; a comet appeared having *three heads*[a] and a tail, which fell in the direction of the earth; *they brought men with double bodies, and others with bodies having two heads,* to the hall dyed with black, which was the hall of divination. Two years before the arrival of the Spaniards *the voice of a woman was continually heard lamenting by night,* who exclaimed with loud cries, My children, your destruction is drawing nigh; whither shall I carry you to save you! This voice lasted two entire years, and at that time a flame of fire ascended at midnight in the east in the form of a pyramid darting forth flames, which advanced with the motion of the sky towards the west, and when the sun arose in the morning, reached the zenith of Mexico, and lost its light until the period of its reappearance on the following night: this sign lasted an entire year; and the Indians, when they saw it, shouted

[a] This would seem to refer to the prodigy of the moon shining *thrice in the same day,* or to three moons appearing in the sky at the same time; as likewise would the flame which ascended at midnight in the *East,* and pursued the *course of the sun* through the heavens, to the sun's suddenly shining *in the night,* which was another of the wonderful signs foretold by Esdras in the fourth verse of the fifth chapter of his second book.

verian ellos ni sus hijos, ni nietos, sino su cuarta ó quinta generacion; estos han de ser vuestros señores, y á estos

and clapped their hands on their mouths[a], and, apprehensive of some calamity, multiplied sacrifices: they recollected at this time that *the lake of Mexico had in* 1499 *been agitated to such an extreme degree that many houses were inundated, and, the waves dashing against them, fell to the ground*; they coupled *this omen*[b] with the other that caused their alarm: and in 1519, when the Spaniards arrived, *there appeared a comet in the air of great brilliancy*, which, without moving, remained stationary, and lasted for many days. The most decided forewarning which this king had experienced amongst others was not so much what Nezahualpiltzintli the king of Tezcuco repeatedly declared to him, whose father Nezahualcoyotl had said that the idols were no gods, and that he would not suffer human sacrifices, since men would arrive who would rule over the country, who would forbid the one and the other as evil, as that which he received from his sister, named Papan, who having been married to the king of Tlatilulco, was left a widow, and died some years before the conquest. The kings and nobles attended her funeral, and she was buried in a sort of vaulted sepulchre, which they covered with a flag, and on the second day they found her in the garden where the sepulchre was situated: she sent to call her uncle Nezahualpilli the king of Tezcuco, and her brother Motecuhzuma, and they went with great amazement to see her whom they had before buried. When all had arrived, she said in a loud and composed tone of voice, Know that I have been carried to a great plain, where I saw a river swollen with water, and there appeared to me a youth resplendent as the sun, and of stately stature, who, taking me by the hand, said to me, The god whom thou knowest not wills that thou shouldest not yet die, in order that thou mayest tell thy countrymen what thou seest. I saw on one side many pits, and many souls groaning in torments; he said, These are thy forefathers who are punished for not having had the faith. And immediately afterwards I saw many ships in which came men whiter than we are and dressed in a different manner; and he said to me, These have to publish the true faith and the true God; there will be many wars, and those whom thou seest with horns so black and frightful have to prepare the houses where those who die are punished. After the war is at an end, these strangers shall rule and publish a baptism, and thou art she who hast to encourage them to receive it. Return to the world and notify that which thou hast seen, that being admonished they may amend. Motecuhzuma listened with attention and silence to his sister, but attributed what she said to madness and a disordered imagination, such is the force of obstinate blindness. This lady was baptized and named Donna Maria Papan, whom the first fathers were personally acquainted with, and from whom they received the above account. She lived like a Christian and died with the reputation of a good life. These are the signs and the warnings of Heaven by means of which this monarch might have disposed himself and his subjects to a better course of life: but he failed not to adopt very different counsels; for when the Spaniards were already marching towards Mexico, perceiving that the idol who was in the habit of giving him answers had become dumb, he determined to sacrifice five hundred prisoners and to make an offering of five hundred hearts; amongst them was a certain Tlazcaltecan, who, when they led him forth to sacrifice, exclaimed, O God who dwellest in heaven, the God of those who have arrived, if thou hast power free me from this death. The satrap, who heard him, replied, There is no other power than that of the God to whom I sacrifice thee. The prisoner recommenced his supplication, when, at the instant, there suddenly appeared a vision, before whose presence all fell on the ground astonished, and the prisoner escaped from death, fleeing to the Spaniards to seek life; when the Indians afterwards saw paintings of angels they said that he who freed the prisoner resembled them; Arias de Villalobos, who cites Gomara and other authorities, relates this event." The further fulfilment of the abovementioned signs is alluded to by Nezahualcoyotl in the following hymn, preserved by Ixtlilxochitl, in the forty-seventh chapter of his inedited 'Historia Chichimeca,' who says that that hymn was composed by the monarch on the occasion of the dedication of the greater temple of Huitzilopochtli, and it is exceedingly deserving of notice, that the allusion in it to trees bearing fruit before they arrived at maturity, and the earth's lacking strength and hastening to decay, would seem indirectly to refer to what Esdras says in the forty-ninth verse of the fifth chapter of his second book, of the womb of the earth having decayed through age, and to be a confirmation of the sentiments expressed in the tenth verse of the fourteenth chapter of the same book, as also to apply to the sign of women bringing forth untimely children, which was likewise to be one of the signs indicating that the end of the world was drawing nigh. To this lastmentioned sign Esdras particularly alludes in the following passage of the sixth chapter of his second book. "And when the world, that shall begin to vanish away, shall be finished, then will I shew these tokens: the books shall be opened before the firmament, and they shall see altogether. And the children of a year old shall speak with their voices, the women with child shall bring forth *untimely children of three or four months old*, and they shall live, and be raised up. And suddenly shall *the sown places appear unsown*, the full storehouses shall suddenly be found empty. And the trumpet shall give a sound, which when every man heareth, they shall be suddenly afraid. At that time *shall friends fight one against another like enemies*, and the earth shall stand in fear with those that dwell therein, the springs of the fountains shall stand still, and in three hours they shall not run. Whosoever remaineth from all these that I have told thee shall escape, and see my salvation, and *the end of your world*. And the men that are received shall see it,

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[a] We have already observed that this was a Jewish custom, in the three hundred and eighty-seventh page of the present volume.

[b] Gomara gives us to understand in the chapter of his 'Historia de la Conquista de Mexico,' which treats of the prodigies which foretold the destruction of the Mexican empire, that one of those prodigies was the earth opening in the vicinity of the lake of Mexico and casting out large fish. This sign so exactly agrees with that which Esdras foretold in the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of his second book, that it would lead to the inference that the Mexicans were acquainted with all the prodigies foretold by Esdras, and had actually transferred the site of the Sodomitish sea to the lake of Mexico. The following is the passage of Gomara's 'History of the Conquest of Mexico' above alluded to. "Tambien rebentó la tierra el año de veynte cerca de Mexico, y *salian grandes peces con el agua*, que lo miraron *por novidad*." "The earth likewise burst open in the year twenty in the neighbourhood of Mexico, and *large fish came forth with the water*, which they considered something new."

habeis de servir, y os han de maltratar y *echar de vuestras tierras** como vosotros lo habeis hecho conmigo: y volvi

who have *not tasted death* from their birth: and the heart of the inhabitants shall be *changed*, and turned into another meaning. "En el año de mil cuatrocientos sesenta y siete que llaman Ce Acatl, se acabó y fue el estreno del templo mayor de la ciudad de Tezcuco del idolo Huitzilopochtli, y entonces dijo: 'En tal año como este, se destruira este templo que ahora se estrena. Quien se hallara presente? Si será mi hijo, ó mi nieto? Entonces ira *á disminucion la tierra*, y se acabaran los señores; de suerte que *el maguey siendo pequeño y sin sazon será talado. Los arboles siendo pequeños darian fruto*, y la *tierra defectuosa siempre irá á menos.* Entonces *la malicia, deleites y sensualidades estarán en su punto*, dandose á ellos desde su tierna edad los hombres y mugeres; y unos á otros se robarán las haciendas. Sucederan cosas prodigiosas. *Las aves hablaran*, y en este tiempo llegará *el arbol de la luz y de la salud y sustento.* Por librar á vuestros hijos de vuestros vicios y calamidades, haced que desde niños se den á la virtud y trabajos.'" "In the year 1467, which they name Ce Acatl, the building of the greater temple of the city of Tezcuco, sacred to the idol Huitzilopochtli, was completed, and the dedication took place, and then he (Nezahualcoyotl) said, 'In such a year as this, this temple will be destroyed which is now dedicated. Who will be then present? Will it peradventure be my son or my grandson? Then the land will sensibly decay, and the race of native princes will become extinct, so that the maguey will be cut when small, and before it has arrived at maturity, the trees when small will bear fruit, and *the earth lacking strength will deteriorate.* Then will malice, voluptuousness, and sensuality attain their height, men and women abandoning themselves to these vices from their earliest youth, and they will mutually rob each other's goods. Prodigies will follow, *birds will talk*, and, when this happens, *the tree of light and of health and of sustenance will arrive.* In order to free your children from your own vices and calamities, cause them from their infancy to apply themselves to virtue and industry.'" The following is the explanation which Ixtlilxochitl gives us of the prodigies foretold by Nezahualcoyotl in the above hymn, and his application[a] of them to the events which immediately followed the conquest of the Mexican empire by the Spaniards. "Todas estas mudanzas aqui contenidas y aumentos de vicios se han cumplido á la letra, por lo que en aquellos tiempos se tenian por cosas sobrenaturales y prodigiosas, son en este muy patentes y ordinarias, y asi no causan admiracion; porque quien veria en aquel tiempo que si por desgracia aparecia un borracho, luego al punto de mas de ser afrentado y castigado, le destechaban la casa y saqueaban, no dejandole vivir en poblado; y ahora es tan comun que lo tienen por costumbre cotidiana? Las doncellas que tenian veinte y cinco, y treinta años, no sabian salir de los rincones de sus padres; y ahora aun no han cumplido doce, que ya no sean dueñas; y asi de lo demas se hechará de ver la diferencia que hay en este tiempo á aquel, y la mudanza tan grande. Este muy sabio rey mandó á todos los artifices que cada uno en el que usaba, le retratase, porque andando el tiempo, sus descendientes oyendo sus hechos y hazañas desearian verle y conocerle, el qual su deseo se les cumpliria en ver su retrato; y asi cada uno en su facultad hizo los retratos. Los plateros hicieron una estatua de oro muy natural. Los plumeros en un cuadro dibujaron de varias plumas su retrato tan al natural que parecia estar vivo. Otro quadro hicieron los pintores lo mejor que pudieron. Los escultores una estatua de la misma manera y los arquitectos de piedra fueron á su bosque de Tezcotzinco y hicieron aquel leon que atras queda referido, y no retrataron mas de tan solo el rostro. Hasta los olleros hicieron lo mismo: y por su orden fueron presentandole los retratos que habian hecho, excepto el de la peña que era forzoso él ir á verlo; y asi habiendolo visto, solo aquel le cuadró, y todos los demas los desechó, diciendo, que el oro y piedras con la codicia se perderian, y los quadros con el tiempo se desharian y borrarian; el barro se quebraria y la madera se carcomeria; mas que el de la peña solo permaneceria, y gozarian de él sus nietos y descendientes." "All the changes here mentioned with the increase of vice have been fulfilled to the letter, for that which was accounted in those times as supernatural and prodigious is in this, plain and capable of easy explanation, and therefore causes no astonishment; for who ever saw a drunkard then whose appearance gave rise to public scandal, who, besides being disgraced and punished, had not his house immediately unroofed and pillaged; such a character not being permitted to reside in a civil community, and now drunkenness is so common that it has become a daily habit. Young women then of five-and-twenty and thirty years of age did not stir from their father's roofs, and now they scarcely complete twelve years when they cease to be virgins, and in the same manner in respect to everything else, the difference is apparent between this and that time, and the change great. This very wise king commanded every description of artist, each in the art in which he was skilled, to fashion a likeness of his person in order that his descendants, who, in after ages, should hear of the fame of his exploits, and wish to see and know him, might have their desire gratified; and, accordingly, they all made likenesses of him in their respective arts. The goldsmiths made a statue of gold which extremely resembled him; the embroiderers in feathers drew his likeness so exact that it appeared to be alive; the painters presented him with a portrait, on which they had exerted all their art; the sculptors in like manner made a statue, and the architects who wrought in stone went to his country residence of Tezcotzinco, and made that lion which has been already mentioned. Even the workers in clay and earthenware made his image. When by his command the likenesses which they had made had been presented to him, with the exception of that cut in the rock, which he was obliged himself to go to see; that alone pleased him, and he rejected all the rest, remarking, that the gold and precious stones would

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[a] The error of Ixtlilxochitl seems to have proceeded from his having confounded *the cross* with *the tree of life*, which latter epithet the Mexicans bestowed on the Tree of Sustenance, which they likewise named Tonacaquahuitl, and which, it would appear from the words of the interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, in the 127th page of the sixth volume of the present work, they sometimes represented bloody and cracked in the middle, perhaps to verify the sign foretold by Esdras, "*and blood shall drop out of wood.*" It deserves to be remarked that the *tree of life* is particularly mentioned by Esdras in the twelfth verse of the second chapter of his second book; and in the last chapter of the Revelations: and in both these places in connexion with the end of the world and the consummation of all things.

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* The dispersion of the Jews seems here alluded to.

endose á sus discipulos y otra mucha gente que le seguia, llorando les dijo: Ea hermanos, salgamos de donde no nos

fall a prey to the avaricious, and the portraits be spoiled and defaced by time, that the clay would be broken, and the wood wormeaten, but that the image cut in the rock would alone be durable, and that his grandsons and posterity should have that memorial of him." We cannot conclude this note without remarking, as an extremely curious coincidence, that the Mexicans appear to have been as well acquainted with the prophecies contained in the fourteenth chapter of the book of Zechariah as they were with the second book of Esdras. This however may without much difficulty be satisfactorily accounted for, since the predictions of both these prophets equally relate to events which were to befall the Jews in the latter times, and to the *signs* which were to precede the destruction of their city and temple; the greater portion of which would seem to have been transferred by the Mexicans to the posterity of the Jews in another hemisphere. The prophecies of Joel have already been referred to in the three hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of the present work, where also will be found some mention of Ezekiel's famous parable of the *boiling pot*, and a comparison of that type with the representations of boiling pots in some of the pages of the Mexican paintings. If, however, any further proof were wanting of the extraordinary acquaintance which the Mexicans possessed of certain books of the Old Testament, and their *literal* interpretation of the allegories of Scripture, it would be found in the sixty-seventh page of the Codex Borgianus, which admirably illustrates the plague denounced by the prophet Zechariah against the enemies of the Jews in the twelfth verse of the fourteenth chapter of his prophecies: "And this shall be the plague wherewith the Lord will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem; their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth." The denunciation of Malachi, in the third verse of the second chapter of his prophecies, that the Lord would cast abominable filth upon his people, seems likewise to be alluded to in the sixth page of the lesser Vatican MS.; nor should we omit to notice here a curious prophecy respecting the cleaving asunder of the Mount of Olives, which is situated on the east of Jerusalem, and a vast valley being left in the midst caused by the rolling apart of the two halves of the mountain in a northern and southern direction, which occurs in the fourth verse of the fourteenth chapter of Zechariah. This prophecy related to the destruction of Jerusalem and its sudden salvation by the miraculous appearance of the Lord; and there seems to be an allusion to it in the speech of the Mexican noble, inserted in the eighty-ninth page of the Notes annexed to the present volume in the mysterious passage: "Dost thou heed or take account of *eclipses* of the sun, of earthquakes, tempests at sea, or *the bursting asunder of mountains*?" With respect to the prodigy of *birds talking*, which was one of the signs which Nezahualcoyotl foretold would immediately precede the destruction of the Mexican empire, that sign appears to be unequivocally alluded to in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the book of Ecclesiastes, where Solomon himself thus foretells the signs which would precede some great calamity which, in the latter times, would befall the Jews. "In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and *the grinders cease because they are few*, and those that look out at the windows be darkened, and the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up *at the voice of the bird*, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low; also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and *the almond tree shall flourish*, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets: or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern." The prodigy of stones crying out and beams answering them is foretold by Habakkuk in the eleventh verse of the second chapter of his prophecies, whose denunciation, in the sixteenth verse of the same chapter, of a judgement against the Jews for their shameless debaucheries, would seem to be alluded to in the eighty-fifth page of the lesser Vatican MS. That the same class of prodigies were familiar to the minds of the Mexicans is evident from the curious account given us by Sahagun in the fifty-sixth page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, of a beam crying out from a wall, which the Mexicans believed was one of the signs which portended the destruction of their empire. The sign of a stone speaking is likewise noticed by an anonymous Spanish author, in the following passage of an inedited manuscript preserved in the library of the Escurial: "Este mismo año trayendo los Indios una piedra muy grande á Mexico, para esculpir y pintar en ella á Motezuma, y ponerla en Chapultepeque, donde están las figuras de los señores que han sido en Mexico desde que le fundaron; al pasar de una puente que estaba en el azequia junto á donde son agora las casas de Don Pedro de Alvarado, se les cayó la piedra de la puente abajo, y al caer, *oyeron una voz que decia Yaizquichi, que quiere decir, 'ya es acabado*[a];' tambien lo tomaron por aguero, y otras muchas cosas, y esta fue la causa por donde Motezuma recibió al principio de paz al Marques y á los Españoles, y les envió á Cempoualla los rescates de oro y otras cosas." "This same year, as the Indians were bringing a very large stone to Mexico for the purpose of sculpturing a statue of Montezuma out of it, which was to be placed in Chapultepecque, where are the statues of the kings who have reigned in Mexico from the foundation of that city, on passing a bridge, which is on the causeway near the spot where is now the house of Don Pedro de Alvarado, the stone fell from the bridge, and when falling they heard a voice which exclaimed *Yaizquichi*, which signifies 'now it is finished;' this they likewise considered an omen, as they did many other things; and that was the reason why Montezuma received the Marquis and the Spaniards amicably in the beginning and sent them a present of gold and other things to Cempoualla." The last prodigy deserving of notice is that of "wild beasts changing their places," and "fowls taking their flight away together[b]," both of which are enumerated by Esdras, in the sixth and eighth verses of the fifth chapter of his

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[a] This reminds us of the words *MENE MENE* TEKEL UPHARSIN, inscribed on the walls of the Babylonian palace: the meaning of which words, that is to say, of the first two of them, as interpreted by Daniel in the fifth chapter of his prophecies, exactly agrees with that of *Yaizquichi*, "It is finished."

[b] The interpreter of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis says, in the hundred and forty-eighth page of the sixth volume of this work, that *a flight of birds which darkened the sun* was one of the signs which preceded the destruction of the Mexican empire.

quieren, y vamonos donde tengamos mas descanso, y asi empezó Topiltzin á caminar pasando por todos los mas pueblos de la tierra, dando á cada lugar y cerro su nombre apropiado, y á la hechura del cerro, siguiendole de cada pueblo mucha gente, y tomó la via hacia la mar, y que alli abrió con sola *su palabra* un gran monte, y que se metio por alli. Otros dicen que echó el manto encima de la mar, y que hizo una señal con la mano encima, y que sentado empezó á caminar por el agua*, y que nunca mas le vieron; aunque preguntado á otro Indio viejo la noticia que tenia de la ida de Topiltzin, me empezó á relatar el capitulo catorce del Exodo, diciendo que el Papa habia llegado á la mar con mucha gente que le seguia, y que habia dado con un baculo en la mar, y que se habia secado y hecho camino, y que entró por alli él y su gente, y que sus perseguidores habian entrado tras él, y que se habian vuelto las aguas á su lugar, y que nunca mas habian sabido de ellos; y como vi que habia leido donde yo, y donde iba á parar, no me di mucho por preguntarle, porque no me contase el Exodo, de que le senti tener noticia, y tanta que fue á dar en el castigo que tubieron los hijos de Israel de las serpientes por la murmuracion contra Dios y Moisen. Pasando Topiltzin por todos estos pueblos que he dicho, dicen que iba *entallando en las peñas cruces y imagenes*: y preguntandole donde se podrian ver para satisfacerme, nombraronme ciertos lugares donde lo podia ver, y uno en la Zapoteca: y preguntando á un Español que se habia hallado por alli, si aquello fuese verdad, me certificó con juramento que él habia visto un crucifijo entallado en una peña en una quebrada. Tambien me dijo un Indio viejo, que pasando el Papa por Acuituco, *les habia dejado un libro grande de cuatro dedos de alto, de unas letras*; y yo movido con deseo de haber este libro, fui á Ocuituco, y rogué á los Indios con toda la humildad del mundo me le mostrasen, *y me juraron que habra seis años que le quemaron, porque no acertaban á ver la letra, ni era como la nuestra, y que temiendo no les causase algun mal, le quemaron*; *lo cual me dio pena, porque quiza nos diera satisfecho de nuestra duda, que podria ser el sagrado evangelio en lengua Hebrea*† lo cual no poco reprehendi á los que lo *mandaron quemar*. Andaban los discipulos de este santo varon con unas ropas largas hasta los pies: traian en sus cabezas coberteras de paños, ó bonetes, lo cual quisieron pintar los Indios, cuando por poner las tocas ó bonetes que traian, pintaron caracoles. Tambien eran las ropas de diversas colores; traian algunos de ellos el cabello largo, á las cuales cabelleras llamaron despues estos Indios *papa*‡: hallé la pintura como la veran pintada en esta lamina, junto á la pintura de Topiltzin, no menos vieja y antigua que esotra, que para prestarmela el Indio de Chiauhtla que la tenia, me hubo primero de conjurar que se la habia de volver; al cual dandole mi palabra que en sacandola se la volveria, me la prestó con tantas cerimonias y zalemas, y

second book, amongst the signs which portended the end of the world, which catastrophe, it is extremely deserving of notice, the Mexicans expected at the expiration of every toxiuhmolpilli, or period of fifty-two years, deriving, as it would appear, that notion from Esdras, who expressly says in the eleventh verse of the fourteenth chapter of his second book, and *on the authority of God himself*, that ten of the twelve parts into which the duration of the world was divided had expired in his own age, viz.—at the period of the Babylonian captivity, according to which computation the end of the world ought to have taken place soon after the Christian æra, and the world's continuation for a longer date could only be ascribed to an act of divine grace, which reversed the decree that fixed its doom at an earlier period; and this will explain why the Mexicans thought it probable that the world would be destroyed at the end of each cycle of fifty-two years; and when they beheld the stars moving in the midnight sky, and Nature continuing her former course after the awful minute of the night which divided the old from the new xiuhmolpilli, they returned thanks to Tezcatlipoca, congratulating each other on the certainty that the world would be spared for another age of fifty-two years. It is not at all improbable that the doctrine of the near approaching end of the world and its preservation for a further limited period by the special grace of the Deity, in consideration of the prayers of the faithful, was introduced by the first propagators of Judaism in the New World with the view of infusing a spirit of superstition into the breasts of their Indian converts. That the end of the world was considered by the early Christians, as well as by the Mexicans, an event likely to take place at some hour of *the night*, is probable from Christ's comparing his advent to the coming of *a thief in the night*; which simile, if it did not originate in the previously received opinions of the Jews, might have laid the foundation for that opinion amongst the primitive Christians, whose extreme credulity disposed them to adopt whatever wore the appearance of novelty in faith or doctrine; thence giving rise to the innumerable heresies which sprung up in the first three centuries of the Christian æra.

* This miracle recalls to our recollection what is said in the gospels, of Christ walking on the waves and stilling a storm at sea; and Torquemada supposes, with much probability, that it might have obtained for Quetzalcoatl the title of 'the god of the winds', whose sign in the Mexican calendar was Ehecatl, or 'the wind'.

† The loss of the original Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew is one of those mysterious facts that cannot be accounted for except by a supposition most discreditable to the early Christians; who possibly, from the enmity which they bore to the Jews, might have intentionally lost the Gospel intended for their salvation.

‡ It hence appears that Papa was a *proper name* and that 'hair' was a signification which it afterwards acquired, derived from those strangers who first introduced the custom of wearing the hair in that peculiar fashion amongst the Mexicans.

con tanto secreto, que me admiró lo mucho en que la tenia, y sé afirmar que creo no se quitó de con el pintor hasta que la hube sacado, del cual procuré tener alguna noticia, y me relató todo lo que atras dejo dicho, salvo que se aventajó en decirme que todas las cerimonias y ritos, el edificar templos y altares, y el poner idolos en ellos, el ayunar y andar desnudos, y dormir por los suelos, el subir á los montes á predicar allá su ley, el besar la tierra y comerla con los dedos, y el tañer bocinas y caracoles y flautillas en las solemnidades, todo fue remedar á aquel santo varon*, el cual encensaba los altares y hacia tañer instrumentos en los oratorios que edificaba. Queriendome confirmar en si esto era verdad, pregunté á un Indio viego que me le vendieron por letrado en su ley, natural de Coatepec, el cual murió de esta enfermedad, que me dijese si aquello era asi que alli tenia escrito y pintado, y como no saben dar relacion sino es por el libro de su aldea, fue á su casa, y trajo una pintura, que á mi me parecieron ser mas hechizos† que pinturas; el cual tenia *alli cifrada por unos caracteres ininteligibles‡ toda la vida del Papa y de sus discipulos* y me la relató como el otro, y mejor, de que no poco contento quedé, y se aventajó un poco, con mas enseñandome la figura de Topiltzin, que cuando celebraba las fiestas se ponia aquella corona de plumas que en la pintura vimos, á la manera que se ponen la mitra los obispos en la cabeza cuando dicen misa. La pintura de los discipulos es esta§. La figura de atras son los discipulos que trujo el Papa, á los cuales llamaban 'Tulteca' y 'hijos del sol': hay de sus hijos grandes cosas y obras memorables: tubieron su principal asiento en Cholula, aunque discurrieron por toda la tierra: tubieron aquel asiento antes que los Cholultecas poblasen‖: fueron predicadores de los serranos de Tlaxcala, que llamaban Chichimecas, y de los gigantes, andaban vestidos con ropas de colores, á los cuales llamaron los Indios Xicolli, y por razon de las tocas que traian en las cabezas, los llamaron 'Quatecziseque'¶ que quiere decir *cabezas con caracoles.* Rogaron los señores de esta tierra á este santo varon Hueymac que se casase, y respondió que ya tenia determinado de casarse, pero que habia de ser cuando el roble echase manzanas, y el sol saliese por esta otra parte contraria, y cuando la mar se pudiese pasar á pie enjuto, y cuando los ruiseñores criasen barbas como los hombres. En una pintura le vi pintado con una loba larga, y un sombrero grande puesto en la cabeza á este varon Hueymac, y un rotulo que decia 'Padre de los hijos de las nuves**.' Queriendome satisfacer mas y sacar algun puntillo del Indio que he dicho, para con una

* This confirms what the interpreter of the Codex Vaticanus says in the hundred and seventy-eighth page of the sixth volume of the present work.

† This description agrees so exactly with the appearance of the Mexican paintings which have been preserved to our days, that it affords the most unequivocal proof of the veracity of Diego Duran's relation.

‡ We learn from the following very curious passage of the two hundred and thirty-fifth chapter of the inedited 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas that the Mexicans could apply their picture-writing to all the purposes of a syllabic alphabet. This indeed we should have been led to infer from the facility with which they expressed in phonetic painting the most complex proper names of persons and places in the Mexican language, and from the exact recollection which they retained of the speeches spoken on remarkable occasions by their kings and other great men. If this were the place for discussing that question, it certainly would not be difficult to show that the use of syllabic writing was not likely to have led to the invention of an alphabet, although it *might* certainly have led to that result; but that the discovery of letters originated in that analysis of the properties of the human voice which the first inventors of music found necessary for the improvement and perfection of their art. It need scarcely be observed that by the term *coronistas* Las Casas alludes in the following passage to the Mexican painters. "Estos coronistas tenian cuenta de los dias, meses y años: y aunque no tenian escritura como nosotros, tenian empero sus figuras y *caracteres* que todas las cosas que querian, significaban; y destas sus libros grandes, por tan agudo y sotil artificio, que podriamos decir que nuestras letras en aquello no les hicieron *mucha ventaja.* Destos libros vieron algunos nuestros religiosos, y aun yo vide parte; los quales se han quemado por parecer de los frailes, pareciendoles que por lo que tocava á la religion en este tiempo y principio de su conversion, quiza no les hiciese daño. Si acaece algunas veces olvidarse algunos de algunas palabras ó particularidades de la doctrina christiana, y no sabiendo leer nuestra escritura, *escriven toda la doctrina ellos por sus figuras y caracteres muy ingeniosamente, poniendo la figura que correspondia en la voz y sonido á nuestro vocablo.* Asi como si dijesemos Amen, ponian pintada una como *fuente,* y luego un *maguey,* que en su lengua corresponde con Amen, porque llamanlo *Ametl,* y asi de todolo demas. Yo he visto mucha parte de la doctrina christiana escrita por sus figuras é imagenes, que la leian por ellas, como yo la leya por nuestra letra en una carta, y esto no es artificio de ingenio poco admirable."

§ The annexed is the engraving of the disciples of Topiltzin, mentioned in the text; it was copied by Diego Duran from the original Mexican painting above alluded to.

‖ Hence it is evident that the epoch of the arrival of Topiltzin and his disciples amongst the Indians was anterior by many ages to the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, and not merely four or five generations prior to the reign of Montezuma.

¶ This proper name is compounded of *qua,* the head, and *teceiztli,* a snail-shell, evidently in allusion to the turbans worn by the disciples of Topiltzin, whose twisted form resembled snail-shells.

** An anonymous Spanish missionary asserts that Quetzalcoatl was named Mixcoatl, or the 'serpent of the clouds'; which appellation might have been given to him for the abovementioned reason.

palabra de aqui y otra de alli cumplir mi escritura, le pregunté de nuevo la causa de la salida de aquel santo varon de esta tierra, el cual me respondió *haber sido la persecucion de Quetzalcoatl* y de Tezcatlipuca.*

* A particular account of the persecution of Quetzalcoatl, or Topiltzin, by Tezcatlipoca, will be found in the two hundred and fifty-ninth page of the sixth volume of the present work. Without recurring to facts already previously mentioned in the course of these Notes, we may here remark that it is highly probable that the gospel was in early ages preached in America, and that Quetzalcoatl was the name which the Mexicans gave to Jesus Christ. The analogy perceptible between these two proper names may not at first appear very obvious; but when it is recollected that the Mexican language excludes from its alphabet the letters b, d, f, g, r, and s, as Molina remarks in the following passage of the Preface to the second part of his Mexican and Spanish Vocabulary, "Esta lengua Mexicana (como consta á todos los que bien sienten) carece de algunas letras de nuestro abece, que son las siguientes: b. d. f. g. r. s. y á esta causa en el orden alphabetico de este vocabulario, no se hallarán las sobredichas letras, sino que despues de la a, se sigue la c, y tras ella la e, y luego la h. i. l. m. n. o. p. q. t. v. x. porque la y griega tampoco la ha menester esta lengua, pues le basta una i, á lo menos para comenzar los vocablos en el orden que aqui se pone de las letras,"—the approximation in sound of Jesus Christ to Quetzal-Coatl will appear as near an attempt at the assimilation of these two proper names as the genius of the Mexican language will admit, and certainly does not display a greater anomaly in orthoepy than is commonly the case with words introduced into the Chinese language from any other foreign dialect, since the Chinese, in adapting to their pronunciation European proper names, are for the same reason under the necessity of resorting to approximate and analogous sounds, and scarcely can pronounce in a manner intelligible to Europeans the name of a single country in Europe. To illustrate more fully what is here meant, let us for a moment suppose that a native Mexican wished to pronounce the letter j, which forms the initial letter of the proper name Jesus Christ, that letter pronounced harshly having no existence in the Mexican language, he would find himself unable to express a consonant so strange to his ear; and although the substitution of the consonant y, with which many words in the Mexican language commence, might appear to a European a more fit letter than q to form the initial letter of the word Jesus, in the same manner as the Turks change the pronunciation of the proper name Joseph into Yussuf, still the ears of the Mexicans being quite unfamiliarized to the new consonant might not be capable of so nicely discriminating which letter in their own alphabet most resembled j, and they might accordingly have given a preference to the letter q, with which the vowel e of *Jesus* would readily coalesce, whilst the letter s by an easy transition into tz would complete the formation of the syllable Quetz, and the Latin termination *us* of the proper name Jesus being changed into al, a final syllable better adapted to the termination of nouns in the Mexican language, the entire word Jesus would thus become Quetzal in the Mexican language, which term—signifying a plume of *green feathers,* and derivatively anything *very precious,* in which latter signification the interpreter of the Vatican MS. understood the compound word Quetzalcoatltopiltzin to signify 'our *dearly beloved* son' (which name is a combination of the two epithets, Quetzalcoatl and Topiltzin),—was represented in the Mexican paintings by its corresponding symbol of a bunch of green plumes, thus suggesting to the Mexican converts to Christianity the selection of the word *quetzal* as the most suitable appellation for Jesus, who probably would have preferred that to any other word even more nearly agreeing with Jesus in sound which did not convey so appropriate an image to the eye or so fit a signification to the ear. The substitution of Coatl for the proper name Christ may be explained on the same principles of verbal analogy, while at the same time it may be right to take into consideration the formal address of Christ to his disciples, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves," which admonition from their Divine Master might have induced the first preachers of the gospel in America to assume the appellation of Coatl, or in other words, to designate themselves serpents, and to turn to their advantage the superstitious reverence which the Mexicans appear to have imbibed from the Jews for the serpent, bestowing in like manner the epithet of Quetzalcoatl or the 'precious serpent' upon Christ, which epithet deserves to be compared with Votan's tradition of his serpent origin as recorded in the manuscript in the Tzendal language, in the possession of Don Ramon de Ordoñez y Aguiar, and communicated by him to Doctor Cabrera, of which a more particular account will be found in the four hundred and eighth page of the sixth volume of the present work, in reference to which tradition we shall only further observe that the maps of the old and new continent, which are there said to have occupied two small squares in the opposite angles of the title-page of the above MS., with an intervening blank left for the insertion of the words, "Proof that I am Culebra," i. e. a serpent, which formed the title of the work, must, from the description of the transverse bars which formed a point of union in the centre of the page, have been contained within two crosses of the kind usually named St. Andrew's, exactly in the manner represented in the *map of the city of Mexico* in the first plate of the Collection of Mendoza, and which might either have been intended as a symbol of the religion professed by Votan and his disciples or have been a geometrical figure invented by the Mexicans, the better to mark the relative position of places and to preserve regularity in their maps, with some regard also to the square figure of the earth and its four *corners,* to which there is such frequent allusion in the Old Testament, as likewise to the adjustment of its sides to the four cardinal points of the compass. That the brazen serpent was a famous type of Christ, acknowledged as such by Christians of all ages, deserves likewise to be borne in remembrance, since it is impossible to know to what purposes fanaticism might have converted that symbol when once superstition had acquired uncontrolled power over the minds of the Mexicans. The genius of the Mexican language not permitting the combination of the initial letters, cr or chr, of the proper name Christ, or in other words, the Mexicans being unable to pronounce those consonants in conjunction, as will more plainly appear by reference to page 25 of the second part of Molina's Mexican Vocabulary, where the *only* word beginning with cr is *cruztitech,* a word evidently of Spanish origin, and signifying 'upon the cross,' *en la cruz,* they would have been obliged either to reject the letter r or to try the experiment of imitating its sound by substituting in its room other letters nearly resembling r pronounced in conjunction with the succeeding vowel i of the proper name Christ, and for that purpose they might have selected the letters oa, which are analogous in sound to the diphthong oi, and changing the two final letters of Christ into tl, a termination more suitable to Mexican proper names, have so formed the word Coatl, which with Quetzal affixed to it would express in the Mexican language the compound proper name Jesus Christ.

SUPPLEMENT.

PREFACE.

THIS SUPPLEMENT consists of Extracts from the works of Torquemada, Acosta, and Garcia. The object of annexing it to the present work is to illustrate the last portion of the Mexican Paintings contained in the Collection of Mendoza, and to show the correspondence which exists between many of the Mexican and Hebrew laws. The order in which the various subjects follow each other is the same as that preserved in those Paintings:—the baptism of children, their education, the marriage ceremony customary amongst the Mexicans, the austerities practised by their priests, and the arts in which they chiefly excelled, are successively described. Next follow many Chapters taken from the works of Garcia and Torquemada, in which the ordinances of Leviticus and Deuteronomy are compared with the ritual observancies and moral laws of the Mexicans. These last chapters are very curious, and deserving of attentive consideration.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS

FROM

SPANISH AUTHORS.

Capitulo XVI.

DEL LIBRO TRECE DE LA MONARQUIA INDIANA DE TORQUEMADA.

Donde se trata de la Costumbre, y Ceremonias, que hacian estos Indios, en los Nacimientos de sus Hijos; y se dice de un cierto Bautismo, ò Labatorio, con que los lababan, ò bautiçaban.

MUY comun, y usado, ha sido entre Naciones del Mundo, quando nacen las criaturas, cortarles el ombligo, y hacer algunas ceremonias, segun lo mas, ò menos de supersticiones, que sentian. De estos fueron estas Gentes de esta Nueva-España, los quales, luego que les nacian los Hijos, lo primero que hacian, era cortarle el ombligo, y enterrarlo; y luego la Partera lababa à la criatura, diciendo estas palabras: Recibate el Agua, por ser tu Madre la Diosa Chalchihuitlycue, Chalchiuhtlatonac, y pongate el Labatorio, para labar, y quitar las manchas, y suciedades que tienes de parte de tus Padres, y limpiete tu coraçon, y dè buena, y perfecta Vida. Bien cierto estoi, que estos ciegos idolatras estaban mui apartados de el conocimiento de el Pecado original; porque como no es cosa positiva, sino carencia de Gracia, y esto todo es invisible, es manifiesto, que los que no tienen lumbre de Fè, no es posible, que lo sepan. Porque el Pecado original es el que contraemos, por venir de Adàn, en el qual fue contaminada, y maculada toda la masa de la Naturaleça Humana: y esto, por aver traspasado el Mandamiento de Dios: y esto no lo conocian los Gentiles, ni nadie de estos postreros Hombres de el Mundo, sino era por noticia, ò revelacion, que de ello tuviesen, lo qual les faltaba à estos Indios. Y asi digo, que estaban lejos de este conocimiento, y mui apartados de conocer esta mancha. Pero no obstante lo dicho, sabemos, que la Partera, luego que cortaba, y enterraba el ombligo de la criatura, la lababa, y acompañaba el labatorio, con estas palabras dichas. Luego bolvia su oracion à la Diosa de el Agua, y la decia: Señora excelentisima Chalchihuitlycue, Chalchiuhtlatonac, ià naciò esta criatura, en el Mundo, embiada de los Dioses Ometecuhtli, y Omecihuatl, que viven, y reinan en el Doceno Cielo, para que le labeis, y limpieis de las manchas, y suciedades, que trae, heredadas de su Padre, y Madre. Y esto os suplico, por raçon de estàr cometido à vos, de parte de los Dioses, el quitar, labar, y limpiar todas las malas fortunas, y todas las manchas de los que vienen à la vida mortal. Señora mia, quede esta criatura limpia, pues teneis virtud, y poder para ello. Otra vez tornaba à repetir estas palabras, diciendo: Señora, Diosa de el Agua, recibid à la criatura, venida, y nacida en este triste Mundo. Y tomando el Agua en la mano derecha, soplaba, y poniasela en la boca, pecho, y cabeça, y deciale: Recibe, Niño, a tu Madre Chalchihuitlycue, que es Diosa del Agua, y ella te reciba, para sustentarte en el Mundo. Hecha esta ceremonia lababale todo el cuerpo, y decia: Descienda en el labatorio, en que te labè, el Dios invisible, y limpiete de las malas fortunas, que antes que nacieses te dieron los Dioses, y quitete, y apartete de ti los pecados, y suciedades que tomaste de tus Padres. Hecho esto, embolvia la criatura en sus pañales, diciendo: Niño, mas precioso que todas las cosas, Ometechtli, y Omecihuatl, te criaron en el Cielo Doceno, para venir al Mundo, y nacer en èl; pues sabete (Niño mio) que este Mundo donde has venido, es triste, y doloroso, y lleno de trabajos, y miserias, y es un Valle de lagrimas, y creciendo en èl, has de comer pan, con

dolor trabajado de tus manos: y remataba estas ceremonias la partera, con decirle: Dios te guarde, y libre de tantos estropieços, como has de hallar, viviendo. Esto decia en voz baja*.

Luego se bolvia à la Parida, y dandola el parabien, la alababa de la fortaleça, que havia mostrado en el parto, haciendola semejante à la Diosa Cihualcohuatl (Quilaztli por otro nombre) y animabala à las esperanças de haver de goçar del nuevo Hijo. Y buelta à los Deudos, y Parientes, que estaban presentes, les decia: Señores, y Señoras mias, Dias ha que vivis, con cuidado del alumbramiento, y parto de vuestra Hija, y en este cuidado haveis tenido pena; pero ià podeis vivir con gusto del buen suceso: quieran los Dioses de conservarlo, como pueden, y de que lo goceis, con muchos Años de vida. Todos respondian, agradeciendole el cuidado, y diligencia que havia puesto, en el parto, por el riesgo grande, que ai en semejante trance. Y con esto cerraba este acto, y se concluìa esta ceremonia.

Las Mugeres de la Isla de Santo Domingo, no se curaban de tantas ceremonias, por la facilidad de sus partos, las quales parian tan sin riesgo, que casi no lo sentian; y à los dolores que les venian, quando mucho los recibian, torciendo un poco los labios, y de la manera que se hallaban, ora fuese acostadas, ora en pie, ora sentadas, trabajando, ò en otra qualquier manera, parian los Hijos. Luego tomaban en sus braços la criatura, y la llevaban à labar al Rio, y ellas se bañaban juntamente, para limpiarse de la sangre, y pares del parto. Despues de haverse labado, y dado el pecho, à la criatura, se bolvian à proseguir el trabajo, en que estaban ocupadas. Por cierto, el caso es harto estraño, pero mui verdadero; y porque no haga maravilla à los que se persuaden poco, à semejantes cosas, y luego las atribuien à Jardin de flores, digo, que tambien fue esta costumbre de las Mugeres Ginovesas, como lo dice el Filosofo, en el Tratado de las cosas maravillosas de la naturaleça. Lo mismo dice Estrabon en su Geografia: y de algunas Provincias de España (entre las quales se cuenta Cantabria) alaba lo mismo. Y sin èl, dicen otros, los quales callo, por estàr remediada ià esta bestialidad, que quando parian las Mugeres se iban à la Cocina à guisar la comida, para los que venian à dàr el parabien de el Hijo nacido; y el Padre se acostaba en la cama, y con el Hijo al lado, recibia los huespedes, y se comia las torrijas (si acaso entonces se usaban.) De manera, que la parida servia, y el engendrador representaba los dolores del parto, acostado en la cama. Los Tibarenos, Pueblos de Scitia, segun Tolomeo, usaban de esta costumbre, asi lo dicen Ninfodoro, y Xenodoto, en sus Colectaneas; y antes de ellos Apolonio Rodio; y la misma costumbre fue de los de la Isla de Corcega, como lo dice Diodoro. Las Mugeres de la Provincia de Paria, paren los Hijos, con pocos dolores, y felicisimamente, y no se regalan, ni hacen cama, ni curan de alguna delicadeça. Ponenles à las criaturas, que paren, dos almohadillas, una en el celebro, y otra en la frente, para hacerles levantada la forma de la cabeça, y ancha la frente; y la raçon de parir facilmente, y sin trabajo, es por el exercicio grande, que siempre hacen, porque jamàs cesan de trabajar, y de ir con los Hombres à las Guerras, y à otra qualquiera parte, que se ofrece.

Capitulo XVII.

De como entre estas Gentes acostumbraban los Señores, y Mercaderes, dàr el parabien del nacimiento de los Primogenitos; y se dice el modo, que usaban en este acto.

Los Reies, y Señores, que en todas sus cosas son particulares, tambien lo eran en el regocijo, que mostraban todos aquellos, que le tocaban en sangre, y tambien los Amigos, y otras Gentes, que les tenian conocimiento, ò reconocian con Feudo, y Vasallage; y lo primero que hacian, para cumplir con esta obligacion, era escoger una Persona anciana, y bien hablada, que de su parte fuese à darles el Parabien del recien nacido. Este Hombre viejo, acompañado de otros, iba à la Ciudad, ò Pueblo donde llevaba su embajada, y entrando por la Casa del Señor, cuio Hijo le havia nacido, daba aviso de su venida, y del caso à que havia venido. Mandabanle entrar, el qual era reci-

* Gomara says that the Mexicans were accustomed to put a little quick lime on the knees of the infant, which ceremony Torquemada supposes signified emblematically "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." "Ponenle luego un poco de cal viva en las rodillas, como quien dize, vivo eres, pero morir tienes, ó, por muchos trabajos as de ser tornado polvo, como esta cal que piedra era."—*La Conquista de Mexico*, fo. cxxv.

bido con mucha cortesia; y dando un mui buen presente, que traìa por delante, para su mejor recibimiento, y despacho, se sentaba. La Madre de el Niño, que estaba acostada, y lo tenia à su lado, en la cuna, que ellos usan, descubriale la cabeça, y cara, para que el viejo le viera. Al qual hablaba el embajador, en lenguaje mui amoroso, y tierno, y lleno de mil dixes. Esto hacian por dàr gusto, y contento à sus Padres, y Deudos, que siempre se hallaban presentes.

Entre otras cosas, que le decia, con lenguaje mui suave, y dulce, concluìa con estas: Niño mio, mas precioso, que quantas Piedras preciosas ai, los Señores Dioses Ometecuhtli, y Omecihuatl, y el Dios Quetzalcohuatl, juntamente se sirvieron de criaros, en el doceno Cielo, y os embiaron à este Mundo miserable, y triste. Venistes, pues, Señor, à sufrir trabajos, miserias, y aflicciones, veo que traeis con vos, el dòn que os dieron los Dioses en el principio. (En esto, pienso io, que queria decirle, que se estimase en mucho, por la Nobleça, que traìa, heredada de sus Padres, y Antepasados) y pues tanta merced se os ha hecho, sabedla conocer en los Tiempos venideros, si tuvieredeis vida para goçarlo, la que los Dioses os concedan por muchos Años. Luego buelto à la parida, la daba el parabien de su buen parto, y la animaba à pasar, con animo, y rostro alegre los dolores, y la exortaba à la criança del Niño. A los demàs circunstantes decia: Señores, dad gracias à Dios, que en vuestro Tiempo ha nacido un Hijo, tal, y tan precioso: por cierto, Señores, que no ha sido poca vuestra ventura, en averlo visto con vuestros ojos, porque esto es cierto, que muchos de los Reies, y Señores antepasados, desearon recibir este beneficio, y no lo merecieron; y si por ventura vieran este Hijo de vuestro linage, fuera posible, que supieran estimar merced tan grande, y que se alegraran, teniendolo por milagro. Goçad, Señores, esta merced de Dios, y sabedla conocer, y quedais obligados, por ella, de servirla à los Dioses, que tan favorables se han mostrado, por la qual debeis dàr gracias à Dios, que es Criador de todo, y pedirle, que no nos quite el Niño, tan deseado, y tan necesario, para el Govierno de su Pueblo, y bien de nuestra Republica. Al Padre del Niño, decia: Excelente, y Gran Señor, pues lo sois del Pueblo, en lugar de Dios, en el qual regis, y governais, no es raçon que os sea molesto (que bastan vuestros cuidados, y ocupaciones) y asi concluio con daros este parabien, de parte de el Señor Fulano, que me embiò à vuestra Corte, y Palacio: iendo mui alegre de haver visto un Hijo, que Dios os ha dado, para que os suceda en vuestro Señorio, y Casa; à la qual conserve Dios; dandole muchos Años de salud, y vida.

A estas raçones dichas, no respondian el Padre, ni la Madre, sino otro por ellos, agradeciendo con voz baja, y grave la embajada, y decia (entre otras) estas palabras: El Amor, y cuidado del Señor Fulano, que acà te embiò es mui estimado de estos Señores Padres de este Niño, y lo agradecen mucho, y à ti el trabajo, que has tomado, en venir à visitarlos por èl, y tambien el discreto modo, con que has procedido, y buelvo agradecerle en nombre del Niño tu venida, y el deseo que has mostrado, de que viva; pero no sabemos, ni Hombre nacido sabe los secretos de Dios, ni tampoco si este Niño vendrà à edad de poder suceder en los Señorios de sus Padres, ò si havrà de morir, antes de poder ser electo, porque està determinado, que de Dia, y de Noche mueran los Hombres, asi chicos, como grandes. El Mictlantecuhtli (que es el Dios de el Infierno) manda, que todos vaian à servirle. No concierta esta raçon, con la pasada, porque aquella es verdad, y esta mentira; y bien parecen desatinos del Demonio, que como tal, habla à tiento, y como desvariado. Pero esto es verdad, en quanto todos los adultos, que mueren sin Fè, y en el servicio del Demonio, y religion falsa de la Idolatria, vàn al Infierno, no à servir al Mictlantecuhtli, sino à ser atormentados con èl, en aquellas penas eternas. Decia mas: A este Niño no le tenemos seguro de la muerte, sino como quien vè visiones entre sueños; pero de qualquier manera estamos mui agradecidos à la merced, y beneficios de Dios, y io en nombre de estos Señores, agradezco tu buen comedimiento.

A esto respondia el embaxador, pidiendo perdon de su corto raçonar, y licencia para partirse. Despedianlo cortesmente, y èl se iba à la presencia del Señor que lo havia embiado, y daba su respuesta. Esto mismo, casi, sucedia à los Mercaderes, que por ser gente rica podia usar de ceremonias de Señores: que el dinero todo esto puede, entre todos.

Capitulo XVIII.

De las Ceremonias, que hacian los Guatimaltecos, en los Nacimientos de sus Hijos.

Los Guatimaltecos, y mucha parte de aquellas Provincias, acostumbraban muchas ceremonias, en los partos de las Mugeres, y nacimiento de sus Hijos: de las quales era la primera, que es, naciendo, que nacia la criatura, tomaban una Gallina, y la sacrificaban, ò la embiaban al Sacerdote, para que èl, en su nombre, la ofreciese, y sacrificase, en hacimiento de Gracias, por el beneficio, que los Dioses les havian hecho en haverles dado un Hijo, y de alli adelante, por algunos Dias, era su principal intento ocuparse, en este hacimiento de Gracias, por este Hijo, ò Hija nacida, ora fuese Primogenito, ora Segundo, ò Tercero; porque aunque tuviesen muchos, no dejaban de reconocer, por merced el nacimiento de qualquiera. Hacian combites à todos sus Deudos, y Amigos; y si era Señor, ò Hombre Principal, el que hacia este combite, combidaba al mismo Señor Supremo, segun era la calidad de su Persona.

Quando lababan la criatura, hacian Sacrificio de Incienso, y Papagaios: este hacian en alguna Fuente, y manantial, la mejor que hallaban; y sino la havia, se iban à un Rio, y en alguna parte mas señalada, y acomodada, de sus corrientes (en especial à la que hacia algun salto, ò tumbo) hacian este Sacrificio. Todos los Vasos, y cosas, que havian servido el Dia, que naciò la criatura, y juntamente una Piedra, con que solian calentar el vientre de la Muger parida. Todo lo dedicaban para aquel Sacrificio, y lo ofrecian à las Aguas de la Fuente, ò Rio, donde el Sacrificio se haciàn. Hechaban suertes, para escoger el Dia, en que le havian de cortar el ombligo, escogido el Dia, ponian la tripilla sobre una espiga, ò maçorça de Maiz, y con una navaja aguda, y nueva, que no se huviese estrenado en otra cosa, le cortaban, y con ella hechaban la navaja en la Fuente, ò Rio, como cosa, que les parecia ser bendita. La maçorça del Maìz desgranaban; y si era tiempo, la sembraban, y sino, guardaban el grano, para quando lo lo fuese. Despues que nacia, cuidaban de èl, como de cosa sagrada, y asi lo escardaban, y aporcaban, con mucha diligencia, y cuidado; y cogido, hacian de ello dos partes, de la vna, hacian ciertas puchas, ò poleadas, que daban al Niño (que era lo primero que comia) la otra, daban al Sacerdote, ò à la Persona, que mandaba el Adivino, que havia hechado las suertes, el Dia que se le cortò el ombligo; y de estas dos partes escalfaban algunos granos, para que el Niño sembrase, quando llegase à edad de poder hacerlo. Para que hiciese de ello Sacrificio à sus falsos, y mentirosos Dioses.

Quando destetaban al Niño, hacian grandes combites (como luego verèmos) El mismo Sacrificio hacian, quando el Niño començaba à andar, y quando començaba à hablar, hacian maiores combites, y regocijos, y eran maiores los Sacrificios de Incienso, y Aves de diversos colores. El Dia que le cortaban los cabellos, hacian las mismas Fiestas, y à bueltas del Incienso, quemaban los cabellos cortados. Cado Año hacian la Fiesta de su Nacimiento, hasta que cumplia los siete, y en èl comian mui cumplida, y abastecidamente. Dabanle el nombre del Dia, en que havia nacido, ò segun lo que precediò en su Nacimiento (como dirèmos en otra ocasion) que lo mismo sucedia à los Antiguos.

Capitulo XIX.

De como levantaban Figura los falsos Astrologos de esta Nueva-España, acerca de la ventura de el Niño, ò Niña, que nacia.

Despues de haverles nacido Hijo, ò Hija, à estos Indios, de esta Nueva-España (en especial à los Mexicanos) y despues del primer labatorio, y antes del segundo, llamaban sus Padres algun Astrologo, ò Adivino, para que declarase la ventura futura, y venidera, de la criatura, y dijese el Dia en que havia de ser bañado, ò labado, si acaso no era bueno, el quarto, que era el ordinario, en que usaban un genero de bautismo (como luego dirèmos.) Despues que el Niño nacia, el Astrologo, ò Adivino, con mucha gravedad, y reposo, preguntaba la hora de su nacimiento (que es lo mismo, que hacen nuestros Astrologos, quando quieren levantar Figura) si le decian, que à tal hora de la Noche, antes de su mediacion, atribuìan la hora al Signo del Dia antecedente; y si era despues de media noche, al del

Dia, que entraba; y si era à media noche, atribuìan el Nacimiento al Signo del Dia pasado, y al que reinaba en el Dia por venir.

Sabido, pues, el Dia, y hora, tomaban sus Libros, y Pinturas, y respondian segun las condiciones del Signo, que reinaba; y si era el Signo bueno, decian con grande alegria: Bendito sea el Señor, Criador de los Cielos y de la Tierra, que fue servido, que este Niño naciese, en buen Dia, y mejor hora; porque el Signo principal, que predomina en èl, y los otros sus Coadjutores, son poderosos, piadosos, misericordiosos, y clementes: Este Niño serà venturoso, alcançarà Dictados, y Dignidades, serà rico, harà valentias en la Guerra, para alcançar nombre de Gran Capitan; y si era Hijo de Mercaderes, anunciabanle mucha prosperidad, en la mercancia; y si Labrador, que tendria ventura en todos los sembrados; y mandaban, que no le bautiçasen, ò labasen hasta el quarto Dia. Si la criatura nacia en Dia, ò hora de mal Signo, segun su falsa opinion, y en ocasion, que predominaban Dioses impios, y crueles, decian los Adivinos, que era mala la Fortuna, y ventura del Niño; porque à la hora, que havia nacido, reinaban Dioses crueles, impios, y tiranos, y que havia de ser pobre, y miserable, sujeto à grandes desventuras, lacerado, y mal inclinado, y que por sus malos resabios havia de ser castigado, y afrentado. Pero, para remedio de esto, mandaban, que no se bautiçase al quarto Dia; y diferianlo para otro, que fuese de buen Signo. Decia otras cosas, à este tono, y que moriria presto la criatura, ò duraria por largo tiempo, segun el favor, ò disfavor, que hallaba en el Signo, que le aplicaba. Pero tambien erraban estos, como ierran los nuestros (como en otra parte dirèmos) y aun estos Indios, si acertaban en algo, era acaso, porque su ciencia, ò presuncion, nacia solamente de unos Caractères, y Pinturas, que no tenian fundamento, en ningun Astro, ni Aspecto Celeste, sino solo en las Pinturas dichas; aunque en esto se les diferencian los nuestros, que lo que dicen lo fundan en los Movimientos, y Estrellas, que por esta ocasion eran estos Astrologos, y Adivinos mui estimados, en la Republica, y mui reverenciados de todos, y ganaban largamente de comer con este oficio; porque en sola una ocasion de estas, que entraba en casa de un Señor, ò Rei, quedaba rico, para toda su Vida. La Gente, que era de menor estimacion, se lo pagaba moderadamente, y los pobres le daban una Gallina, ò cosa semejante; y como eran tantos los partos, y pocos los Adivinos, tenian siempre que hacer, y la ganancia, y caudal crecia; pero todo era burla, quanto anunciaban.

Capitulo XX.

Del segundo labatorio, que estos Naturales hacian, al quarto Dia del Nacimiento de la criatura, y de todas sus ceremonias.

Quatro Dias despues del Nacimiento de la criatura, ordenaban un fingido bautismo estos Naturales, con el qual la bautiçaban en esta manera: Primeramente aparejaban muchas viandas, para un solemne Combite, que hacian este Dia, al qual combidaban muchos Niños, para que al recien nacido, le dijesen las cosas, que despues se siguen. Y si era Varon, el que se bautiçaba, hacian una rodelilla pequeña, y un Arco, y quatro Flechas, todo pequeño, y chiquito, y una mantilla. Si era Niña, hacian unas Nahuas, y Huipil, que son sus faldetas, y camisa, y una petaquilla, y un huso, y su rueca, y todos los demàs aderentes, y aparejos para texer. Todo esto acomodado à la tierna edad de la Niña.

Luego hacian convocacion de todos los Deudos, y Parientes de los Padres, y de todos los Amigos, y Vecinos, que para este acto se juntaban; llamaban à la partera, porque era el Ministro de este labatorio, y sin ella no se hacia. Todo esto era antes de amanecer, y à la salida del Sol ponian un lebrillo nuevo de Agua limpia, y clara, en el patio de la casa, y desnudaba la partera, à la criatura, y llevabala, con las cosas referidas, à aquel lugar. Levantaba con dos manos, en alto, à la criatura, y deciale: Hijo mio, el Señor Dios Ometecuhtli, y Omecihuatl, Señores del doceno Cielo, te criaron, para embiarte à este Mundo triste, y calamitoso; *toma, pues, el Agua, que te ha de dàr Vida*, para que con ella vivas en este Mundo, la qual se llama la Diosa Chalchihuitlycue Chalchiuhtlatonac. Diciendo estas palabras, tomaba el Agua con la mano derecha, y poniasela en la boca, y luego bolvia à repetir *Tomo Niño el Agua, que te ha de dàr vida en este Mundo.* Luego se la ponia sobre los pechos, y decia lo mismo; luego se la hechaba sobre la cabeça, y repetia ciertas palabras; porque à este Dios del Agua, le es dado limpiarlas,

en todos los que con Agua se laban. Luego lababa todo el cuerpo de la criatura, y estregandole todos los miembros, decia: Donde estàs mala Fortuna? En què miembro estàs? Apartate, ventura mala, de esta criatura.

Dicho esto, y hecha esta ceremonia, alçaba àcia el Cielo à la criatura, y decia, hablando con su falso Dios, Señor Ometecuhtli, Omecihuatl, Criador de las Animas, esta criatura, que criaste, y formaste, y embiaste à este miserable Mundo, te ofrezco, para que infundas tu virtud, en ella. Luego bolvia segunda vez à levantarla, y hablando con la Diosa del Agua, la decia: A ti llamo, Señora, à ti te suplico, Diosa, Madre de los Dioses, que espires en esta criatura tu virtud. Y tercera vez la decia: Vosotros, Celestiales Dioses, soplad à esta criatura, y dadla la virtud, que teneis, para que sea de buena Vida. Otra quarta vez la confrontaba con el Sol, y decia: Señor Dios Sol, Padre de todos; y tu, Tierra, Madre nuestra, esta criatura os ofrezco, para que, como vuestra, la ampareis, y pues naciò para la Guerra (si era Niño) muera en ella, defendiendo la causa de los Dioses. Dicho esto, tomaba el Escudo, Arco, y Flechas, y ofrecialo al Dios de la Guerra, en nombre del Niño, diciendo: Recibid, Señor, este pequeño Dòn, que os ofrezco, con que me doi à vuestro servicio. Plega à ti, Señor, que este Niño vaia à los Cielos, donde se goçan los deleites celestiales, y los Soldados, que murieron, en las Guerras.

A todas estas ceremonias estaban encendidos muchos, y grandes manojos de Teas, que llaman Ocote, y entonces le ponian el nombre, y repitiendolo tres veces, dabanle las Flechas, Arco, y Rodela, y decianle: Toma estas Armas, que son para el servicio de el Señor Dios de la Guerra. Embolvia la criatura en sus pañales, y dabala à la Madre: Luego venian los Niños, y muchachos, que fueron combidados, y arrebataban toda la comida, y vianda, que se havia puesto, en el lugar del bautismo, ò labatorio, y con grandes ruidos, y grita, se lo llevaban, y comian, y medio mascando el Pan, decian al Niño: Mucho te conviene, que vaias à la Guerra, y mueras, como valiente, en ella, para que goces de los goços celestiales, y entres con los servidores del Dios Guerrero, en los altos Cielos, que por ser valientes, y esforçados, merecieron este premio. Las Teas encendidas no las apagaban, hasta que ellas se acababan, y consumian.

A la Niña se le decian estas palabras, poniendole el Agua en la boca: Hija, abre la boca, y recibe à la Diosa Chalchihuitlycue, que dà Vida, para vivir, en el Mundo; y al ponersela en el Pecho, decia: *Toma el Agua clara, que limpia, y refresca el coraçon, y lo despierta;* y quando se la ponia en la Cabeça, decia: Toma, y recibe el Agua Chalchihuitlycue, que te harà vigilante, para que nunca seas tocada del demasiado sueño: ella te abrase, y te avise, para que seas vigilante, y no dormilona, en este Mundo. Labandole las manos, decia: Apartate hurto de la Niña; y labandole las ingles, añadia: Donde estàs mala fortuna? Apartate de la Niña con la virtud del Agua clara. Hecho esto, hechaban la criatura en el Coçol, que es su cuna; y deciale la partera: Señora Yohualticitl, Diosa de las Cunas, y Madre general de los Niños, el Dios de los Cielos criò à esta criatura, y la embiò à este Mundo, en el qual te està cometida su guarda, y asi te la ofrezco, para que la defiendas, y guardes, en tu seno, calientes, y ampares; y tambien suplico al Señor de la Noche Yohualtecuhtli, que le dè buen sueño. Todo esto decia en voz baja, que apenas se oìa; y luego, levantando la voz, decia à la cuna: Madre de las Criaturas, defensora de los Niños, recibe este, y guardalo como tuio; y con esto acababan este Labatorio, y bautismo idolatrico.

Capitulo V.

De la manera, que tenian los Antiguos de contraer los Matrimonios; y se declara la que tuvieron estos Indios Occidentales.

Todas las Gentes del Mundo, y entre ellas, los Hebreos, celebraron sus Matrimonios, y Contratos naturales, con ceremonias, y actos, que manifestaban la voluntad de los contraientes; porque de otra manera, no fuera contrato de Gente Racional, sino solo aiuntamiento de bestias; y asi, dice el Tostado. Siempre fue costumbre en el Mundo, que el verdadero Matrimonio se contraìa, y contrae por consentimiento, de presente, y afecto conjugal. Y à este consentimiento de los dos contraientes, se juntaban algunas ceremonias: y la que sabemos haver sido antigua, es, cubrir el Varon à la Muger con su capa, como en demostracion de recibirla, por suia, debajo de su abrigo, y amparo. *Esto vemos en el Libro de Ruth, donde dice la Sagrada Escritura, que metiendose en la cama de Booz, y despertando à la media noche el Viejo, y preguntandole, quien era? le dijo: Yo soi Ruth, tu sierva, suplicote,*

que me cubras con tu Palio; en las quales palabras le quiso decir, que la recibiese por Esposa. Y aqui, dice Lira, que le pidiò el Matrimonio con estas palabras disfraçadas, por ser costumbre de aquellos Tiempos, que el Esposo, que contraìa Matrimonio, ponia la extremidad de sus vestiduras sobre la Muger, que recibia por Esposa, y con esta ceremonia se desposaban, de manera, que este era el modo de desposarse.

Tambien fue costumbre Antigua travar de las manos à los desposados, entregando la Esposa al Esposo, por este modo; lo qual se halla en el Libro de Tobias, quando el Bendito moço pidiò à Raguèl, que le diese por Muger à su Hija Sara, dice el Sagrado Texto, que otorgando su peticion, *tomò la mano derecha de su Hija, y asiendola con la derecha de Tobias, se la entregò, diciendo:* Dios de Abrahan, Dios de Isaac, y Dios de Jacob sea con vosotros, y os junte en uno, y lleneos de su Bendicion. De manera, que el tomarse las manos era ceremonia Antigua, y de esta manera se entregaban las voluntades el uno, al otro. A este Contrato natural añadieron las Gentes otras muchas supersticiones, de las quales fue una, consultar los Agoreros, y Adivinos, sin cuio parecer, jamàs se efectuaban los dichos Matrimonios. Y aunque fue universal esta supersticiosa ceremonia, fuelo mui particular de los Romanos, los quales no hacian Casamiento, ni lo trataban, sin que procediese la consulta diabolica de los Hechiceros, y Magos, ò Encantadores, y falsos Adivinos. Asi lo dicen Valerio Maximo, Laurencio Valla, y Tulio. Y de aqui es, que ninguno se casaba en el mes de Maio, segun Plutarco, en sus Problemas, porque lo tenian por mes de mal aguero, y hado, y por otras causas, que alli señala. De aqui naciò la costumbre, que tuvieron de tener Dioses abogados de las Bodas, como tambien los tenian, para otras cosas, los quales creìan, que era Himeneo, Jupiter Adulto, Juno Adulta, Venus Suadela, ò Lepos, que es la Diosa de persuadir, ò de hablar elegante, y curiosamente, como dice Quintiliano, y principalmente Diana; y à estos invocaban, quando querian casarse; y por ser cinco los Dioses, ponian en su honor, y memoria, cinco cirios, ò hachas encendidas, sin acrecentar jamàs este numero, ni disminuirlo.

Las Gentes de estas Indias, asi como las otras del Mundo, tenian sus ceremonias en sus Contratos, y Matrimonios. La primera de las quales era esta, que quando alguno queria casar à su Hijo, especialmente los Señores, y Gente Principal, tenian todos memoria del Dia, y Signo, en que el moço havia nacido (como luego veremos) y porque no todos sabian la significacion de ellos, llamaban à los Astrologos, y Adivinos, ò Hechiceros, los quales interpretaban, y exponian por su cuenta, ò ceremonias, que hacian, la virtud, y efecto, malo, ò bueno, felìz, ò infelìz, del Dia, y del Signo. Lo mismo trabajaban de inquirir acerca del Signo, y Dia del nacimiento de la Doncella, que querian recibir, por nuera, y de alli conjeturaban, si havian de ser bien, ò mal casados; y si entendian, que no eran Dias, y Signos favorables, no se juntaban, ni casaban; pero si conformaban los Dias, y Signos de entrambos, mostrando prosperidad y buena fortuna, trataban el Casamiento.

Ià que estaban satisfechos de las Personas, y de los Signos, segun sus Agorerias, los Padres, y Parientes mas cercanos del Mancebo, que eran los que siempre movian (y de presente mueven los Casamientos, porque no tienen por honesto, que se traten de parte de la Muger) estos embiaban algunas viejas, de las mas honradas, y discretas, de su misma parcialidad, y parentela, las quales llaman Cihuatlanque, que quiere decir: Demandadoras de Muger, ò Negociadoras de Casamientos. Estas llevaban la embajada à los Padres de la Doncella, ò à los Deudos mas cercanos en cuio poder estaba. Proponianles su demanda con un discreto, y elegante raçonamiento; llevabanles algun presente, y hacian esta visita, despues de media noche, y aun aora lo acostumbran, aunque no lo entienden, de los nuestros, los que no lo saben. La respuesta de la primera vez era, que no se podia dàr la Doncella por entonces, para lo qual daban algunas raçones, que lo persuadian. Y esta costumbre de negarla la primera vez era infalible, aunque lo deseasen ellos mas que los que traìan el recado. Bolvianse las Matronas con aquesta respuesta. Pasados algunos Dias, tornaban à ir las buenas viejas con otro maior presente, y rogaban à los Padres, ò Parientes de la Doncella, que consintiesen en aquel Casamiento, dandoles raçones, porque debian hacerlo, y declarabanles las calidades, y hacienda del Mancebo. Declaraban la Dote, que se le havia de dàr de su parte à la desposada, y tomaban raçon de lo que havia ella de traer à poder del Moço; *y esto era una manera de Carta de Dote, que el uno, à el otro hacia*; la qual costumbre ha sido mui antigua entre otras Naciones; en especial leemos haverse usado este modo, en el Casamiento de Tobias, que quando le entregaron à su Muger, dice el Sagrado Texto, que hicieron la Carta de Dote, y en ella declararon las condiciones del Matrimonio; la qual declaran los Expositores, que fue sellada, y con Testigos; y esta costumbre guardan oi los Turcos, como dice Euthimio. A esta segunda embajada respondian los Padres, que darian parte de ello à sus Parientes, y à la Moça, ò Doncella. Ià que convenian los Padres, y Deudos, y la Hija, en que el Casami-

ento se efectuase, y hiciese, amonestabanla todos mucho, à que fuese buena Muger, y sirviese, bien à su Marido; y que advirtiese, no los afrentase, haciendo alguna cosa, que no debiese.

Bueltas las Casamenteras à los Padres, y Deudos del Varon, esperaba el final consentimiento, de parte de ella; el qual embiaban con otras viejas honradas de las de su casa, y parentela. Dado, pues, el consentimiento de parte de la Doncella, daban tambien luego noticia de ello al Mancebo, que havia de casarse. Concertadas las Bodas, iban sus Deudos, Amigos, y Vecinos à la entrada, y puerta, el qual llevaba un braserillo, con brasa, à manera de Incensario; y à ella le daban otro, y con ellos se incensaban el uno, à el otro: y esta era la primera ceremonia, que hacian; luego el desposado la tomaba de la mano, y la metia en el aposento, que ià le tenia adereçado, para el efecto de su desposorio, y alli cerca del Fuego se sentaban sobre una estera nueva, mui labrada, y pintada, que llaman Petate; toda la otra Gente se quedaba en el patio, cantando, y bailando, con mucha alegria.

Sentados los desposados, *atabanles las puntas de las mantas, con que estaban cubiertos, que era como tomarles las manos,** segun aora se usa, ò como la ceremonia antigua de cubrirse con el Palio, ò Capa (segun ià vimos) dabale

* Gomara gives a similar account of the Mexican marriage ceremony in the chapter of his History of the Conquest of Mexico, entitled "Los Ritos del Matrimonio," which he clearly shows to have been a religious rite, and not a civil contract. In Mixtecapan, the hands of the married couple were joined together, as well as their garments knotted to each other; and in Nicaragua, the priest taking each party by the little finger, addressed an admonitory discourse to them before some blazing fire, which having been suffered to burn out, the rites were held to be perfected and the marriage legal. A second marriage on the part of the husband, during the life of the wife, was punished by the laws of Nicaragua with banishment and confiscation of his property, to which in that case the first wife became entitled. "En Mixtecapan, que es una gran provincia, blevavan cierto trecho a cuestas al desposado quando se casa, como quien dize, por fuerca te as de casar aun que no quieras, para aver hijos. Danse las manos los novios, en fe y señal que se an de ajudar, el uno al otro. Atan les assi mismo las mantas con un gran nudo, para que sepan como no se an de apartar."—*La Conquista de Mexico*, fo. cxxvi. "Todos toman muchas mugeres empero una es la legitima, y aquella con la ceremonia siguiente: Ase un sacerdote los novios por los dedos meñiques, mete los en una camarilla que tiene fuego, hazeles ciertas amonestaciones, y en muriendose la lumbre quedan casados. Si la tomo por virgen y la halla corrompida, deshecha la, mas no de otra manera. No duermen con ellas estando con su costumbre, ny en tiempo de las sementeras y ayunos, ny comen entonces sal ny axi ny beven cosa que los embriague, ny ellas entran teniendo su camisa en algunos templos. Destierran al que casa dos vezes ceremonialmente, y dan la hazienda a la primera muger. Si cometen adulterio, repudianlas bolviendoles su dote y herencia, e no se pueden mas casar."—*La Istoria de las Indias*, fo. cxi. The authority of the most celebrated historians might be adduced to show, that in none of their laws and customs did the Indians, both of Peru and Mexico, more nearly resemble Jews and Christians, than in those relating to marriages. As the Jews were permitted by Moses to have many concubines, and those kept by David and Solomon were infinite in number, so this alloy to the domestic peace of families was sanctioned by the laws of Mexico and Peru. Notwithstanding that in the Mosaic history reasons are found which no other nation ever thought of, except the Mexicans and Jews, for rendering the marriage contract firm and indissoluble, viz. that woman was formed out of the bone of man, (for the Mexicans believed likewise that the first woman was created from the same bone as man, although not out of his rib after he had been already created, but that both were formed from a bone "de los muertos pasados," of the long before dead, as Torquemada asserts,) still no nation ever gave such facilities to divorce as the Jews and Mexicans, and none punished adultery more severely; both which circumstances are as remarkable as they appear to be inconsistent. The rights of primogeniture and of legitimate descent were equally respected by the Jews and Indians; and laws protecting marriages, by regulating in their favour the inheritance of property and titles, existed in Mexico and Peru, as amongst the more civilized states of Europe, of which the history of Peru, and the letters of Cortes to Charles the Fifth, furnish two striking examples: the first, in the succession of Guascar to the throne of Peru on the death of the Inga Guainacapa; and the other, in the appointment by Cortes of a chief over the state of Yzzucan, which he thus mentions in writing to the Emperor. "Todos los sufraganeos á ella vinieron á se ofrecer por vasallos de Vuestra Alteza, e quedo toda aquella provincia muy segura y por nuestros amigos y confederados con los de Guacachula. Porque hubo cierta diferencia sobre á quien pertenecia el señorio de aquella ciudad y provincia de Yzzucan, por ausencia del que se habia ido á Mexico; E puesto que hubo algunas contradicciones y parcialidades entre un hijo bastardo del señor natural de la tierra que habia sido muerto por Muteczuma, y puesto el que a la sazon era, y casadole con una sobrina suya, y entre un nieto de el dicho señor natural, hijo de su hija legitima, la qual estaba casada con el señor de Guacachula, y habian habido aquel hijo nieto de el dicho señor natural de Yzzucan, se acordo entre ellos que heredasse el señorio aquel hijo del señor de Guacachula, que venia de legitima linea de los señores de alli; E puesto que el otro fuesse hijo que por ser bastardo no debia de ser señor, assi quedo. E obedecieron en mi presencia á aquel muchacho que es de edad de hasta diez años, á que por no ser de edad para gobernar, que aquel su tio bastardo y otros tres principales, uno de la ciudad de Guacachula, y los dos de la de Yzzucan, fuessen gobernadores de la tierra, y tubiessen el muchacho en su poder hasta tanto que fuesse de edad para gobernar." Cardinal Lorenzana Archbishop of Toledo, who published in Mexico an edition of the Letters of Cortes, has added as a note to the above passage the following observation, in which he assimilates the laws of the ancient Mexicans to those of Spain. "Aqui se advierte que reconocian legitimo matrimonio y excluian á los bastardos de la sucesion, como se manda en las leyes de España." Torquemada remarks in the twenty-seventh chapter of the eleventh book of his *Indian Monarchy*, that legitimacy of birth was always regarded in the succession to the throne of the Chichimecan or Acolhuacan empire; and that the only writer who denied it, was Juan Bautista de Pomar, who had an interested motive in so doing, being himself an illegitimate descendant of Nezahualpilli king of Tezcuco, and claiming the greater portion of the patrimony which that king had left to his lawful heirs. In Mexico, which was an elective monarchy, it was an established usage that the successor to the crown should be of the reigning family, and that the preference should be given, first, to the brothers of the deceased sovereign according to priority of birth, and then to his sons, and in failure of them to his nephews. If this usage appears singular, it must be recollected that amongst other nations fraternal consanguinity imposed extraordinary duties on the brothers of the deceased. Amongst the Jews they were obliged, in case of the death of the elder, all successively to become the husbands of the widow, should she happen to have no

el Varon vestidos de Muger, à ella, y ella, hacia el retorno, dandole de vestir à èl. Esta ceremonia, aunque no el mismo acto, se usa aora, embiandose el uno à el otro las ropas, con que vienen vestidos, y ataviados los desposorios.

children. Whether the marriage of Tecuichpotzin the daughter of Montezuma, first with Cuitlahuitzin his successor, and on his death with Quauhtemotzin the last king of Mexico, the brother, or, as others say, the nephew of her former husband, was in consequence of any such custom existing amongst the Mexicans, is uncertain: but Garcia informs us, that throughout the vast dominions of the Inga, the Peruvians conformed to the Hebrew law; for that Pachacuti Inga ordained and commanded that a widow should marry the next of kin to her first husband. He also affirms, that amongst the Indians of New Spain brothers were obliged to maintain and to marry brothers' widows, and that in Guatemala the widow married her husband's brother, and if he had none, his next of kin. Peter Martyr likewise says in the tenth chapter of his *Seventh Ocean Decade*, describing the religious rites and ceremonies of the Indian islanders, that in some places a widow married the brother of her former husband or his kinsman, especially if he left any children. It is well known that marriages within certain degrees of consanguinity were forbidden to the Jews, and *the same degrees* were observed by the Indians. Torquemada says that the Mexicans named marriage with a mother-in-law Totetzauh, which signifies *abomination*, and Peter Martyr relates in the same chapter of the *Ocean Decade* before referred to, the following superstitious fable of the Indians of Haiti or the island of Saint Domingo. "They childishly affirm that the thick spot seen in the globe of the moon at the full, is a man; and they believe he was cast out to the moist and cold circle of the moon, that he might perpetually be tormented between those two passions in suffering cold and moisture, for incest committed with his sister." This quotation from the writings of Peter Martyr is taken from the English translation of the *Ocean Decades*, contained in the fifth volume of the last edition of *Hakluyt's Collection of Early Voyages*,—a copy of the original Latin text, in which these Decades were composed, being very difficult to procure. The customs and prejudices of the Indians respecting marriages and the rights of primogeniture which have already been pointed out, and the concubinage rather than polygamy which was permitted by their laws, the practice of which was almost solely confined to the rich and noble amongst them, strongly assimilate them to the Jews; but the estimation in which lawful marriage was held by them, the rite of solemnizing it by joining the hands and the apparel of the parties, the ignominy and punishment which was awarded to the crime of adultery, (which the laws of antiquity, notwithstanding the reproaches cast upon its morals, considered a much graver offence than modern codes,) give a tincture of Christianity to the laws and usages of the New World, by annexing to them that part and parcel of it which is as old as the creation, and which Solon and Lycurgus taught as well as the Apostles. It will not be denied, except by the extremely ignorant, that polygamy and unbounded concubinage were much more sanctioned by the laws of Moses, and the examples contained in Holy Writ, than by those of Greece and the early precedents of the Grecian history. The Patriarchs formally married many wives; and David, the man after God's own heart, kept innumerable concubines besides Bathsheba the wife of Uriah the mother of Solomon, whom he married, Michal the daughter of Saul being already his wife. Of Solomon his son, it is said in the third verse of the eleventh chapter of the First Book of Kings, "And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines; and his wives turned away his heart." The custom therefore of having but one lawful wife must be considered *Pagan* and Christian in opposition to Jewish; and the Indians, amongst whom this custom prevailed, it is probable either instituted it of their own choice, or were taught it by the early Christians who passed over to colonize America. Peter Martyr says in the fourth chapter of his fourth Decade, that amongst the Indians of Coluacana (the name which the Spaniards gave to one of the first large portions of the continent of America with which they became acquainted,) marriage was so honourable, that "it was not lawful for any that was unmarried to sit at table with such as were married, or to eat of the same dish, or drink of the same cup, and make themselves equal with such as were married." In the province of Duhare, according to the same writer, "Princes were permitted to have two wives, the common people but one only." He further remarks, that there "it was not lawful for widows to marry any more if the husband died a natural death; but if he were put to death by sentence of the judge, she hath liberty to marry. This nation loveth chastity in women and hateth lewd and dishonest women, and banisheth them from the company and society of the chaste." In the island of Haiti, the Caciques were accustomed to keep many women, as Gomara remarks, but had only one lawful wife. Instancing the Cacique of Behechio, he says, "tenia treinta mugeres: una empero es la principal y legitima para las herencias." We have the incontrovertible testimony of Acosta for knowing that in the populous empire of Peru, (the antiquity and civilization of which may be inferred from the road constructed by the Ingas along the Andes, which, viewed as a work of human labour, Gomara judges to surpass the Pyramids,) polygamy was not permitted; and that although the law sanctioned concubinage, it recognised only one wife. The same was probably the case in most of the other Indian states which had established forms of government, the laws of which were generally moral, and the religious rites sanguinary and cruel in the extreme, without any mixture of levity or indecency. The Peruvian marriage ceremony is described by Acosta, and it is very remarkable that it consisted in fastening a sandal called an Otoia on the foot of the bride. What the ancient Hebrew ceremony was, learned men have been very much perplexed in trying to discover, since it is nowhere mentioned in Scripture; but from the silence of Moses in the Pentateuch on the subject of marriage rites,—when other ritual observances comparatively of an indifferent nature are there stamped with the seal of the Divinity, and the great facility which he gave to divorces,—it is to be supposed that it was *purely a civil contract unaccompanied with any religious forms*. How, we may inquire, except on this supposition, can such an omission be explained? Whoever reads and studies the Pentateuch, and Prophecies, and other parts of the Bible, must feel convinced that repetition and prolixity are nowhere avoided in the promulgation of the ritual laws and ceremonies of the Jews, or even in the interlocutions which so often take place between the Deity and particular persons, such as Abraham, Lot, Moses, and the prophet Ezekiel, who in the fourth chapter of his book of Prophecies, argues with Jehovah until he had induced him to rescind a command which he had previously given to him. It is therefore the more surprising that although marriage is so often mentioned in the Old Testament, *not a single ordinance relating to the celebration of its rites should be found in the whole course of it*. Two passages, however, of Scripture considered in connection with each other, afford just grounds for believing that, like the Peruvian, the Hebrew marriage ceremony consisted anciently in fastening a sandal on the foot of the bride. The first of these passages is the ninth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy; and the other, the seventh verse of the fourth chapter of Ruth: and the purport of both is to show the ancient Hebrew usage of redeeming a pledge, or changing the articles of a covenant which one of the parties was loth to fulfil, by the ceremony of pulling off the shoe. It says accordingly in the verse referred to of Deuteronomy, that if a brother refused to raise up seed to a brother by marrying his widow, "Then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house." And in Ruth, "Now this was the manner in former time in Israel, concerning redeeming, and concerning changing; for to confirm all things, a man

Traianles luego la comida, y el uno à el otro se daban los bocados, y de esta manera comian todos los Deudos, Amigos, y Vecinos, como en gran Fiesta, y regocijo, començando muchas veces la comida à Visperas, y acabandola

plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour, and this was a testimony in Israel." If plucking off the shoe was the testimony in Israel of dissolving an obligation, or redeeming a pledge and changing a contract; what can be more probable than that putting on the shoe was the ceremony or symbol which ratified an agreement, gave assurance to a pledge, and held out security to the opposite party in a contract. If, moreover, pulling off the shoe was *a kind of repudiation or divorce* which took place between the brother of the deceased and his widow, who had no further claims on him after the performance of this ceremony, (for it would appear from Scripture, that until then, without even any preliminary legal forms, she claimed to be considered in the light of a wife,) it would seem to refer *to putting on the shoe* as the act by which marriages were in the first instance solemnized, *the contrary act to which* would appear most meet to be the sign and testimonial of divorce; for it would be a great mistake to suppose that the ceremony of pulling off the shoe, which was the mere symbol of a legal release from an obligation, was intended to affix a stigma on the character of the man, since that consisted in the woman's being authorized to spit publicly in his face in the presence of the elders, and in the perpetual nickname which *Moses commanded* that he should bear in Israel. The following is Acosta's account of the Peruvian mode of solemnizing the marriage contract. "In homicidas et fures capitalis pœna decernebatur ut et in adulteros incestuososque, sive in lineâ ascendente sive descendente, aut rectâ, peccatum commissum esset. Apud ipsos tamen adulterium non erat ut nec incestus, si quis pluribus concubinis perfrueretur. Tum nec fœminis aliis permixtis inventis pœna ulla irrogabatur, sed id saltem adulterii vimque nomenque habebat, quoties quispiam cum alterius legitimâ conjuge congressus deprehendebatur. Harum verò quivis maritus *unicam tantum habebat* quam peculiaribus quoque ceremoniis hoc ferè modo pactoque sibi jungere solebat. Sponsus ad sponsæ ædes eam secum domum ductum contendens, otoiam ipsius pedibus innectebat; otoia verò peculiare calcei genus est istis locis familiare, ac Hispanicos alpargates desuper retectos et hiantes æmulans. Sponsæ vero virgini otoiam ex lanâ induebant; si virgo non esset ex sparto paratam otoiam injiciebant. Ipsi vero omnes aliæ fœminæ ministrabant et honorem exhibebant. Hoc apparatu in sponsi ædes recipiebatur. Quibus maritus obiisset hæ integro anno pullis vestibus amiciebantur, nec ante anni elapsum cuiquam alium virum inducere licebat. Et fœminæ quidem maritis plerumque juniores erant; gubernatoribus ac præfectis suis Inga propriis manibus sponsas adductas jungebat; cacique verò cæteri in civitatibus suis tum juvenes, tum puellas uno loco cogebant, et eosdem quos vellent ibidem publicis ritibus jungebant. Hoc modo viro adducta mulier, si pòst in adulterii crimine deprehenderetur, unà cum adultero suo capitali pœna citra moram plectebatur. Et licet ipse quidem maritus mulieri crimen remitteret ac donaret, nihilominus tamen vindicta publica in eam observabatur, quæ ipsam tamen vitam non attineret. Idem rigor erga incestuosos quoque intendebatur, quoties quis vel cum matre, vel avia, vel filia, vel filiorum liberis nefariè permisceretur. Cæteros quidem cognationis gradus quod attinebat, hi omnes nullo probro mutuo copulari solebant, primo saltem gradu excepto. Sororem suam ducere nulli licebat: nec hoc matrimonium apud quenquam laudatum erat. Peruensium quamplurimi turpiter hallucinati sunt, dum arbitrarentur, Ingis ac primatibus aliis proprias sorores ducere uxores licere, etsi quidem tam sponsus quam sponsa, ab iisdem parentibus in uno matrimonio prognati essent. Sed indubitatis ex rerum indiciis constat, hanc permixtionem omni tempore fœdam ac incestuosam habitam fuisse, ac conjugium hujusmodo ad ea usque tempora severè vetitum ac interdictum extitisse, dum tandem Topa Inga Yupanguy pater Guaviacapæ, et avus Atagualpæ, cujus regnantis tempore Hispani in Indiam primò irruerunt, rerum potitus esset. Is Topa Inga Yupanguy veterum statutorum religione excussa, legitimam suam ex utroque parente sororem Mamoello sibi uxorem fecit: et hanc insuper perditam legem condidit, ne quisquam alius præter Ingas sororem pro uxore haberet. Huic natus filius Guainacapa erat: ut et filia Coya Cussilimay. Hi ut unà matrimonio jungerentur, jam moriturus severè mandabat, jubebatque, ut hoc exemplum magnates reliqui quoque imitarentur. Quod tamen conjugium, veluti cum ipsa naturæ lege pugnabat: sic disponente Deo vicissim fiebat, ut ex eo qui susciperentur filii, quales erant Guascar Inga, et Atagualpa Inga, cum universo regno ipsimet quoque brevi tempore pòst interirent et excinderentur. Cæterum, de Indorum Peruensium matrimoniis, qui uberius institui volet, is tractatum illum, quem Polus postulanti Don Hieronymo de Loaysa condidit, hujusmodi quam plurima complexum evolvat. Eo enim edito, multorum hominum errores detecti sunt, qui, quæ Indorum legitimæ conjuges, vel concubinæ saltem essent, internoscere non poterant, adeò, ut baptisatis deinde Indis persæpè genuinas conjuges auferrent, et concubinas relinquerent. Ex eodem quoque tractatu, nec eos quicquam fundamenti habere liquet, qui censent, conjugium, vel à fratre ac sorore semel initum ac confirmatum, perpetuò deinceps ratum manere debere: cujus tamen contrarium in Synodo Limensi decretum est: cum et ipsis Indis hujusmodi conjugium non valdè probaretur, aut honestum videretur.

As Acosta proves that the laws of Peru only recognized one wife, so Torquemada shows, in the twenty-fourth chapter of the sixteenth book of his *Indian Monarchy*, that this was the case likewise in Mexico: "Llegada à Mexico y vista la Bula de el Sumo Pontifice Paulo Tercero, el Obispo hiço Junta en su Casa, de los Religiosos Doctos de las tres Ordenes, y de los Letrados, que avia en Mexico (y no una vez, sino muchas) y con lo que alli se consultò, y altercò, fueron todos à Casa de el Virrei Don Antonio de Mendoça, y en ambas partes se diò entera noticia, y larga Relacion, de los Ritos, y Ceremonias, que usaban estos Indios en sus Casamientos, en tiempo de su Infidelidad, y los que mas noticia tenian de las Ceremonias, y Ritos de otros Infieles (entre los quales ai Matrimonio) tambien lo declararon, y mirado todo, y pensado bien con mucho acuerdo, se determinò alli, *que sin ninguna duda los Naturales de la Nueva-España, tenian legitimo Matrimonio, y como tal usaban de èl, y con esto quedò quitada la duda, que antes se tenia.* La maior dificultad, que se hallaba para venir à determinar esto, y la objecion, que los de la opinion contraria ponian, era averse visto por experiencia, que muchas veces estos Indios dexaban las Mugeres, que primero avian recibido, y no con mucha causa, sino como se les antojaba; y lo mismo hacian ellas, que los dexaban à ellos. Para respuesta, y solucion de este argumento, se vino à averiguar, que este modo tan facil de repudio, que se experimentò en los Indios, solamente lo avian usado, despues que fueron sujetos à los Españoles, *porque entonces començò à perderse entre ellos el concierto, y policia, y el rigor de la Justicia, que antes tenian* (como dexamos mas largamente dicho en el Libro de Costumbres, y Capitulo de el Matrimonio) y perdido el temor, cobraron atrevimiento, para alargarse, y estenderse à su voluntad, en lo que antes pocas veces se les permitia, quando se les daba permiso en el repudio, ò lo toleraban, y esto por grande causa (como en otra parte decimos.) Otra raçon alegaban de su parte, los que decian, que entre estos Indios, no avia Matrimonio, que era decir, que el Matrimonio ha de ser entre legitimas Personas (es à saber) que no estèn impedidas por Parentesco, en los grados prohibidos, y que estos no hacian diferencia de Parienta, à no Parienta, porque se hallaban algunos, que hacian vida con sus proprias Hermanas, y otros con sus Madrastras, y aun quisieron decir, que con sus Suegras; mas los que esto alegaron, no tuvieron raçon, lo uno, porque querian obligar à estos Indios, en su Infidelidad, à la Lei Divina positiva, como fue en su tiempo la Mosaica, y en este de Gracia la Evangelica, de que ellos nunca tuvieron

de noche. Despues de la comida (de la qual salian todos borrachos, ò casi borrachos) començaban sus Cantares, y Bailes, si no eran los desposados, que estaban en su talamo con mucha gravedad, y autoridad, sin mostrar liviandad alguna.

noticia, no estando obligados los Infieles, à mas que à la Divina Natural, que es entre los Ascendientes, y Descendientes; de suerte, que si estos Indios tuvieron por costumbre licita, y usada, casarse con sus Hermanas, fuera licito, y legitimo su Matrimonio, y venidos à la Fè, no los apartàran, sino que los dexàran juntos, como antes lo estaban, porque este Matrimonio entre Hermanos, fue valido en el principio de el Mundo, y no contradecia à la Lei Natural; y todo lo que à la Lei Natural no contradice, es licito, quando por Lei Contraria, Divina, ò Humana positiva, no se prohibe, y no estando estos Indios ligados por la Mosaica, ni Evangelica, que no sabian, ni avian oìdo; tampoco les era contradicho este Matrimonio, si ellos no tuvieran costumbre contraria, que lo prohibia. Ni tampoco tuvieron raçon de alegar esto, para probar, que no tenian verdadero Matrimonio, porque de los singulares (dice el Filosofo) no ai ciencia, porque las raçones concluientes, han de tener principio de principios universales; y asi no se han de traer à consequencia los casos particulares, que no hacen costumbre.

"Si se hallaron algunos Indios casados con sus Hermanas, fueron solos quatro, ò cinco, y à estos los apartaron, porque en ninguna Provincia de la Nueva-España, se hallò tal costumbre de poderse casar Hermano, con Hermana, ni el tal aiuntamiento se tuvo por licito, ni permitido, sino por malo, y reprobado, y digno de castigo. Y si alguno tal se permitia, ò disimulaba, era por defecto de justicia, ò porque era Señor, ò mui Principal, à quien muchas veces no tocan las Leies, conforme al dicho vulgar, que quando quieren los Reies. Quanto à la Madrastra, es tambien verdad, que entre los Señores, y Principales Personas, que usaban de muchas Mugeres, avia una manera de costumbre, que muerto el Padre, el Hijo Maior, y Principal, que quedaba con el Señorìo, ò con la Casa, y Herencia, tomaba por suias las Mugeres, ò Mancebas, que dexaba. Y esta costumbre era mas, ò menos en unas Provincias, que en otras, y en las Principales, y Cabeceras de otras, como era Mexico, y Tetzcuco, poco se usaba. En otras Provincias, donde mas se usaba, era de esta manera: Que el Hijo, Sucesor de el Padre, tomaba aquellas Mugeres de su Padre, en quien no avia avido Hijos, *casi como para despertar, levantar, ò renovar la Generacion, que avia faltado en el Padre, como entre los Hebreos, se acostumbraba, que el Hermano Vivo, entrase en el Matrimonio, y Lugar de el Hermano Difunto.* Y esta costumbre, aunque se usaba entre algunos de estos, no se tenia por buena, ni licita, como tampoco lo fue el Acto, *que Absalòn tuvo con las Concubinas de su Padre el Rei David;* mas antes quanto mas cerca de la Cabeça (que son Mexico, y Tetzcuco) tanto mas se tenià por ilicita. Y asi le decian en su Lengua (como en el Capitulo de el Repudio, y Libro de Costumbres decimos) Totetzauh, que quiere decir, nuestro Prodigio, ò Asombro, como quien dice, Prodigio es para nosotros, y cosa espantosa. Y estas Mugeres, que asi recibia el Hijo, dexadas de el Padre, no eran para legitimas, sino para Mancebas, y usaronlo como Personas Principales, y Poderosas, que no tenian quien les fuese à la manos y no fueron muchos los que de estos se hallaron, y estos venidos à la Fè, fueron apartados, porque aquel uso, no fue costumbre, sino abuso.

"Cerca de las Suegras, aunque se inquiriò en todo lo de Mexico, y Tetzcuco, no se hallò tal cosa, mas solamente en la Provincia de Mechoacàn, que es otro Reino distinto, y de por sì, se dixo era costumbre de casar con la Suegra, y tambien, que si casaba con Muger Maior en Dias, y la tal tenia Hija de otro Marido, por contentar al que entonces tenia, y porque no la desechase por Vieja, le daba la propria Hija; y asi tenia à Madre, y à Hija, mas no se juzgaba lo uno, ni lo otro por licito, ni honesto, sino por cosa vergonçosa, y que ponia admiracion, y escandalo.

"Otra dificultad huvo harto reñida, y ventilada; y fue, que como algunos casaron en haz de la Santa Madre Iglesia, con la segunda Muger, por no acordarse quando se casaban, qual era la primera, despues se vino averiguar, y saber, que fue otra, y no aquella, con quien casaron, si avian de recibir la primera, ò quedarse con aquella, que era segunda, en el tiempo de su Infidelidad, y estaba yà casado con ella en el Christianismo. Esta segunda parte tenian algunos, diciendo, que yà que estaba hecho, era mejor dexarlos asi, porque seria escandalo apartar à los que yà eran casados, con otras raçones, que en defensa de su opinion alegaban. Otros tuvieron lo contrario, diciendo, que antes se ha de permitir, que suceda escandalo, que dexar la verdad; porque como dice el Apostol, no se han de hacer cosas malas, aunque de ellas eran de resultar otras buenas; y si se pretendia estorvar el escandalo exterior, maior daño era el que se seguia en lo interior, pues se repudiaba sin causa la Muger legitima, y quedaba la Manceba, y que por ningun Derecho podia ser su Muger, porque sabiendose qual era la primera Muger, se sabia, que aquella era la legitima, y viviendo aquella, qualquiera otra era Manceba, como lo era de el Rei Herodes, Herodias, por vivir su Hermano Felipe, que era su legitimo Marido. Esta verdad, fue la que prevaleciò, y asi à los tales los apartaban de la segunda, y los hacian bolver à la primera. De estas dificultades huvo tantas en los Matrimonios de los Indios, que excedieron el numero de los casos, que todos los Doctores, Teologos, y Canonistas escrivieron, con que los Ministros de esta nueva Iglesia anduvieron bien afligidos, y congojados, especialmente desde el Año de 1530. hasta el de 1540. y los Clandestinos por su parte, les dieron harto en que entender, hasta que se publicò en esta Tierra, el Sacro Concilio Tridentino, que fue el Año de 1565."

The testimony of Acosta, Torquemada, and Garcia, having been frequently had recourse to, as authorities on which the greatest dependence can be placed in every thing relating to the laws and institutions of the Indians, we may be excused inserting here the eulogy which Garcia has pronounced on the former writer, wherein he takes occasion to mention the extreme diligence with which he himself had compiled his History; so that if any suspicion be entertained of the sources from which the information contained in this work has been obtained, it may be immediately laid aside, since nothing has been asserted except on the authority of the most accredited historians. Of Torquemada it is unnecessary to say more, than that every page of his *Indian Monarchy* affords fresh proof of his merits as an historian; whilst the Mexican Paintings which have escaped the ravages of time, confirm the veracity of his accounts even where they appear most improbable. "Otros han escrito, fuera de los Autores nombrados, como son Ortelio, el P. Romàn, Augustino; Antonio de Herrera, Coronista del Rei N. S. i el P. M. Maluenda, que aunque refieren lo que vieron, ò leieron, no hace tanto à nuestro proposito; porque no nos dicen cosa, que otros no la aian dicho, i escrito primero: aunque como de Autores tan graves, confieso, que me he aprovechado de lo que refieren, que hace à mi proposito. Pero quien con maior cuidado curiosidad, i estudio se ocupò en escrivir de las Indias, fue el P. Joseph de Acosta, de la Compañia de Jesus, el qual, desde que llegò à Tierra-firme, i Perù, se diò à la consideracion, i especulacion de las cosas naturales de aquella Tierra; para lo qual le aiudò mucho ser Provincial de aquella Provincia; porque tuvo ocasion, para andar casi todo el Perù, i notar lo que en este Reino ai: conviene à saber, Cielo, Aire, Agua, Tierra, Temple, Plantas, Animales, Aves, i Hombres: de lo qual escriviò dos Libros en Latin, viviendo en aquel Reino, i despues, haviendo, venido à el de España, los tradujo en Lengua vulgar, i Castellana, dilatando su Historia, con otros Libros de las cosas, que notò, viò, i contemplò, asi en el Pirù, como en la Nueva-España, à do vino, segun entiendo, para poderlas referir como Testigo de vista.

La Ceremonia de traer en andas à la Moça, aunque los primeros Religiosos la vieron muchas veces, en diversas partes de este Reino, à los principios, io tambien la vi, en estos tiempos, en un Pueblo llamado Miacatlan, de la

" Yo, aunque indigno de ser contado entre Autores tan graves, i honrados, estuve tambien en aquellas Partes; vivì en el Perù nueve Años, adonde todo este Tiempo tuve grande curiosidad en ver, preguntar, oìr, i sabir casi infinitas cosas, que en aquella Tierra ai. Pero en tres cosas particularmente reparè mas que en otras. La primera, què Reies governaron aquel Reino, què Guerras tuvieron, i què sucesos, hasta que entraron los Españoles? La segunda, de què parte fueron à aquella Tierra, i las demàs de las Indias los primeros Pobladores? La tercera, si se predicò el Evangelio en estas Partes en Tiempo de los Apostoles? De todo lo qual tuve proposito de hacer tres Libros, contenidos en un mismo volumen, i asi comencè à trabajar en lo primero: sino que despues, por haver venido à la Nueva-España, i visto en ella muchas cosas, juntamente con la informacion vocal, i escrita de cosas que importaban para lo segundo, i tercero, mucho, considerè que la Historia se aumentaba, i crecia tanto, que no podia sacarla toda junta à luz, i asi mudè parecer, llegado à España, i me determinè de sacar primero à luz el segundo intento, que es de el *Origen de los Indios*, dexando el primero, i tercero, para despues, con el favor, i aiuda de Dios, trabajar en ellos, i sacallos en publico, si el que tengo entre manos diere gusto, i contentamiento.

" Lo que, pues, en este Libro pretendo tratar es, del Origen, i principio de los Indios que habitan en las Indias Occidentales, que es la quarta parte del Mundo, de nuevo descubierta, à quien los Cosmografos Modernos llaman *America*. Refiero muchas opiniones, con sus fundamentos, i raçones, i pongo las objeciones, i dudas, que contra ellas se pueden ofrecer, con su respuesta, i solucion. Acerca de todo lo qual ha de notar, i advertir el Lector, que aunque algunas Opiniones que refiero, tienen Autores que realmente fueron de aquel parecer, pero les añado Yo muchos fundamentos, i dudas, con sus soluciones, i replicas, i otras cosas, que con grandisimo trabajo, cuidado, i costa he visto en el Peru, Nueva-España, Tierra-firme, i Islas de aquel parage, de que tomè motivo, i ocasion, para fundar otras Opiniones, de las quales puedo decir, con verdad, que soi Yo el Autor; hablando particularmente como tal, en cada una, no obstante mi sentencia, opinion, i parecer, que despues de todas ellas pongo: para todo lo qual me aiudo mucho lo que he leìdo en Libros impresos, i Relaciones escritas de mano, que tratan de aquellas Partes, i de la China, i Indias Occidentales. Y finalmente, la Relacion vocal que tuvè de los Indios, i Españoles, asi Seculares, como Religiosos, i Clerigos, que viven en aquellas Tierras, i doctrinan à los Indios. Yo holgaria, que de tal manera fuesen fundadas aquestas Opiniones, que cada qual de los Lectores hallase alguna que quadrase à su entendimiento, convencido de las raçones, i fundamentos, que en ellas pongo; porque siendo asi, darè por bien empleado mi trabajo, cansancio, i costa, i serà asimismo golosina, señuelo, i cebo, para moverme à trabajar, i cobrar nuevo animo, i brio en la composicion de los otros dos Libros, que arriba prometì."

" Others have written, besides the authors already named, such as Ortelius, the Augustine Father Romàn, Antonio de Herrera the historiographer of the King our Lord, and Father Maluenda, who, although they relate what they have seen or read, have not rendered us any great assistance; since they say nothing which others have not said and written before them: being however such grave writers, I confess that I have availed myself of whatever was to my purpose in their works. But he who bestowed the greatest care, research, and diligence, in writing of the Indies, was Father Joseph de Acosta, of the Society of Jesus, who on his first arrival in Tierra-firme and Peru, devoted himself to the contemplation and consideration of the natural productions of those regions, enjoying many facilities from his situation of provincial of that province; for he took the opportunity of exploring nearly all Peru, and of observing whatever that kingdom contains; namely, its climate, air, water, soil, temperature, plants, animals, birds, and population, of which he wrote two books in Latin, while residing in that kingdom: and having afterwards returned there from Spain, he translated them into Spanish, and augmented his History with the addition of other books, treating of what he remarked, saw, and contemplated as well in Peru as in New Spain, where he went, as I understand, for the sake of qualifying himself to speak as an eye-witness. I, although unworthy of being reckoned amongst such grave and esteemed authors, have been likewise in those countries; I lived nine years in Peru, during the whole of which period I felt great curiosity to see, inquire, hear, and know an infinite variety of things connected with that territory; but my attention was directed to three particular subjects above all others; the first of which was, what kings governed that kingdom, what wars they waged, and what political events occurred before the arrival of the Spaniards: the second was, from whence the first settlers in that kingdom and the other Indian provinces had proceeded: the third was, whether the Gospel had been preached in those parts in the age of the Apostles,—all which matters I intended to discuss in three books, which were to be comprised in the same volume; and accordingly I commenced my labours on the first: but afterwards having gone to New Spain, and there having seen many things besides the oral and written information which I obtained on subjects of much importance to the second and third books, I reflected that the History had received such accessions that I should not be able to publish it all at the same time. I therefore altered my intentions on my arrival in Spain, and determined first to publish the second treatise, which relates to the origin of the Indians, omitting the first and second, in order afterwards, with the favour and assistance of God, to bestow my labour upon them and present them to the public, if that which I now offer should prove agreeable to the taste of the reader. What I intend then to treat of in this book is the origin and descent of the Indians who inhabit the West Indies, which is the fourth and newly discovered part of the globe, to which modern cosmographers have given the name of America. I enumerate many opinions, with the grounds and reasons on which they are founded, and I add the objections and doubts which others may advance against them, with their answers and solutions. In respect to all which, the reader should be admonished and advised, that although some of the opinions which I enumerate are those of writers who really professed them, I still advance many grounds and doubts with their solutions and answers, besides other things which, with excessive labour, care and cost, I have seen in Peru, New Spain, Tierra-firme, and the islands situated thereabouts, which have furnished me with the opportunity of laying the foundations for other opinions, of which I can affirm with truth that I am the author, speaking particularly in that character in each of the opinions to which I advert. Notwithstanding the private conclusions that I have been led to adopt, which I have added after the rest,—in all which I have been much assisted by the printed books and manuscript histories which I have read which treat of those countries and of China and the West Indies, and by the oral information which I have received from the Indians and Spaniards, as well laymen as ecclesiastics, regular and parochial, who live in those parts and teach the Indians,—it would give me much satisfaction if these opinions were so well grounded, that every reader might discover one which corresponded with his own views, convinced by the reasons and grounds which I add to them; for I should then consider my time, trouble, and cost well expended; and it would likewise be a temptation, motive, and encouragement to induce me to labour and to rally fresh force and spirit for the composition of the other two books which I have promised above."

A marginal note by the editor of the last edition of the *Origin of the Indians*, printed at Madrid in the year 1729, says at page 31, that

jurisdiccion de Quauhnahuac, Cabeça del Marquesado, cuio Señor es el Marquès del Valle, donde el Governador del Pueblo casaba un Hijo suio, con Hija de otro Governador de Atlacholoayan, tres leguas el un Pueblo del otro, y como Señorcetes (que al fin lo eran) usaron de la Ceremonia antigua, traiendo la Moça, en andas, con mucha Magestad, acompañada de mucho Gentìo, asi de Parientes, y Deudos, como de otras Personas de el mismo Pueblo, à la qual estaba aguardando el desposado, y la saliò à recibir, con Trompetas, y Musica, y la recibiò en su casa, siendo casi las ocho de la noche, y con esta Magestad la trajeron à la Iglesia, donde los vide desposar. De manera, que esto, que no es pecado, pasò alli en publico ; si huvo otra alguna ceremonia supersticiosa, y que contradiga à nuestra Santa Lei, no la vimos, ni entendimos, y por sin duda tengo, que no la havria, por estàr ià mui informados, en la Fè, sino que harian esto como Hombres, que podian, y no ser ceremonia vedada, pues en sì no es mala.

Algunos, que se havian enamorado, y aiuntado secretamente, y haviendo sido algun tiempo amancebados, si se querian casar, concertabanse, mostrando su consentimiento matrimonial à algunas Personas, y Deudos ; y si eran ricos, usaban las ceremonias dichas ; pero si eran pobres, acortabanse en los gastos, midiendose con el posible, y con pocos combidados celebraban sus Bodas, y quedaban casados, y tenidos de alli adelante por vecinos de el Pueblo.

En la Provincia de Paria, demàs de otras ceremonias, la que tenian por mas principal, era carearse el uno al otro ; y aunque despues de casados, segun la opinion de todos, estuviesen juntos mucho tiempo, si el uno de los dos no miraba al otro, por algun disgusto, ò descontento, no se tenian por casados, y se dejaban, diciendo : Nunca lo mire. Si bien se considera esta ceremonia, es la misma, que usaban las Doncellas de los Talcheas, que havian de reirse, y mirarse, para recibirse por esposos, como vimos en el Capitulo pasado.

En la Provincia Mixteca, entre otras, usaban de esta ceremonia, cortabanle al desposado una guedeja de Cabellos, y otra à la desposada, y tomabanse las manos, y atabanles las puntas de las ropas, y por remate de las esponsalias tràia el desposado à cuestas, por un breve espacio, à la desposada ; queriendo decir en esto (à lo que me parece) la pesada, y nueva carga, que se hechaba à cuestas, que en realidad de verdad lo es, y mas si la Muger sale aviesa, y no es la que debe. En otras muchas partes los trasquilaban, en señal del primer Matrimonio.

En la Provincia de Paria usaban juntarse todos los vecinos, para celebrar las Bodas ; y las Mugeres combidadas' traìan consigo de sus viandas, y comidas, y de los Vinos, que beben, y de esto en mucha cantidad, todo lo que podian traer à cuestas. Los Hombres llevaban haces de cañas, y de Ierva, para armar la casa de la nueva Novia (segun lo acostumbran en aquellas Costas.) Hecha la casa, luego el Novio, y la Novia se adornaban conforme su caudal, y posible, ataviandose con vestidos, y joias de Oro, Cuentas, y Piedras de valor, y estima. Pero si no tenian estas cosas para su adorno, y fiesta, los vecinos se las prestaban. Sentaban la Novia entre las Doncellas, y al Novio entre los Mancebos, apartados los unos de los otros ; luego cercaban à la Novia todas las Doncellas, y otras Mugeres, bailando, y saltando ; y lo mismo hacian todos los Mancebos, en la presencia del Novio : luego venia un Hombre, y cortabale los Cabellos por el cabo de las orejas ; y à la Novia se los cortaba una Muger, por la frente. Venida la noche, tomaba por la mano la Esposa, al Esposo, y se iban juntos al lugar, donde consumaban su Matrimonio, y de esta manera quedaban casados. Algunos mui pobres labradores, que no se hallaban con suficiente caudal, concertaban sus Bodas conforme à su pobreça, y recibian à la Muger, con afecto conjugal ; y despues trabajaban algun tiempo, y llegaban algun caudal, para celebrar las Bodas ; y llegado, y junto lo necesario, combidaban à sus Deudos, y Parientes, y con ciertas ceremonias de pobres, solemniçaban la Boda*.

Si algun Mancebo se enamoraba de alguna Moça, y se aiuntaban los dos, sin el consentimiento, y noticia de sus Padres, aunque con afecto matrimonial, pasado algun Tiempo, en que ganaban lo necesario, para la celebracion de sus Bodas, iba el Moço à los Padres de la Muger, y deciales : Io digo mi culpa, y conozco, que os he ofendido en haveros llevado à vuestra Hija, y haverme casado con ella, sin vuestro consentimiento, havemos errado entrambos, en havernos aiuntado, sin vuestra licencia ; pero sabed, que de consentimiento de ambos se hiço, y vivimos los dos, como casados ; si aora sois contentos de que hagamos la solemnidad, y ceremonias de casados, vedlo, y si no, veis aqui vuestra Hija, recibidla ; pero advertid, que queremos de aqui adelante trabajar, y vivir bien, y buscar de que nos

Garcia published the result of his researches on the third subject, which he proposed to investigate, in a work entitled "*Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo, viviendo los Apostoles,*" which was printed in the year 1625. The title seems to indicate that his inquiries were very successful ; but all our exertions have failed to procure a copy of it.

* It was a Jewish custom also to invite guests to marriage feasts, to which Christ refers in the parable of the marriage of the king's son.—*Matthew*, chap. xxii.

podamos sustentar, y criar à nuestros Hijos, y vuestros Nietos, y asi os rogamos, que nos perdoneis, y que nos concedais lo que os rogamos. A Caso ià hecho, y que el remedio no era apartarlos, respondian los Padres, y Deudos, que tenian por bien, que fuese rato, y pasase el Matrimonio, amonestandoles, à que fuesen buenos, en lo por venir, y futuro; pero que pues lo havian hecho, sin su licencia, y ellos mismos lo havian concertado, que sufriesen qualquiera adversidad, y trabajo, que les viniese, si de algun delito fuesen, en algun tiempo, acusados, y no les hechasen à ellos la culpa; pues la queja no era de los Padres, contra cuia voluntad se casaron, sino suia, en haverse concertado clandestinamente. Esto decian, porque, segun sus agorerias, y malos abusos, creìan, que por haverse casado clandestina, y subrepticiamente, les havia de venir algun mal suceso, y havian de cometer algun otro pecado, de que huviesen de ser gravemente castigados. Y esto dicho, y hecho, celebraban sus Fiestas, segun lo toleraba, y permitia su caudal, y posible, y quedaban en Gracia los unos, de los otros.

Capitulo VI.

Que prosigue las Ceremonias de los Matrimonios Antiguos, y Modernos, asi de los pasados, como de los presentes Indios de esta Neuva-España; y se dice ser en ellos mui ordinaria la Oracion, y Abstinencia en este Acto, y Contrato, y no menos haver sido costumbre antigua.

Hechas las Ceremonias dichas en el Capitulo pasado, y saliendose à bailar los combidados, quedabanse los desposados haciendo penitencia, la qual comunmente les duraba tiempo de quatro dias; no consumaban el Matrimonio, ni salian de su aposento, sino para las necesidades naturales; porque en salir para otra qualquier cosa, temian haverles de suceder algun mal infortunio; en especial creìan de la Doncella, que havia de ser liviana, y deshonesta, si no se abstenia de salir fuera de su recogimiento todos los quatro Dias. Para la quarta noche, que era quando se havia de consumar el Matrimonio, venian dos Viejos, que eran de las Guardas del Templo, y aparejabanles una cama, la qual era de dos petates, ò esteras mui pintadas, y enmedio ponian unas Plumas, y una Piedra, que llaman Chalchihuitl, de color de Esmeralda, aunque no fina: ponian tambien un pedaço de cuero de Tigre, debajo de las esteras, y sobre ellas tendian unas mantas, à manera de sabanas, y à las quatro partes de esta cama ponian unas cañas verdes, y unas puas, ò espinas de Maguey, para que se sacasen sangre los Novios de la lengua, y de las orejas, y la sacrificasen, y ofreciesen à sus Dioses. Las puas ensangrentadas, ponian sobre la cama. Nunca se lababan, ni bañaban en estos quatro Dias, que aiunaban *, y hacian penitencia, que en algunas Tierras, en especial en las calientes, que lo tienen de costumbre, era mui grande la que hacian en esto; y es ceremonia antigua, en actos penitenciales, y de aiuno, ni labarse, ni ungirse la cabeça, como lo acostumbraban los de Palestina. Vestianse para estos Dias de su abstinencia unas vestiduras nuevas, con ciertas insignias, y señales de los Idolos, à quien tenian mas devocion. A la media noche, por el discurso de este tiempo, salian de su aposento para ofrecer Sacrificio, quemando Incienso sobre el Altar, que tenian en su Oratorio, que les es mui ordinario, aun aora en el Tiempo de su Christianismo: incensaban tambien las cañas, que estaban sobre la cama; y asimismo ponian aquellos quatro Dias comida, por ofrenda, en honor de los Dioses sus Abogados. Pasados los quatro Dias, en la manera dicha, consumaban el Matrimonio, y tomaban las esteras, y ropas, que havia sido cama para aquel efecto, y las cañas, y comida, que havian ofrecido, y todo junto llevabanlo al Templo, como en hacimiento de Gracias.

Otra ceremonia, casi como esta, usaban los del Pueblo de Israèl, acerca del acostar los Novios, la primera noche de sus Bodas, que les ponian una sabana, ò lienço, para que en èl se estampase el testimonio de la virginidad, que era la sangre, que del primer acto se vertìa, la qual se quitaba de la cama delante de testigos, que pudiesen afirmar haverla visto, con la señal de la sangre, que comprobaba la corrupcion de la Doncella, y embuelta, ò doblada, la ponian en cierto lugar, diputado para esto, donde quedaba guardada, en memoria de la limpieça, y puridad, con que la dicha Doncella venia à poder de su Marido. Seria posible, que quisiese significar entre estos Indios lo

* David is said, in the twelfth chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, after having been rebuked by the prophet Nathan for his adultery with the wife of Uriah, to have done penance, fasting and lying on the ground in an unwashed state for six days, lamenting the sickness of his child; but when he was informed on the seventh day that the child was dead, he is said to have arose from the earth and washed and anointed himself.

mismo, este cuidado de los viejos, de traer manta, ò sabana, y tenderla sobre la cama de los desposados, para los primeros actos matrimoniales ; y es creìble, que seria este el intento, pues la ropa, y esteras, que sirvieron en este Sacrificio, se llevaban al Templo, y no servian mas en casa, como ni mas, ni menos la ceremonia antigua de guardar la sabana, con sangre, entre los Hebreos, en lugar particular, y seguro.

Si en la Camara, ò Aposento donde havian estado los Novios celebrando sus Bodas, se hallaba algun carbon caìdo, ò alguna señal de ceniça, tenianlo por mal aguero, è inferian de èl, no haver de vivir los desposados, con paz, y sosiego, ni permanecer por mucho Tiempo juntos ; pero si hallaban algun grano de Maiz, ò de otra alguna semilla, atribuìanlo à mucha prosperidad, y conservacion de vida pacifica, y permanencia del Matrimonio. Al quinto Dia se bañaban sobre unas esteras de espadañas verdes, guardando entrambos en este acto mucha honestidad, y cubriendo con cuidado las partes de su puridad. En este baño les servia el Agua, y se la hechaba encima uno de los Ministros del Templo, haciendo esta ceremonia, como que les hechaba la bendicion. A los Señores se les hechaba el Agua quatro veces, à reverencia de la Diosa de las Aguas, llamado Chalchihuitlhuehue, *y otras quatro le hechaban vino tambien, à reverencia del Dios Baco, llamado Tezcatzoncatl,* que segun esto debian de ser estos los Dioses Abogados de las Bodas, como tambien los tenian los Gentiles Antiguos (como ià hemos dicho) luego les vestìan nuevas, y limpias vestiduras, y daban al Novio un Incensario, para que perfumase à los Idolos, que debian de ser los dichos, que tenian presentes, y en su casa. A la Novia ponian sobre la cabeça plumas blancas, y emplumabanle tambien los pies, y las manos, con otras coloradas. Acabado todo esto, repartianse otra vez mantas, y cantaban todos, y bailaban, cargando las barrigas de comida, y las cabeças, mas que con Agua. Esto dicho era casi general costumbre entre estas Gentes en sus aiuntamientos matrimoniales, salvo, que los que no tenian tanto posible, no hacian todas las dichas ceremonias, ni combidaban à tantos, sino ajustabanse à su posibilidad, y celebraban sus Bodas conforme les alcançaba el posible. Los Maçatecas, no solo aiunaban, y hacian penitencia ; pero abstenianse de consumar el Matrimonio, por tiempo de veinte Dias, exercitandose en estos actos penitenciales.

No sè de donde tuvieron estas Gentes motivo de usar esta ceremonia, en especial los Mexicanos, aiunando quatro Dias, y haciendo penitencia, y orando à sus falsos Dioses ; pero sè, que fue Ceremonia hecha por el Santo Mancebo Tobias, quando se desposò con Sara, Hija de Raguèl, el qual se abstuvo de los afectos Matrimoniales, por consejo del Angel Rafaèl, tres noches, y à la quarta consumaron el Matrimonio, gastando las tres antecedentes, en oraciones, y peticiones à Dios, exortando el Bendito Moço à su Esposa à lo mismo ; lo qual hecho asi, consiguieron el fin de su Matrimonio ; de manera, que lo que podemos inferir de aqui es, que lo primero, que se debe hacer en los Desposorios, es, pedir à Dios favor, para conservarse en el estado de casado, à que se aplica, y abstenerse de los actos carnales, por algun tiempo, à exemplo de los Santos, que asi lo hicieron. Pero es gran confusion, para los Christianos, que aora viven, saber, que esta Ceremonia fue usada de Gente buena antiguamente, y que ellos aora no la usen ; y lo que mas debe confundirlos, es, que no solo pueden aprenderlo de los Santos, sino que estos Indios Gentiles se la enseñan, usando de oracion, sacrificio, y abstinencia en los primeros Dias de sus Contratos, y Matrimonios ; maiormente, que ai Canon expreso, que dice asi : Quando el Esposo, y Esposa han de ser bendecidos del Sacerdote, sean llevados de sus Padrinos ; pero despues de haver recibido las Bendiciones, abstenganse aquella noche de su aiuntamiento, por reverencia de las dichas Bendiciones. Y en otra parte dice, que por dos, ò tres Dias se dèn à la oracion, y guarden castidad. Estas palabras de el Derecho son de San Evaristo Papa, y Martir ; pero aunque es verdad, que no son de Mandamiento expreso, à lo menos, como dice la Glosa, son de Consejo ; y siendo el Consejo Santo, es raçon que se tome ; y esta es la raçon, porque entre el Desposorio, y Velaciones, ai tiempo intermedio, para que se confiesen, y comulguen, que es un acto Christiano, y necesario, para recibir este Sacramento, que en Lei de Gracia lo es ; y por esto se dice en el Concilio Tridentino : Amonesta el Santo Sinodo à todos los casados, que antes de contraer el Matrimonio (à lo menos tres Dias) antes de consumarlo, confiesen sus culpas, y pecados, y lleguense dignamente al Santo Sacramento de la Eucharistia : De manera, que es Ceremonia digna de alabança, y mui santa, esta de suspender los actos Matrimoniales, por alguno, ò algunos Dias, para vacar à Dios, y pedirle los buenos fines del Matrimonio. Y esta Ceremonia hallamos entre estos Indios Idolatras, è Infieles, no sè de quien aprendida, si ià no es, que se la enseño la raçon, por ser, como es, en sì cosa buena ; de la qual carecen nuestras Gentes Españolas, que aun no se han bien tomado las manos, quando ià usan de el poder, que les parece, que tienen en la Muger, que han recibido por propria : remedielo Dios, que es el Poderoso, que io no puedo mas, que decirlo, y aun abominarlo, porque parece, que no se pretende, en

esto, mas que la consumacion del gusto, y no la consecucion del fin, para que fue ordenado, de tener Hijos, para la multiplicacion, y conservacion de la especie. Verdad sea, que me acuerdo de aquel Matrimonio de Her, Hijo del Patriarca Judas, con Tamar, Muger de mucha disposicion, y hermosura, con la qual casò, y à breves Dias le matò Dios; porque dice la Sagrada Escritura, que era malo en su presencia; y entrando su Hermano Onias en su lugar, por segundo Marido, no acudia à la intencion del Matrimonio, que era la procreacion de los Hijos, por lo qual lo castigò Dios, y quitò la vida. Y dice Lira, que el pecado de su Hermano Her fue este mismo; y que la causa de cometerle era, porque su Muger no se hiciese preñada, porque en los Dias de su parto no le privase de los actos venereos; y tambien, porque pariendo, no se estragase, y perdiese de su hermosura, que es de là que mas goçaba, sin advertir, que no era aquel el fin del Matrimonio; de manera, que castiga Dios estos desconciertos, y pone freno, en estas demasias, quando los Matrimonios no llevan mas fin, que casarse, por goçar de la hermosura, y gracias de la Muger con quien casa. Y de estos, si ai algunos, diganlo los casos muchos, que acerca de estos pasan en el Mundo.

Capitulo VII.

Donde se trata de los Grados de Consanguinidad, que estas Gentes Indianas tenian; y se declaran, los que son forçosos, y de Lei Natural.

Era Lei comun, y aprobada costumbre, entre estos Indios Occidentales, tener Grados de Consanguinidad, entre sì, los quales reconocian por impedimento forçoso, para no poder contraer Matrimonio, entre los comprehendidos en ellos. Estos eran, Padre con Hija, Hijo con Madre, Suegro con Nuera, Ierno con Suegra, Padrastro con Antenada, Antenado con Madrastra, y Hermano con Hermana. Todos estos Grados eran ilicitos, y dirimian el Matrimonio; y si algunos eran hallados haver cometido este acto, eran castigados, por ello, como transgresores de su usada, y prohibida costumbre (como lo vimos en el Libro del Govierno, y Leies.) Estos Grados de Consanguinidad (aunque no de una misma manera) han sido comunes en el Mundo, y mui usados de las Gentes de èl, los quales se entienden de dos maneras. El uno es Natural, que segun difinicion de los Hombres Doctos, es un nudo, y junta de muchas Personas, que se corresponden, y comunican en sangre, que decienden de un tronco, y cabeça, que guardan entre sì un cierto orden, y grado de conocimiento, en linage, y parentesco.

El fundamento es, que como la Consanguinidad sea un nudo, y comunicacion de sangre, de necesidad se sigue cierto Amor Natural, como lo declara Aristoteles, diciendo, que el Amor maior, y mas apretado, despues del de los Padres, es el de los Hermanos, como aquellos, que participan de un mismo tronco, y una misma sangre. Este Amor Natural dicho, no se deriva à muchas Generaciones; porque dado caso, que los Hombres se amen unos à otros naturalmente, no es en raçon de ser Deudos, y Parientes, sino en quanto cada Animal, como dice el Filosofo, ama à su semejante; y por serlo un Hombre de otro, se aman unos à otros naturalmente, *y no por venir todos de un Padre, conviene à saber, de Adàn antes del Diluvio, ò de Noè despues de èl;* por quanto la fuerça de este Amor, que nace de esta consanguinidad, se disminuie por discurso de Tiempo, y en la debilitacion de la Naturaleça; y asi se halla esta Consanguinidad, en diversas Familias, en unas mas, y en otras menos, como lo prueba, y declara doctamente el Abulense, en el lugar citado, que por no ser de los que pretendo, en este Capitulo, dejo de ponerlo. Otra Consanguinidad ai, que se llama legal, que no difiere de la pasada, en raçon de su esencia, por quanto es una misma cosa con ella; pero diferenciase de ella, en raçon de la asignacion, de sus grados; porque en la Natural no ai Grados determinados; porque (como hemos dicho) en unas Familias, y Generaciones dura mas, que en otras, segun la maior, ò menor fuerça, de la sangre, que los Padres comunican à los Hijos, en el acto de la Generacion; y asi decimos, que esta Consanguinidad no tiene grados determinados; pero la legal si, porque la Lei, ò Leies prohibien ciertos Grados, en los quales no se pueden los Hombres casar, con las de su misma parentela, y sangre, asi para contraer Matrimonio, como para suceder à los Padres, y Progenitores, en las Herencias, y Bienes. Esta determinacion (como diximos) aunque comprehende à todas, ò à las mas Naciones del Mundo, no à lo menos en el numero de los grados.

Verdad sea, que entre algunas Gentes no ha havido estos Grados de Consanguinidad, y que han contraìdo Her-

mano con Hermana. Y entre muchos Barbaros (como despues veremos) han usado esta costumbre bestial, de usar los Hijos de las Madres, como bestias sin raçon, de los quales grados, el primero, es entre Hermanos ; porque el Padre, ni la Madre, en orden del Hijo no dice grado ninguno, porque son el principio de este Parentesco, y Consanguinidad; pero entre las Gentes, que usan, y han usado de raçon, han sido, y son prohibidos algunos grados, pero varia, y diferentemente.

En la Lei Mosaica (que era Divina) no se prohibia, sino en el primer grado, que era no poder casar, ni contraer Hermano con Hermana; pero Primos Hermanos contraìan, y se casaban, y los que nosotros llamamos Primos Segundos, y Terceros. En el Testamento Nuevo, y Lei Evangelica, en que de presente vivimos, se acostumbraron à los principios siete grados de Consanguinidad, los quales tenia prohibidos Nuestra Madre la Santa Iglesia, y dentro de este numero de grados, ninguno podia contraer Matrimonio, sino era con Dispensacion, que nacia de legitima causa ; pero despues se redujeron à quatro, por los muchos, y mui grandes inconvenientes, que de este largo Parentesco resultaban : lo qual duro hasta el tiempo de Inocencio Tercero, que en un Concilio General, determinò, no ser mas de quatro los Grados, y dirimiò los tres de ellos, como parece en los Sacros Canones. Este grado de Consanguinidad, prohibido en la Lei Antigua, conviene à saber, no casarse Hermano, con Hermana : es el que se hallò entre estos Idolatras Mexicanos, *sin saber*, que entre Primos Hermanos, ò Segundos corriese este impedimento.

Los Indios de la Vera-Paz muchas veces, segun el Parentesco, que usaban, era fuerça que casasen Hermanos con Hermanas, y era la raçon esta : Acostumbraban no casar los de un Tribu, ò Pueblo, con las Mugeres del mismo Pueblo, y las buscaban, que fuesen de otro ; porque no contaban por de su Familia, y Parentesco los Hijos que nacian en el Tribu, ò Linage ageno, aunque la Muger huviese procedido de su mismo Linage ; y era la raçon, porque aquel Parentesco se atribuìa à solo los Hombres. Por manera, que si algun Señor daba su Hija, à otro de otro Pueblo, aunque no tuviese otro heredero este Señor, sino solos los Nietos, Hijos de su Hija, no los reconocia por Nietos, ni Parientes, en raçon de hacerlos herederos, por ser Hijos del otro Señor de otro Pueblo ; y asi se le buscaba al tal Señor, Muger que fuese de otro Pueblo, y no de el proprio. Y asi sucedia, que los Hijos de estas Mugeres, no tenian por Parientes à los Deudos de su Madre, por estàr en otro Pueblo, y esto se entiende, en quanto à casarse con ellas, que lo tenian por licito, aunque en lo demàs se reconocian. Y porque la cuenta de su Parentesco era entre solos los Hombres, y no por parte de las Mugeres, por esto no tenian impedimento, para casarse, con los tales Parientes ; y asi se casaban con todos los grados de Consanguinidad, porque mas por Hermana tenian qualquiera Muger de su Linage, aunque fuese remotisima, y no tuviese memoria del grado, en que le tocaba, que la Hija de su propia Madre, como fuese havida de otro Marido, y por este error se casaban, con las Hermanas de Madre, y no de Padre. Tambien se casaban con las Cuñadas, que tuviesen Hijos, ò no los tuviesen de otros Maridos, y con las Madrastras concurriendo, à su parecer, ciertas legitimas causas.

Los Moradores de la Provincia de Nicaragua, no contraìan, ni se casaban con Hermanas, lo qual tenian por rigurosa Lei prohibido : todos los demàs Deudos, y Parentescos, no eran prohibidos ; y asi se podian casar, y se casaban, Primos con Primas, Tios con Sobrinas, y otros Parientes, con otras de su misma Sangre. Las Gentes de los Reinos del Pirù, tuvieron por grados prohibidos casarse Hermano con Hermana ; Primo Hermano, con Prima Hermana ; Sobrino, con Tia ; Tio, con Sobrina ; y tenian este abuso por gran delito ; porque no solamente llamaban Hermanas, Madres, y Hijos, à los que verdaderamente lo eran ; pero tambien à los Primos Hermanos, llamaban Hermanos, y à los Tios, Padres ; y à los Sobrinos, Hijos.

Los Mexicanos, y Tetzcucanos, en todos sus Reinos, y Provincias, jamàs usaron sus casamientos, en los grados, que algunas de estas Naciones referidas, mas antes guardaban los grados de consanguinidad, que se han dicho : como el Padre Frai Toribio Motolinia lo dice en su Memorial, *y supolo mui de raìz, y averiguadamente ;* porque èl, con los demàs, primeros Religiosos, de aquellos Tiempos, de la conversion de estas Gentes, trabajaron con grande solicitud, y cuidado, por saber los grados, en que contraìan su contrato natural, y Matrimonio, para vèr como debian proceder, en el Christianismo ; y no hallaron serles licito por Lei, ni por costumbre, ninguno de los grados referidos ; y asi, nunca tal casamiento se tuvo por licito, antes fue siempre havido por ilicito, y reprobàdo, y digno de gran castigo. Verdad sea, que se hallaron en el distrito de esta Nueva-España, quatro, ò cinco casados de esta manera, y en grados ilicitos, y prohibidos, que fue con Hermanas suias : pero esto no fue, porque no havia costumbre contraria, sino porque eran Reies, y Gente poderosa, los quales no tienen contradicion, y resistencia ; y si dàn en seguir su gusto, le es mui facil desterrar à la raçon, como vemos haver hecho Herodes, tomando por Muger, à la de su propio

Hermano Filipo, siendo contra la Lei, que lo prohibia, viviendo el Hermano, como se lo reprehendiò el Gran Precursor de Christo, San Juan, en cuia demanda muriò. Y asi fue entre estos Indios, en aquellos sus pasados Tiempos: y si asi algunos se copulaban, en la forma dicha, era por defecto de Justicia, y sobra de Poderìo de Señores, y Reies, lo qual se vè muchas veces en muchos Reinos, que los tales, ò por los tales, se quebrantan las buenas Leies; y se suspende, y aun se tuerce la Justicia; y asi porque sus Leies, y costumbre, prohibia el tal Matrimonio con Hermana, quando se convirtieron al Christianismo les fueron quitadas las tales Mugeres, como à Gentes, que havian vivido amancebadas, y no en legitimo Matrimonio.

Otro abuso usaron algunas Gentes de otras Provincias, mui apartadas de estas de Mexico, y Tetzcuco, y fue, que los Señores, y Gente Principal, que usaban tener muchas Mugeres, muerto este, las recibia el Hijo que heredaba el Señorio, y las tenia por propias; pero tambien fue esto mui poco usado, y no eran todas las Mugeres, y Mancebas de su Padre (segun el parecer de Religiosos, que lo supieron bien, y de raìz) sino solas aquellas que no tuvieron Hijos del Señor difunto, *como en orden de ampliar la Generacion de su Padre:* y puesto que en estas Provincias se usaba esta costumbre, no era tenida por buena, ni licita, sino por mala, y reprobada; y quanto mas esta mala costumbre se venia acercando à los Reinos de Mexico, y Tetzcuco, tanto mas se vituperaba, y reprobaba, y por esto le llamaban à este hecho Tetzahuitl, que quiere decir: *Cosa espantosa, y de asombro; y à los Hijos que nacian de este aiuntamiento, llamaban Tetzauhconetl, Hijos de asombro, y de espanto, porque les espantaba vèr, que era aquello prohibido, y que huviese Gente que lo cometiese.*

En el Reino de Mechhuacan, huvo abuso, segun fue Fama, de tomar à la Suegra por Muger; y tambien, si alguno casaba con Muger, que fuese maior en Dias, si esta tal tenia alguna Hija havida de otro Marido, se la solia dàr à este segundo Marido, solo à fin de tenerle contento, para que no la dejase, por vicja; de manera, que tenia à Madre, y Hija por Mugeres, ambas en un tiempo; pero no se tenia esto en todos aquellos Reinos, por buena costumbre, sino por abuso abominable, introducido por Reies, y Señores, y Personas Principales, que no reconocian Superior, que pudiese irles à la mano, ni reprehenderles caso tan malo, y escandaloso; y asi, hablaban de ello, como de cosa vergonçosa, y que causaba admiracion, y escandalo en la Republica.

Capitulo VIII.

De como entre algunos de los Gentiles Antiguos, se usò casarse Hermanos con Hermanas, y Padres con Hijas, y Madres con Hijos.

De estos nuestros Indios decimos, que tuvieron muchas Mugeres, en especial los Reies, que como poderosos las havian facilmente. Del gran Rei Motecuhçuma, se dice, que tenia muchas, y à todas las sustentaba abundante, y copiosamente. De los Reies de Tetzcuco, en especial del prudentisimo Neçahualpiltzintli, dicen, que tuvo cien Hijos havidos en diversas Mugeres, aunque los que mejor lo han averiguado, no le dàn mas de sesenta, y estos he visto io pintados en sus Historias. Estos Señores tenian costumbre, de darles casa, de por sì, à qualquiera de estas Mugeres; porque demàs de mostrar en esto su Grandeça, acudian à la condicion natural de las Mugeres, que es no gustar de vèr à su lado, à la que le tiene con su Marido. Bien se prueba esto con aquella raçon de Lia, diciendo à su Hermana Rachel, quando le pedia de las Mandragoras, que su Hijo le havia traìdo del Campo: no basta que me tengas allà à mi Marido, sino que tambien quieras lo que mi Hijo me ha dado? Y en el Gapitulo Treinta se conoce, *que Jacob tenia dada Casa de Campo, y de por sì, à todas sus quatro Mugeres;* porque dice la Sagrada Escritura, que viniendo Lavan detràs de su Ierno Jacob, entrò à buscar los Idolos, que le havian hurtado, por todos los Tabernaculos, y Tiendas, començando por el de Lia, y luego por los de las dos criadas, acabando en el de Rachel. De manera, que esta era costumbre antigua. *Y la misma guardò Salomòn, haciendole casa de por sì à la Hija del Rei Faraon,* que no la quiso tener en igual grado, con las demàs Mugeres, aunque les tenia dadas Casas à todas, ò ià en la suia Real, ò en otras partes convenibles. Y facilmente me persuadirè, que las tenia todas dentro del compàs de su Real Palacio, y no es mucho pensarlo, pues no es mucho para un Rei hacerlo.

Yo he visto todas las Casas del Rei Nezahualpilli, en Tetzcuco, y todos los que han querido las han visto, y las

vèn los que quieren, las quales cogen gran parte de suelo (como en otra parte hemos dicho) y dentro de sus Jardines, aun permanecen los Edificios de algunas Casas edificadas para las Mugeres de este Rei : à las quales iba de su Real Palacio, por un camino, y senda, hecho à mano de Cal, y Canto, dos estados de alto del suelo, y levantado de paredes hasta medio cuerpo, y tan angosto, que apenas cabe por èl una sola persona ; de manera, que si quieren pasar dos juntos, han de ir el uno tràs del otro. Y esto hacia por grandeça ; porque iendo por èl, y viniendo otra persona alguna no pasase, sino que se bolviese ; lo qual, si alguna vez acontecia, se hacia asi, sin bolverle las espaldas el Hombre, ò Muger, que le encontraba, sino hechando los pasos atràs, como los havia traìdo àcia delante, y sin mirarle à la cara, ni haciendo ningun feo movimiento de cuerpo. Tambien he visto pintada la Casa del Famoso Rei Motecuhçuma, y tengo la pintura en mi poder, que es mucho de vèr, y en ella estàn pintadas las Casas de sus Mugeres, en lo mas interior de las suias Reales, à las quales entraba por sendas, y veredas ocultas. Toda esta Magestad guardaban con sus Mugeres, y las guardaban, con Gente anciana, y de confiança.

Caput XXVII. Libri Quinti *Acostæ*.

De Indorum ceremoniis et ritibus, nostratibus nonnihil cognatis et affinibus.

Ceremoniæ Indorum quamplurimæ, cum Mosaicæ legis ritibus conveniebant. Habent, quibus etiam cum Mauris et Mahumetistis conveniant. Nonnullis doctrinæ quoque Evangelicæ respondent : ex quibus præcipuè sunt ablutiones, ipsis Opacunæ dictæ : Hoc enim uno fine lavantur, ut à peccatis suis emundentur. Mexicanis insuper suus quoque Baptismus in usu erat. Nam de recens natorum infantum auribus et pudendis portiunculas præsectas offerebant : *quibus ceremoniis populi Judaici circumcisionem quadantenus æmulabantur.* Sed omnium maximè hæc in regum aut magnatum filiis observabant, hoc ferè modo. Ut primum in lucem infantes edebantur, eos sacerdotes lavabant, dextris ipsorum gladiolum, sinistris autem parmulam inserentes. Plebeiis liberis masculis instrumenta fabrilia indebant : fœmellis autem, quod ad colum et lintea spectaret. Et hæc ante Idolum quatuor diebus perficiebantur. *In contractibus matrimonialibus utrinque ratis consignationibus rem firmabant :* de quibus Licentiatus Polus integrum tractatum edidit. Qui in Mexico matrimonio sese juncturi erant, hoc modo et ritu ligabantur. Tum sponsus, tum sponsa ante sacerdotem considebant. Quorum prehensis manibus, sacerdos rogabat, utrum matrimonii consensum utrinque ratum haberent. His ergò annuentibus, sacerdos ex flammei, quo sponsa caput velabat, et sponsi pallii finibus nodum stringebat, cosque ita vinctos in sponsi ædes ducebat. In his focus instructus lucebat, quem sponsi cum obiissent, posteà unà considebant. His ritibus matrimonium stabilitum erat. In sponsarum castitate deprehendenda sponsi admodum seduli scrutatores erant. Quas si fors pollutas invenirent, cum magno probro tum parentibus tum cognatis vitium imputabant. Contrà verò si quam pudicitiæ inviolatæ et intemeratæ deprehenderent, eam maximi faciebant, et parentes donis offundebant, diisque sacra faciebant, et mutuo tum in sponsi tum in sponsæ ædibus, lautis conviviis agitatis, dies aliquot hilariter sumebant. Quod si sponso sponsa domum adduceretur, *continuo in libellos* (*ut vocant*) *inventarios bona universa, et clenodia, et omnis præsens supellex consignabantur*, cujus consignationis copia utrisque parentibus eo fine offerebatur, ut si fors aliquando inter ipsos non conveniret, divortio (nam id frequenter fiebat) facto suum quisque quod attulisset, reciperet. Bonis divisis, alter alterum solutum pronunciabat, et uterque, uti sibi commodum esset, de novo nubebat. Si quos durante matrimonio liberos progenuissent, tunc vir mares, fœmina filias assumebat, *et capitali pœna interdicebatur illis, ne post hac ullo uspiam congressu matrimoniali jungerentur.* Id quod strictè ac præcisè servandum erat. His et similibus ceremoniis, etsi quidem nobiscum quadamtenus ipsi convenire videantur : attamen dum inconvenientia et absurda plurima immiscent, à nostris ritibus absunt longissimè. Indi enim plerique his tribus maximis criminibus obnoxii erant, nimirum, ferocia, impuritate et otio. Uno enim promiscuè furore insaniebant adeò, ut levi ex causa sese invicem cæderent et immolarent. Impuri verò et desides in eo erant, quod sub mentionem suorum Idolorum ubivis ederent et biberent, et in omnibus leves ac mutabiles, plus fœminarum mollitiem, quam virorum constantiam æmularentur.

Quæ omnia in ipsis Sathanas operabatur, cujus hæ artes sunt propriæ, ut ad peccata et homicidia, et incestas

libidines, ac desidem et otiosam vitam homines subinde impellat et præcipitet. Nunc verò postquam sancti Evangelii voce personante ad frugem redierunt, ludicra hæc et ineptias, quibus à Sathana et idolis diu elusi fuerunt, supinè ultro citroque rident, plus se timore, ne diabolus ipsis noceret, quam vero et sincero affectu amoreque actos, hos olim cultus ministrasse, dicentes. Plurimi Indorum seipsos in hoc deceperant, dum de una salute et felicitate externa solliciti, æternorum et post hanc vitam capiendorum bonorum nullam curam susceperunt. Nam cum externis bonis cumulatissimè diffluerent, superstitionum securitas confertim irrepsit: sicut hujus exemplum in Mexicanis et Cuscanis videre licet, qui superstitionum suarum nullum finem modumque sciebant. Nam harum in Cusco ad minimum trecenta genera distincta numerabantur. Ex regibus Cuscanis Mango Inga Yupangui (superstitionibus asserendis veluti natus) festa et ceremonias et sacrificia tot peperit, ut numerari commodè non potuerint. Simile quoque Mexicanorum Rex Iscoâlt, in regno quartus, designavit. Cæteræ nationes, ut provincia Guatimala, cum Insulis Novæ Hispaniæ, et provincia Chile, etsi et ipsæ quidem plurimis sacrificiis abundarent, non tamen ulla parte conferri poterunt cum Cuscanis et Mexicanis, quibus duobus præcipuè locis Sathanas cum omni sua potentia, ut et Romæ et Hierosolymis, principaliter sibi sedem et solium fixerat. Ex quibus tamen, nunc Dei optimi maximi beneficio procul exactus est, et in loco ejus sancta salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi Crux regnumque viget ac dominatur.

Capitulo XV.

Como ha sido costumbre Antigua, el uso de el Repudio, asi entre Gentiles, como entre los del Pueblo de Dios, y estos Indios Occidentales.

Estos Indios Occidentales, que como todas las Gentes, que usaron de Matrimonio conjugal, tambien le tuvieron, acostumbraron, asi como todos los demàs, tener divorcio, y usar de repudio; lo qual se manifiesta, no solo porque ellos mismos confesaron, despues de recibida la Fè, haver usado de èl en su infidelidad, sino por lo que los Ministros Evangelicos vieron, y experimentaron, despues de haver començado la predicacion en estos Reinos, y Provincias. Esta costumbre fue General, entre estos Indios, aunque variados los modos. Y para que se entienda, pondrè aqui lo que se acostumbraba en la Ciudad de Tetzcuco, que era donde, como en Atenas, ò en la Gran Roma, en otros Tiempos, florecieron las Leies, porque governaron succesivamente en aquel Reino dos Señores, que fueron Padre, y Hijo, por tiempo, y espacio, de mas de noventa Años, los quales fueron mui Republicanos, que celaron mucho el bien de su Republica, y trabajaron, por tenerla bien regida, y governada (como en otra parte hemos dicho) y entre muchos Jueces que havia, para diversas causas, y negocios, havia otros nombrados, para los Matrimonios, y litigios, que acerca de ellos se ofrecian. Estos (dice el Padre Frai Toribio Motolinia) que vido estàr sentados, en la Sala de su Juzgado, en el Palacio Real, oiendo de estas dichas causas; y que eran muchos, porque cada Pueblo tenia alli su Juez, à los quales reconocian los de los Barrios, y Parroquias, y ante ellos presentaban sus quejas. Y se dice, que estaba tan en su punto esta Policia, en aquella Republica, que no solo los del Reino eran oìdos, en ella de sus causas; pero que el Gran Motecuhçuma solia remitir muchos allà. El modo, que tenian para sus Divorcios, y Repudios, era el siguiente: Llegados al lugar del Juzgados, los casados, que iban discordes, presentaban su queja ante los Jueces, los quales la oìan, con grande atencion, y severidad. Y despues de oìdas todas las Alegaciones del quejoso, preguntaban al que era culpado de los dos: Si era Verdad lo propuesto, y alegado, por el contrario? El otro respondia lo que en el caso le convenia. Luego les preguntaban, de què manera havian vivido juntos, si havia sido con afecto matrimonial, ò por modo fornicario, y si en su aiuntamiento havian tenido aquel trocado consentimiento, que ai del Varon à la Muger, con que se reciben por esposos? Y si havian tenido licencia de sus Padres para contraer Matrimonio? Y si havian precedido las ceremonias todas, que se usaban en el dicho Contrato, y Matrimonio? Conforme à lo que à estas preguntas respondian, velan si estaban casados, ò solamente amancebados. Si vivian vida fornicaria, no hacian caso de ello, y apartabanlos, como à dos, que estaban amancebados, dandoles las penas, que sus Leies disponian. Si estaban casados con todas las ceremonias, en su Matrimonio acostumbradas, procuraban componerlos, amonestandoles la prosecucion del Matrimonio, y diciendoles, que mirasen con quanto acuerdo, y solemnidad se havian casado, y que no tratasen de deshonrar, y avergonçar à sus Padres, y Deudos, que en ello havian entendido, ni escandaliçasen al Pueblo, que ià sabia, que eran casados.

Hecha esta paternal amonestacion, si los que venian demandando Divorcio, y alegando nulidad en su Matrimonio, y aiuntamiento conjugal, la recibian con Amor, y se conformaban, en su presencia, despachabanlos, con mucho contento, y exortabanlos, para que otra vez no se desaviniesen, ni llegasen à semejante punto. Pero si todavia perseveraban en su pertinacia, y eran rebeldes à sus consejos, y amonestaciones, despedianlos con aspereça, y ellos se iban, y apartaban, dejandose el uno al otro, para nunca mas vivir juntos. Este acto, que aqui se hacia ante estos Jueces, parece, que era licencia tacita, para este Divorcio, y apartamiento, porque nunca sentenciaban en disfavor del Matrimonio, ni consentian, que por autoridad de Justicia, ellos se apartasen; porque decian ser cosa ilicita, y de mucho escandalo para el Pueblo, favorecer, con autoridad publica, cosa contraria à la raçon; pero ellos se apartaban de hecho, y este hecho se toleraba, aunque no en todos, segun el mas, ò menos escandalo, que se engendraba en el Pueblo.

Otros dicen, que por Sentencia difinitiva se hacia este Repudio, y Divorcio. Y las causas, que ordinariamente se alegaban, por parte de los que lo pretendian, eran decir: Dejamonos, porque nos queremos mal. Y el Varon alegaba, que su Muger no le queria servir, ni acudir à las cosas de su oficio, que es obligada à hacer en su casa, y que era pereçosa, y otras causas, que para justificar la de su intento, le parecian convenir, y ser necesarias; y decia mas: Pues no la havia de dejar teniendo tal, y tal falta? Ella alegaba, que la maltrataba, y queria mal, y no la daba de vestir, ni lo necesario, para el sustento de su casa, y otras raçones à este tono; por lo qual los Jueces sentenciaban (si acaso concedemos, que havia sentencia) que se apartasen, y quedasen libres, y sin obligacion el uno, al otro; pero no de la murmuracion del Pueblo, que buelto contra ellos, decian ser dignos de grandisima pena, por haver quebrado la Fè, è integridad del Matrimonio, y haver dado tan mal exemplo à la Republica. Estos Repudios acostumbraron hacerse, en algunas Provincias, sin sabiduria de las Justicias, sino que con propria autoridad se apartaban; en especial si eran Señores, y Gente poderosa. Y en estas ocasiones mas valia el Poder, que la Raçon; porque, en realidad de verdad, aunque se usaron, jamàs se tuvo por bien de la Republica; y asi sucedia haver grandes enemistades, y contiendas, entre los Deudos, y Parientes de la una parte, con los de la otra, que hacia el Repudio, ò lo pretendia. Y si eran Señores, y Reies, llegaban à punto de mover Guerras, y se destruìan unos, à otros.

No solo esta costumbre ha sido de estos Indios; sino de Naciones mucho mas Antiguas, de las quales sabemos haverle usado en sus Matrimonios, segun que les era permitido. Porque dado caso, que lo ha havido, jamàs ha sido licito, sino permitido, por quanto es contra la intencion del Matrimonio, y Lei Natural. De los Gentiles cosa es notoria, y manifiesta, porque las Leies Humanas, no solo afirman ser costumbre suia, pero declaran, con palabras expresas, al modo, que tenian en repudiarse, como se puede vèr facilmente en los *Digestos*.

De la Gente del Pueblo de Dios, sabemos haverlo tenido, y usado, hasta la venida de su Hijo al Mundo; el qual se dice en el Deuteronomio, por estas palabras: *El Varon, que se casare, y no se agradare de su Muger, por odio, que la tenga, ò por alguna otra causa, de fealdad, que en ella viere, escriva el libelo de Repudio, y deselo en sus manos à la Muger, que repudia, y hechela de su casa.* Las causas, que podian mover à este Repudio, dicen algunos, que eran, enfermedad corporal, tolerada por mucho Tiempo, ò alguna falta, y fealdad notable de su cuerpo. Otros dicen, y mui probablemente, que este Repudio se concedia, para las cosas nuevamente vistas, y halladas en el Tiempo, que corria despues de hecho el Matrimonio, y asi lo siente Lira, y eran odio, y rencor, que se tuviesen, ò algun adulterio oculto, que la Muger cometiese. De manera, que el no tenerse buena voluntad, el uno al otro, era causa suficiente, para repudiarse. *Esta misma tenemos dicho, haver sido la que tambien tomaban estos Indios, por ocasion de dejarse, y no hacer vida maridable,* y debia de ser la de otros Gentiles, para hacer lo mismo. Y que esta haia sido causa legitima, de dejarse, pruebase por el Profeta Malaquias, diciendo del Varon, que tiene enfado con su Muger: Si por ventura la tuvieres cobrado odio, dejala. Donde parece serles permitido dejarles, por el odio, y mala voluntad, que les tenian, y no quererse bien, y el adulterio oculto, y las otras dichas. El intento de darse este libelo de Repudio, era apartarse el Varon de la Muger perpetuamente, sin quedarle licencia, para poder recibirla mas, y ella quedar libertada, para poder casarse con otro, que quisiese. Y asi, dice Josepho, que las palabras, que este Escrito, y Repudio contenian, eran estas: Yo te prometo, de no llegar mas à ti, ni tener copula contigo. Otros han querido decir, que en este libelo iba escrita la causa, porque el Varon la repudiaba. Pero esto no es de creer, por quanto este libelo se daba en favor, y defensa de esta Muger repudiada; y no era raçon, que el Marido, con quien despues casase (si se casaba) supiese la causa de su Repudio: pues siempre era falta, y defecto, ò mala voluntad que se tenian; y si era por algun adulterio oculto, que solo era conocido de su Marido, no era licito, que se hiciese publico à otros. Demàs, de que este libelo se daba à la Muger, y ella lo recibia, y guardaba, para su

defensa, en todo tiempo, y por esto havia de ir, con palabras seguras, de que por èl no le pudiese venir ningun mal; y aviendose de casar con otro (si por ventura el segundo marido lo leìa) era fuerça cobrarle mala voluntad, y quedar desavenidos en su Matrimonio, y ocasionados para repudiarse facilmente. Y asi es de creer, que dirian en èl las palabras, que pone Josepho, y no otras; porque de aquellas no puede colegirse cosa, que sea en deshonor y menosprecio de la repudiada, aunque ià se sabia, que havia causas que lo permitian.

Quando no supieramos, por lo dicho, que los Gentiles usaban de repudio, lo probamos eficazmente, con saber, que los Judios le tuvieron; *porque à no ser uso suio, tampoco los Judios le tuvieran,* porque sino tuvieran noticia de otras Gentes, que lo acostumbraban, no tuvieran ellos por negocio grave no usar de èl, pues no le conocian. Pero sabiendo, que otros lo usaban, y que à ellos en su Lei se les negaba, y prohibia, lo tuvieran por caso dificultoso, y pesado. Lo qual se conoce, en que tambien, porque vieron, que otras Gentes tenian Rei, y Señor particular que los governaba, y regia, se tuvieron por menos que los otros en no tenerle, y por esto fueron à Samuel, y le dijeron: Danos Rei, como lo tienen las otras Gentes, y Naciones. Y por esto hemos de decir, que todas las cosas ilicitas, que les fueron permitidas, à los Judios, las usaban los Gentiles, à los quales les parecia ser de menos calidad, y estimacion que ellos, si las cosas que acostumbraron, à los Judios, no se las concedieran. Y por esto les fue concedido el libelo del repudio, cosa comun, y usada entre Gentiles.

Este libelo de Repudio, no se concediò à los Hebreos por bueno, porque en sì no lo era; pero concediòseles, y permitiòseles, segun la dureça de su coraçon, y pertinacia de sus costumbres, que es lo que dijo Christo à ciertos Fariseos, que le tocaron esta materia, *y trataron de haverlo dado Moisen,* à sus antepasados, y progenitores, como parece por San Matheo, donde tratò Christo Nuestro Señor del Matrimonio, y como era cosa injusta dejarse los casados. De aqui nace saber, que muchas cosas malas, que se permiten, ò conceden, no se conceden, por ser ellas, en sì mismas, malas, sino por evitar otras peores, ò mas malas. Y porque de aborrecer uno à su Muger, ò por haverle adulterado secretamente, ò por otra causa, y no tener libertad de dejarla, y apartarse de ella, podia resultar (como dice el Tostado) otro maior mal, que era matarla, por eso les fue concedido este libelo, y apartamiento.

Pero dirà alguno, que por què en esta Lei Evangelica, y de Gracia, no corre la permision del Libelo, como corria entonces, *pues corren las mismas causas aora, que entonces?* A esto decimos, que à los Hebreos se les diò *Lei imperfecta,* como Gente, que lo era, y mui sujetos à sus pasiones, y à Gente semejante pudo permitirsele este caso ilicito. Pero como entrò Christo introduciendo su Evangelio, y dando Arancèl de vida perfecta, entrò tambien desterrando las imperfecciones de los Hombres, que hasta su venida se havian tolerado, y mandando lo contrario, porque no era licito, y lo que no es licito, en qualquier tiempo se puede revocar, aunque en otros antes se haia usado, y permitido; y esto prueba Christo, diciendo: Esto que aora pasa entre vosotros, de repudiar las Mugeres, lo qual os permitiò Moisen, no fue cosa usada en los Principios del Mundo; pero usòse lo contrario, porque los Hombres vivieron con sus Mugeres, en vinculo perpetuo de Matrimonio; y pues no se usò entonces, no es maravilla, que las cosas se buelvan à sus principios. Y si este libelo fuera cosa licita, siempre se huviera usado, y pues no siempre se usò, luego no es licito. De manera, que acudiendo Moisen à la condicion dura, y pertinàz de los Judios, les concediò el libelo de repudio. Y lo mismo debemos decir de estos Indios, que si se les concedia el permiso, que pedian, para apartarse el uno, de el otro, se les concedia, ò ià tacitamente, con verlos apartados, y no castigarlos por ello, ò ià que fuese por sentencia difinitiva de los Jueces, que tenian à su cargo las causas matrimoniales; pero siempre fue entre ellos, ilicito, y malo.

Verdad sea, que dice el Padre Frai Toribio, que algunos Años *despues de haverse plantado la Fè,* en estos Reinos, se hallaron muchos, que se dejaban facilmente el uno, al otro; y que de aqui tomaron motivo algunos de pensar de estos Indios (y aun de afirmarlo) que entre ellos no avia Matrimonio, ni lo usaban. *Pero consta ser falso,* por lo que de sus ceremonias dejamos dicho. Pero lo que pudo ser causa de esta rotura, fue (segun èl mismo) el haverse sujetado à los Españoles. Porque desde entonces començò a no haver aquel concierto, y policia, y justicia, que antes solian tener entre ellos. Y pruebase, porque preguntados los que se apartaban tantas veces, y tan sin causa, solo por su voluntad, y antojo, se hallò, que todos eran moços, y de costumbre nueva, de tiempo de veinte años; y que los viejos, que entonces vivian, que avian contraìdo en el de su Gentilidad, se conservaban en sus Matrimonios. Y que si alguno se havia apartado, era por causa de adulterio, y traicion, que la Muger le havia cometido. Los Indios de la Florida, usaban, que quando no estaban contentos, con las Mugeres que tenian, las dejaban, y se casaban con otras, sin mas autoridad, que la de su antojo. Pero esta costumbre no era general en todos los casados, sino sola de los Mancebos que no tenian Hijos; porque los que los tenian, permanecian en su

Matrimonio; y contrato. Lo qual es conforme al intento del Matrimonio, pues es à fin (entre otros) de la crianza de los Hijos, y es de segundos preceptos de la Lei Natural, como dice el Abulense. Quando estos desavenidos se apartaban, llevabanse consigo lo que era de cada uno ; porque asi como apartaban las Personas, apartaban tambien los bienes. *Y no và mui apartada esta costumbre, de la de los Judios;* porque en dandola à la Muger el libelo, y hechandola de casa, la entregaba tambien los bienes, que à su poder havia traìdo, y parte del multiplico, que durante el Matrimonio se havia multiplicado. Pero si pecaba, de pecado de adulterio, por el qual merecia muerte, lo perdia todo (como lo disponen en estos tiempos las Leies Humanas) pero si era alguna otra leve causa, no los perdia. Usaban mas, que los Hijos de estos dos que se dejaban (si acaso los tenian) se quedaban con el Padre, ò se iban con la Madre, segun la edad que tenian ; porque si eran pequeños, y necesitados de el abrigo, y amparo de la Madre, ella se los llevaba, y los criaba ; pero si estaban ià algo crecidos, y podian vivir sin Madre, quedabase el Padre con ellos, y èl los sustentaba. Esto mismo tienen ordenado los Decretos Eclesiasticos, en este estado Evangelico, porque si los hijos de los que se divorcian, son menores de tres años, la madre se queda con ellos, y los cria ; pero si son majores de tres años, tiene obligacion el padre de tomarlos à su cargo, y de criarlos.

Capitulo V. del Libro Nono de la *Monarquia Indiana.*

De otros Sacerdotes, que avia en esta Nueva-España, y su eleccion.

Dicen algunos, que los Señores, que fallecian dejaban al maior de sus hijos por heredero, el qual sucedia en el Señorìo, y Reino, y el segundo entraba en el Sumo Pontificado. Pero dado caso, que esto se entienda del Reino de Tetzcuco, y del de Tlacupa, y otros; porque en ellos iban sucediendo Hijos, à Padres ; no se debe entender de el de Mexico (donde principalmente lo ponen estos, que afirman esto) porque los Reies no heredaban, sino que eran elegidos, y còmo vimos en el Libro de los Reies, quando el Rei moria, si tenia hermano, entraba heredando ; y muerto este, otro, si lo avia ; y quando faltaba, le sucedia el sobrino, Hijo de su hermano maior, à quien, por su muerte, avia sucedido, y luego el hermano de este, y asi discurrian por los demàs. De manera, que segun lo dicho, no es mui conforme à verdad afirmarlo, aunque creerè mui facilmente, que los electos en Pontifices, y Sacerdotes Sumos, serian de los mas Nobles, y Descendientes de la Casa Real, por ser oficio tan Supremo, y digno de persona tal, y que lo mereciese. Y à esto se inclinarian muchos, tomandolo por Suprema honra (como en realidad de verdad lo era) pues en lo espiritual excedian à todos, y no tenian igual. Y del Emperador Motecuhçuma se dice, que estaba barriendo el Templo, quando vinieron por èl, para darle la obediencia ; de manera, que debia de ser Sacerdote. Lo que de cierto se sabe es, que avia Sumo Pontifice, y que este era Supremo, à los demàs Sacerdotes, que tenian veces de Obispos, y los otros se llamaban comunes. En algunas Provincias de esta Nueva-España avia seis principales Sacerdotes, y el Sumo Pontifice sobre todos, à quien, como à Cabeça, reconocian, y obedecian. Estos eran en gran manera honestos, y castos ; y quando veìan alguna Muger, bajaban los ojos al suelo ; nunca bebian vino, ni cosa, que emborrachase, à manera de los Naçareos, que les era prohibido por la Lei ; mostraban mucha mortificacion, gravedad, mesura, y magestad en los rostros ; por lo qual los tenian todos por buenos, y perfectos en su falsa creencia, y doctrina, y dabaseles gran credito à lo que afirmaban ; y finalmente, en todo tenian grande autoridad, por ellos se governaba mediatamente toda la tierra, por las respuestas, que de los Oraculos recebian, las quales decian, y manifestaban à los Señores, y Reies ; por manera, que si se avia de dàr Guerra, ò hacer otra cosa para el bien, y utilidad de la Republica, los consultaban, y aquello que mandaban hacian ; y asi se acostumbraban en los Reinos de Guatemala, y si no me he olvidado de las averiguaciones, que acerca de esto tengo hechas, en estos de Mexico tambien.

En parte parece convenir este orden de Sacerdotes con aquel, que Numa constituiò, que llamaron Feciales, tomando el nombre de la fe, ò fidelidad publica, que guardaban. La autoridad, y potestad de estos era, tener gran cuidado, que el Pueblo Romano à ninguna Ciudad, que con èl estuviese confederada, hiciese injusta Guerra. Y si en algo se descomponia alguna Provincia, estos iban à desafiarla, si por bien no se reducia ; y bueltos à Roma, daban noticia de ello, al Senado, y por su palabra se movia à hacer Guerra à la dicha Provincia, ò Pueblo. Vease

Servio, en el Noveno, y Decimo Libro de las Eneidas, que trata largamente esto, con otras cosas, que a mi no me importan, sino solo decir, que llegò el Sacerdocio à punto, que sin parecer de Sacerdotes, y sin justificar ellos la causa, nunca daban Guerra los Reies, y Capitanes.

Capitulo VI.

De otras Dignidades, y Ministros, que tuvieron estas Gentes Idolatras.

Entre las cosas de cuenta, y dignas de saberse, que huvo entre estas Indianas Gentes, fue una la distribucion de los oficios, asi supremos, como inferiores; de los quales fueron los primeros los Sacerdotes repartidos en Sumos, y menores; conviene à saber, Pontifice Maximo, y Menores, y Sacerdotes simples. Pero como es fuerça, para el buen govierno del Culto Divino, aver otros Oficiales, que se ocupen en su ministerio, asi los tenian estas Gentes. Estos eran como las Dignidades de las Iglesias Catedrales en el Pueblo Christiano; conviene à saber, Tesorero, Maestre-Escuela, Sacristan, y Moços de Coro. Al Tesorero llamaban Tlaquimiloltecuchtli, como decir, Oficial de la hacienda de los Templos, y Casa de Dios, ò de los Dioses, que es proprio de los Tesoreros de las Catedrales; à los quales pertenece la guarda de los Vasos Sagrados, y vestimentos, y de todo el tesoro de la Iglesia, y proveer de todo lo que incumbe al Altar, y que estè compuesto, y provèida la Lampara de aceite, con otras cosas à estas semejantes; las quales todas tenia à cargo este Tlaquimiloltecuchtli, ò Tesorero, y à ellas acudia con suma diligencia, y puntualidad en la Casa del Demonio.

Tenian Sacristan Maior, à cuio cargo estaba la guarda de los ornamentos, el qual se llamaba Tlillancalcatl. Avia Moços de Coro, y servicio de Templo (como luego verèmos) los quales se llamaban Teotlamacazque, como decir: Moços de la Casa de Dios. Avia Chantre, à cuio cargo estaba, lo que se avia de cantar en los Templos, por ser oficio de esta Dignidad proveer en esto, al qual, en algunas Iglesias nuestras, llaman Cantor, ò Primicerio, y en otras Capiscol, y en lo Mexicano Tlapixcatzin. Residia de ordinario en los Templos, y Casa del Demonio, por estàr à su cargo començar los Cantares, è Himnos, como à nuestros Chantres los Psalmos, y otras cosas, que en las Iglesias se cantan, y deben instruir à los que cantan, segun lo que se colige de San Isidoro, en una Carta, que escriviò à Ludo, Obispo de Cordova; y asi, este nuestro Chantre, ò Cantor, començaba, y entonaba primero los Cantares, que todos los dias se cantaban à los Idolos, y llevaba el compàs, en el Teponaztli, que se tañia, y de esto no avia de faltar jamàs, sino era por mui grande, y legitima causa. Avia Sochantre, que era el que entonaba todo lo que se cantaba en ausencia del Chantre, llamabase Tzapotlateohuatzin.

Avia Maestre-Escuela, que se llamaba Tlamacazcateutl, casi Maestro, ò Oficial de los moços dedicados à Dios, cuio oficio, entre otras cosas, es enmendar à los que yerran en el Coro; y en la Iglesia de Salamanca, y la de Toledo, y otras, tener cuidado con los que han de ser promovidos en los estudios, y recibir grados; y en otras partes leer, y enseñar. Por lo qual en el Concilio Tridentino se proveyò, que no se diesen las dignidades, ò Oficios de Maestre-Escuelas, sino fuese à Doctores, Maestros, ò Licenciados en Teologia, ò Derecho Canonico; por raçon de que debe enseñar, ò poner quien en su lugar enseñe. Este oficio exercitaba este Tlamacazcateutl, y debian de ser constituìdos, en esta dignidad en Roma, dos Sacerdotes, que el Rei Tarquino Sobervio eligiò, los quales tenian cargo de vèr, y leer los Sacros Libros de las Sibilas, y los Versos, y significaciones que en ellos avia; y se les concediò el cuidado de corregir, y enmendar los Fastos, que eran los Libros, en que estaba escrita la memoria de los Tiempos, y entre ellos las cosas sagradas, y Fiestas (segun algunos) de donde se intitulò el Libro, que Ovidio hiço de *Fastis*.

Avia una Dignidad en lo Eclesiastico de esta Ciudad de Mexico, que se llamaba Mexicatlteohuatzin, el qual tenia las veces, que en las Iglesias Catedrales nuestras el Arcediano, que segun algunos Concilios (en especial el Tridentino, refiriendo la constitucion de Alexandro Tercero, en el Lateranense) se llaman ojos de los Obispos, y Vicarios suios, el qual era como Vicario General, que presidia en todos los Monasterios, y Colegios, que avia en esta Ciudad, donde se criaban los Hijos de los Principales, y era uno de los Sacerdotes Maiores del Templo, ò Delubro del Demonio: era como Padre, y Prelado de todas las Casas de Congregacion, y de los que en ellas residian, y estaban: era su comision universal, sobre todos los que en las dichas Casas, y Monasterios presidian, los quales

todos tenian sus Prelados, à quienes, los que dentro estaban, ò se criaban, reconocian por maior, y le obedecian. Por el orden de este dicho Teohuatzin se hacian los nombramientos, para qualquier oficio de la Republica, ò Eclesiastico, que se avia de encomendar à los que en las dichas Congregaciones se criaban, y asistian, segun la noticia que de ellos tenia, y daba, y las informaciones que hacia, quando en los dichos Colegios entraba, y los visitaba.

Tenia grandisima cuenta, y vigilancia, con que los Mancebos se criasen en mucha disciplina, y doctrina del servicio de los Dioses. Tenia tambien jurisdicion sobre todos los que eran, como Curas, y Beneficiados, de las Parroquias de la Ciudad, mandandoles en las cosas convenientes, y castigandoles sus excesos. Este tenia otro Coadjutor, llamado Huitznahuacteohuatzin, el qual era inferior al Teohuatzin; pero suplia sus veces en el govierno, quando por legitimas causas era impedido, ò quando por orden suio se lo mandaba. Otro Satrapa, ò Sacerdote avia de mui grande autoridad, llamado Ometochtli, el qual presidia à quatrocientos Sacerdotes, que se llamaban Centzontotochtin, y eran del servicio, y Templo del Dios del Pulque, que se llamaba Tezcatzoncatl (como decir el Dios Baco) no eran mas los Sacerdotes de Baal, à los quales matò el Profeta Elias, por falsos, y mentirosos; porque jamàs deja el Demonio de tener Ministros en cantidad, y abundancia, que le sirvan, como aquel que facilmente los engaña, con incitaciones que les hace, y casos de libertad, que les disimula.

Capitulo VII.

De los Sacerdotes, y Pontifice, que se elegia en la Provincia, y Señorio de los Totonacas; y del modo de su eleccion, y preeminencia, y de su manera de consagracion, casi semejante en la confeccion del Olio, à la de el Sacerdote Summo de la Lei Antigua, que fue engaño mui notable de el Demonio.

Los Sacerdotes, que avia en la Provincia de los Totonacas, eran hechos por eleccion, asi como antiguamente los Pueblos elegian à los Obispos, y tambien al Sumo Pontifice el Pueblo Romano; y esto parece por muchos decretos, y en las Historias de los Santos, como de San Silvestre, San Gregorio, San Nicolàs, y San Ambrosio. Elegidos seis, en aquella Provincia, era de esta manera, que el uno de ellos era el Pontifice Maximo, y cabeça de los demàs, los quales se iban excediendo, y aventajando en Dignidad, y Autoridad, por este orden, que el primero electo (como mas antiguo) era Supremo al segundo, y el segundo al tercero, y asi iba discurriendo hasta el mas moderno, ò ultimamente electo, aunque lo huviesen sido todos en un dia, y hora, valiendo en aquella eleccion la antiguedad del nombramiento. Quando este Pontifice, y Sacerdote Sumo moria, celebradas sus obsequias (como en otra parte se dice) sucedia en el Sumo Pontificado, aquel Sacerdote, que despues de èl, era primero, y mas conjunto à èl por eleccion, al qual los otros Sacerdotes, con gran fiesta que hacian, lo ungian, y consagraban con un unguento, hecho de un licor, que se llama Ulli, confeccionado con sangre de los Niños que sacrificaban. Este unguento, y confeccion de licor, se ponia en la cabeça, y con esta uncion, y ceremonia, se introducian en la Dignidad, y Oficio de Pontifice, y Sumo Sacerdote. Hecha la ceremonia, y uncion, luego todo el Pueblo le hacia grandisima reverencia, y acatamiento, y con grandes cortesias, y aplauso le daban gracias; porque se encargaba de aquella Dignidad, y recibia aquel estado, casi como agradeciendole, que tomase la carga, y el cuidado de su regimiento, y govierno espiritual; y dandole todos la obediencia, se acababa la fiesta, y confirmacion de Pontifice, y Sacerdote Sumo.

Este acto, y ceremonia de ungir los Sacerdotes, mandò Dios Verdadero à Moisen, que hiciese en Aaron, y sus quatro hijos, despues de aver edificado el Tabernaculo, como parece en el Levitico, y en el Exodo se declara la confeccion de este unguento, con que se hacia la uncion, y consagracion del Sumo Sacerdote, y la de los otros, que eran menores. Pero lo que aqui quiero notar (dejando otras muchas cosas) no es mas, que la mezcla, y confeccion, que se hacia, para la uncion; la qual era de diversas especies, y cosas aromaticas, desleìdas en aceite, de cuia incorporacion se espesaba el unguento con que se hacia la consagracion, y uncion dicha. *Todo lo qual se juntaba con sangre de un Becerro, y dos Carneros, que en esta ocasion, y para este efecto eran sacrificados,* como parece por el Texto Sagrado, y con toda esta mezcla se ungia la cabeça del Sacerdote, y se derramaba por las vestiduras Sacerdotales. Lo segundo que se nota, es la astucia del Demonio, que viendo esta confeccion, para la

uncion, y consagracion dicha, la usurpò del Pueblo, y Casa de Dios, para la suia; y ordenò, que sus Ministros fuesen ungidos con esta goma, llamada Ulli, y con sangre; y no se contentò con que la sangre fuese de Animales irracionales, como en el Pueblo de Dios se acostumbrò, sino que fuese de Animales racionales, y Niños tiernos; como aquel que en la destruicion, y ruìna del Linage Humano se deleita, inficionada la uncion con sangre humana, como sucio, y puerco, que es, à diferencia de Dios, que es limpio, y puro en todas sus acciones.

Capitulo VIII.

De los Sacerdotes, que se elegian à la Diosa Cinteutl, que eran como Monjes segregados, y apartados de los demàs, de su dignidad, y vida.

En esta Provincia de los Totonacas, avia una Diosa, cuio nombre era Cinteutl, à la qual (como en otra parte hemos dicho) estimaban, y honraban todos los de esta Nueva-España, y tenian en mucho, para cuio servicio, aunque es verdad, que tenia muchos Ministros, en particular se le elegian Sacerdotes, dignos, à su parecer, del credito que debian tener Hombres que à tan gran Diosa servian. Estos eran castisimos, y de vida irreprehensible, y loable, entre ellos (y aun entre nosotros lo pudieran ser, sacada la infidelidad, è idolatria, con que estaban ciegos.) Era tan virtuosa su vida, que todas las Gentes los venian à visitar, como Gente particular, y virtuosa, en las virtudes morales, y à encomendarse à ellos, para que rogasen à la Diosa, y à los otros Dioses por ellos; por raçon de no ser otro su exercicio, sino rogar por la prosperidad de los Pueblos, y Comunidades, y de los que à ellos se encomendaban. A estos Monjes iban à consultar los Summos Pontifices, y los consultaban sobre las cosas secretas, y negocios arduos, y con ellos se aconsejaban, y tomaban su consejo eficazmente, creiendo ser sano, y saludable. Estos dichos Monjes no podian hablar con otras personas, sino era con las yà dichas, de los Pontifices, salvo con aquellos que los iban à visitar, como segregados de la vida comun, y apartados de los vicios ordinarios, y à pedirles consejo, como à Maestros, y Padres. Y en semejantes ocasiones ponianse en cuclillas, y los ojos en el suelo, oìan las aflicciones de los que las llevaban, y raçones, y palabras de los que preguntaban; y aviendo escuchado con mucha atencion, humildad, y mortificacion, respondian à las dudas, y dificultades, lo necesario, escusando multiplicacion de palabras, y despedianlos con brevedad, y consuelo.

Su vestido eran pellejos de Zorros, Coiotes, ò Adives, traìan el cabello mui largo, y trançado, jamàs comian Carne; y alli en aquella estrecheça, y mortificacion de vida vivian, y morian, sin salir de los limites de aquella aspera mortificacion. Quando alguno de estos moria, elegiase otro en su lugar, y no qualquiera, sino aquel que era tenido, y estimado por de buena, y honesta vida, que representaba mas, y mejor exemplo, y nunca se hacia esta eleccion en moços, aunque los huviese con las calidades dichas, sino en Hombres ancianos, y viejos, que pasaban de sesenta años, el qual avia de aver sido casado, y entonces viudo, y libre del Matrimonio. El exercicio de estos Hombres singulares, y recogidos era escrivir por figuras, muchas Historias, las quales puestas en estilo, y bien concertadas las daban à los Summos Sacerdotes, los quales las referian despues, en sus platicas, y sermones, à las Republicas, y Pueblos.

Capitulo IX.

De los Capellanes perpetuos, que los de la Provincia de Teohuacan tenian en los Templos, y de su modo de Religion, y Vida.

En la Provincia de Teohuacan, que cae à esta de Mexico quarenta leguas al Oriente, entre otros Ministros, que tenian dedicados à sus Dioses, eran unos que servian de Capellanes perpetuos, los quales se ocupaban ordinariamente, en velar, aiunar, orar, y hacer los Sacrificios quotidianos. Estos Capellanes no eran en numero mas de quatro, los quales entraban à servir en el Templo, por espacio de quatro años, los quales pasados se iban, y entraban otros en su lugar; de manera, que las Capellanias eran perpetuas, aunque los Ministros de ellas, eran

quadrieños, ò Ministros trocados, de quatro en quatro años: en cuio ministerio corria la perpetuidad de la Capellania, y oficio de los dichos Ministros, y Capellanes; porque aunque avia variacion en ellos, por raçon de su trueque, no la avia en el Ministerio, en que se ocupaban, por ser siempre uno mismo invariable, y fixo. Llamabanse estos Capellanes Monauhxiuhcauhque, qué quiere decir: Hombres dedicados al aiuno, y abstinencia de quatro años. Estos entraban en el Templo de la manera que nuestros Sacerdotes entran en treintenario cerrado, à cada uno de los quales, daban una manta sola de algodon, delgada, y un maxtlatl, que sirve de pañetes, con que se cubren las partes verendas, no tenian mas ropa, con que cubrir su cuerpo, de noche, ni de dia, ni en Verano, ni Invierno, ni en ningun Tiempo de el Año. Su cama era la Tierra, y los petates, ò esteras para su reposo, el suelo desnudo, y una piedra, ò canto por cabecera. Aiunaban todos estos quatro años, con continuacion, sino era los Dias de Fiesta, las quales celebraban de veinte en veinte dias. Su comida era una vez al dia, y esta, quando el Sol iba mas alto, y à veces, quando declinaba. No comian Carne, ni Pescado, ni Sal, ni Chile, y contentabanse con una tortilla, que debia de tener de peso dos onças de Pan, y tràs ella les daban una escudilla de Atole (que es lo que los Castellanos llamamos Gachas, ò Poleadas, hechas de Maìz, que es su trigo) otra cosa no comian, ni fruta, ni miel, ni cosa dulce; pero en las Festividades dichas, les era licito comer de todo quanto podian aver, y les era administrado, y en aquellas ocasiones podian desquitar lo que avian aiunado, aunque tengo por caso dificultoso creer, que se demasiaban entonces; pues es cierto, que un estomago flaco, y debilitado, y hecho à poco sustento, que qualquier demasìa le estraga, y ofende: por lo qual pienso, que irian mui considerados en el desmandarse, pues de los excesos salen las enfermedades, y muertes.

En cada Año de los quatro, que servian la vez de la Capellania, les daban una manta, y unos pañetes de Algodon, como se ha dicho, y con este vestido pasaban, y corrian mui constantemente con su aiuno, y penitencia. Su ocupacion, y exercicio era velar de noche en el Templo, y cantar Himnos, y alabanças a sus Dioses, en el discurso de las quales hacian memoria de sus Proeças, y Haçañas; queriendo el Demonio, que como Dios tuvo un Moisen, y una Delbora, y otros Siervos, que le cantaban Canticos de alabanças, en los quales referian sus hechos, y sus grandes maravillas, en sacarlos con mano fuerte del poder de Faraon, y opresion de Egipto, y averlos llevado por el Desierto, sustentados con las viandas de su Divina Providencia, y hecholos Señores de la Tierra de Promision contra la voluntad de los que la poseìan, y averlos librado de sus rabias, è iras, y sustentandolos como à Hijos escogidos, y queridos: asi el embidioso de esto, queria oìr de las bocas de sus Ministros casos semejantes, que por ventura avria hecho por permision de Dios, y secretos juicios suios; las quales cosas (como digo) le cantaban estos sus cuidadosos Ministros; pero quiero que se sepa, que no todos quatro juntos velaban, sino que se repartian pareados; de suerte, que una noche eran de vela dos, y otra los otros dos, en la qual no dormian sueño; lo uno, porque no les era permitido, ni licito; y lo otro, porque como ellos servian de voluntad, y con amor, no se les hacia penoso (que es una de las condiciones del Amor, facilitar lo dificultoso, y hacer ligero lo pesado, y grave) ofrecian incienso, y copal quatro veces, en la noche, à los Dioses, cuio era el Templo donde estaban, y de ciertas, en ciertas horas, era el Sacrificio que hacian de sì mismos, sacandose sangre de algunas partes de su cuerpo, y derramandola entre las brasas de los incensarios, cuio humo subia con el del Incienso.

De veinte en veinte dias se sacrificaban en esta manera: hacian un agujero en lo alto de las orejas, y por èl pasaban sesenta cañas, unas delgadas al principio de la herida, y otras mas gruesas en el discurso del horrendo Sacrificio, à imitacion del grosor de los dedos de las manos, y largas, como el tamaño de un braço, y otras de à braça; y las ultimas, maiores, y mas largas, y todas ensangrentadas, hacianlas un monton: y acabado el tiempo de los quatro Años, las quemaban todas delante del Altar del Idolo, à quien se avian consagrado, y eran en numero (sino me engaño) de quatrocientas. Estos eran dignos, por estos aiunos, vigilias, y penitencia que hacian, y vida estrecha, en que vivian, que les apareciese el Demonio, y les hablase, cuias raçones referian, y manifestaban despues al Pueblo, diciendoles, que asi se lo avian mandado los Dioses; y lo que afirmaban vèr ordinariamente, era una cabeça, con largos, y estendidos cabellos. Algunos de los nuestros, sabiendo de estos Indios, que de ordinario veìan semejantes visiones, y apariciones, atribuiendolo à su maldad, por hacer escarnio de ellos; decian, y han dicho ser gente perversa, y mala, y no poder ser buenos los que tanta comunicacion han tenido con el Demonio; y como los que esto han dicho, y dicen, son los populares, y gente simple, è indocta, quiero que sepan ser este uso mui acostumbrado del Demonio, con todas, ò las mas Naciones del Mundo, à las quales ha tenido debajo de su poderio, y mando, apareciendoseles de ordinario, y à cada paso, en los Templos; y estos eran los Oraculos (como en otra parte dirèmos) porque por esta via, è industria, los tenia mas de cierto por suios, y mui mas atraillados. Y bol-

viendo à nuestro proposito, digo, que de la vida, exercicios, aiunos, penitencia, y devocion de estos Capellanes, y de las visiones que tenian, y de todo lo demàs que hacian, se daba entera noticia, y cuenta à los Reies, en especial à los de Mexico, quando se hicieron Señores de la Tierra, de lo qual todos se holgaban mucho; porque juzgaban ser todas aquellas cosas mui en servicio de sus Dioses, y credito de su Religion, y creìan venirles de ellas muchos comodos, y provechos.

Si en alguno de estos Capellanes se hallaba, que en aquellos quatro Años, que lo avia sido, se huviese descompuesto en algun acto carnal, juntabanse muchos Sacerdotes, y otra mucha Gente popular, con ellos, y averiguaban la causa; y si por ventura hallaban ser asi, sentenciabanlo à muerte, cuio cumplimiento executaban de noche, y no de dia, haciendole la cabeça pedaços à palos; luego lo quemaban, y sus polvos, y ceniças, las esparcian al Aire; porque no quedasen en la Tierra ceniças, y polvos de tan mal Hombre: porque juzgaban la culpa cometida, en semejante aiuno, por inexpiable, y sacrilega, y descomulgado, y anatema, al que la cometia. Y si por ventura alguno de los dichos quatro Capellanes moria de muerte natural dentro del termino de los dichos quatro Años, que servia al Templo, supliase luego otro en su lugar; y tenian su muerte por señal cierta de algun infortunio, y grande infelicidad para el Pueblo, y por Pronostico de alguna proxima, y breve mortandad, especialmente de Principes, y Señores: y por esta causa vivian todos con grandes temores, y recelos todo aquel Año, con sospechas de su muerte, lo qual algunas veces sucedia.

Capitulo X.

De otras Dignidades, à cuio cargo estaban las cosas de el servicio de los Templos.

De las personas dichas, y muchedumbre de Sacerdotes, que esta Gente tenia, para el servicio de sus Idolos, avia otros muchos mas, que ocupados en oficios particulares, hacian insigne, y grandioso el Estado Sacerdotal. De los quales era uno, que llamaban Epqualiztli, que tenia cargo de mandar proveer todo lo que era menester en las Fiestas que se celebraban en el Templo grande de la Ciudad, que eran infinitas, y sin numero, en especial, en la que hacian de el Año nuevo. Otro avia, que se llamaba Meloncoteohua, à cuio cargo estaban las cosas del servicio del dicho Templo, de las quales usaban los Sacerdotes, ò Satrapas, asi como de Papel, incienso, y una goma, que se llama Ulli, y de tinta, con que se embarniçaban, y entintaban los Satrapas, ò Sacerdotes, llamados Chiconnahuacatl, y de las demàs cosas que se gastaban en los Sacrificios, en el dicho Templo, que eran en numero inmenso. Otra dignidad avia, à cuia obediencia estaban todos los Sacerdotes que servian en el Templo de la Diosa Xilonen (llamabase Cinteutzin) y à cuio cargo tambien estaba el cuidar, y proveer todo lo necesario para el servicio del dicho Templo.

Otro Satrapa avia, llamado Atempanteohuatzin, que presidia à todos los Sacerdotes que servian en el Templo de la Diosa Toci, madre de todos los Dioses, y tenia cargo de las cosas necesarias del servicio del Templo, en especial para el dia de su Fiesta, plumas de Aguila, de las mas delicadas, y blancas, que estàn debajo da las otras, que se manifiestan, y descubren à los ojos, y vista, y picos de las mismas Aguilas, con que avia de salir compuesta la dicha Diosa, que la representaba una Muger, la qual salia vestida con sus ornamentos, y emplumada con aquellas plumas, y en la cara un pico de Aguila. Tenia tambien cuidado este Atempanteohuatzin, de que los moços que servian al dicho Templo, hiciesen cierto aiuno, en ciertos dias para èl señalados, y à los que eran negligentes, y pereçosos en cumplirlo, los compelia con rigurosos castigos, y penas. Otro Sacerdote avia, que era Vicario, y Rector de los Satrapas, y Sacerdotes, que tenian à cargo el Templo del Fuego, llamabase Tecanmanteohua, y estaba tambien à su cargo todo lo tocante al servicio, y gasto del Templo, especialmente de que huviese abundancia de Bermellon, y tinta, para los embijes de los Sacerdotes, y de los Cacles, ò Cotaras blancas, y Sobrepellices, y otras cosas para esto necesarias.

Otro avia, que cuidaba del Templo del Dios del Vino, llamado Tezcatzoncatlometochtli, y mandaba à sus Sacerdotes, y disponia las cosas necesarias para su fiesta, en especial unos Caracoles pequeños, blancos, de que iba sembrada la ropa de la persona, que representaba su figura, y Sandalias blancas, y unos plumeros de Garçotas blancas. Este dicho tenia otro Vicario, que se llamaba Ometochtliyyauhqueme, que tenia el mismo cuidado. Avia otra dignidad, llamada Ometochtlitomiauh, que servia al Dios de el mismo nombre, y à su Templo, y

Ministros. Otro, al Templo de Acalometochtli, de su nombre. Otro, al Dios Quatlapanqui, llamado Quatlapanquiometochtli. Otro, al Templo de Tlilhua, llamado Tlilhuaometochtli. Otro, al Dios Nappatecuhtli, llamado Ometochtlinappatecuhtli. Todos los quales tenian inferiores otros Sacerdotes, à los quales presidian, y tenian cuidado de las cosas de el servicio de los Templos, que tenian à su cargo, en especial los dias de sus fiestas. Avia en los Templos otros oficiales, entre los quales era uno, que tenia cargo de hacer traer la leña, que era necesaria, para quemar en los Braseros del Templo, en los quales ardia de dia, y de noche, sin cesar, ni apagarse el Fuego, y eran en numero mas de trecientos, con los quales iba al Monte por ella. Otro oficial tenia cargo de mirar, que nadie se orinase en lo interior del patio, y de que ordinariamente estuviese barrido, y limpio; y si cogia à alguno que se huviese orinado, ò en algo ensuciado, lo castigaba gravemente por ello.

Capitulo XI.

De otros muchos Ministros, que avia en los Templos de los Mexicanos, que servian como Sacristanes.

Avia otros Ministros, en los Templos Idolatricos de estas Gentes de la Nueva-España, los quales eran dedicados, para cosas de su servicio, à manera de Sacristanes, los quales eran en numero treinta, quarenta, ò cinquenta, segun la grandeça, ò pequeñèz del Pueblo, y Templo, donde asistian, (aunque en este Mexicano era este numero aventajado, y grande.) Estos moços eran Hijos de Señores, y Gente principal de la Republica, à cuia compañia, y administracion no se admitian Hombres comunes, aunque mas ricos fuesen; porque para este oficio no valia la Plata, ni el Oro, sino solo la nobleça, y limpieça de la sangre. Estos tenian cargo de servir en lo interior del Templo, en los servicios mas propinquos à los Dioses, como era barrer, y regar el Templo, y tener cuidado de que estuviesen mui limpias, y aseadas, todas las cosas tocantes al culto de ellos, aparejaban los vasos, è instrumentos para los Sacrificios con toda diligencia, sin intervencion de descuido, ò falta, y eran estos Moços en todo tan solicitos, y diligentes, que por maravilla cometian culpa en el Oficio, ni se hallaba (casi) en que enmendarlos. Tenian entre sì, estos Mancebos, grados de preeminencia, y de cinco, en cinco Años subian à ellos, conforme mas, ò menos se avian aventajado en su ministerio, que era subir de un oficio menor, à otro maior. Demàs de los Mancebos dichos, que eran ordinarios en el servicio del Demonio, que eran los precisos del numero determinado, que para su ministerio avia de aver, se ofrecian, y dedicaban otros muchos Mancebos Nobles, Hijos de Señores, y Senadores, y Gente principal, los quales servian en aquel ministerio, como Porcionistas, en compañia de los Ordinarios, que eran como Colegiales perpetuos, hasta que se les llegaba el tiempo de tomar estado, para el qual salian, segun las Leies, y Costumbres del Templo, mientras estaban en aquel servicio, y recogimiento se llamaban Teotlamacazque, que quiere decir: Mancebos, ò Moços Divinos, ò Mancebos donceles de Dios.

Todos estos moços, que se ocupaban en este ministerio dicho, eran doctrinados, y enseñados por el que tenia oficio de Maese-Escuela, en las Ceremonias del culto de estos Dioses, y en las Leies temporales del Pueblo, como aquellos, que las avian de saber, para usar de ellas despues que saliesen à regir, y governar las Republicas, y en las virtudes, para que huiesen los vicios contrarios à ellas, segun la estimacion, que ellos podian tener de la virtud, por la lumbre de la raçon natural, conviene à saber, que no enojasen, ni hiciesen agravio, ni daño à ninguno, y otras cosas semejantes, que enseña, y dicta la raçon, y Lei Natural. De esto se prueba aver oficio de Maestre Escuela entre estos Indios, al qual pertenece (como hemos dicho en otro Capitulo) leer, y enseñar en su Republica Sacerdotal. Eran tambien en los actos exteriores mui honestos, y en viendo mugeres, bajaban los ojos al suelo, porque no se les notase alguna liviandad, y todos eran obligados por Lei, à ser castisimos, hasta que se casasen.

Capitulo XII.

De otros Ministros de los Templos, que servian en otros oficios exteriores, y de como estos eran doctrinados.

Otra suerte, y parcialidad de mancebos avia en estas Republicas Indianas, que estaban dedicados al servicio de los Templos; estos eran de los Ciudadanos (aunque no de los comunes, y mas bajos de el Pueblo, sino de aquellos, que tenian grado medio entre los Nobles, y Gente mui comun, como suele aver en las Ciudades) asi como Mercaderes, y otros, que no se exercitan en oficios viles, y tienen un medio honesto de Vida en la Republica, ò Ciudad donde viven. Estos mancebos dichos servian à los Templos, en las cosas exteriores, y de maior trabajo, como era en traer leña, para los braseros, y sustentar perpetuo Fuego, que era el continuo Sacrificio (como veremos.) Tenian à cargo la fabrica, y reparticion de los Templos; y finalmente, todas las otras cosas exteriores, que pertenecian al servicio, y ministerio de los dichos Templos. Estos tenian sus Colegios, y Casas cerca de los mismos Templos, y tenian un Rector, que los regia, y governaba, que se llamaba Telpochtlato, que quiere decir, Guarda, ò Caudillo de los Mancebos, el qual Telpochtlato tenia gran cuidado de doctrinarles, y enseñarles, en buenas costumbres, y en todas aquellas cosas, que eran de su ministerio, corrigiendolos, y castigandolos en las culpas, y defectos, que cometian. Tenian sus Tierras, y Heredades para su sustento (que debian de ser de las dedicadas al uso, y gasto de los Templos) en ellas sembraban, y cogian Pan para su sustento. Guardaban alli su manera de Orden, y Religion, porque tenian sus aiunos, hacian sus Sacrificios, ofrecian sus ofrendas, y derramaban su sangre, segun Costumbre, y Leies, à que en aquellos Colegios eran obligados.

Eran tan bien mandados, y tan obedientes à sus maiores, y tan prestos en todas las cosas, que se les mandaba, y encomendaba, que sin escusa ninguna las hacian, à qualquier hora, que fuese, sin reparar en el tiempo, ni hora, fuese de Soles, ò de Aguas, de Dia, ò de Noche, Invierno, ò Verano. En este ministerio, y ocupaciones se exercitaban estos Mancebos todo el tiempo, que en aquellos Colegios, y Gimnasios estaban, hasta llegar el determinado de aver de tomar estado, y casarse, que era el de los veinte, ò veinte y dos Años. Quando eran de esta edad pedian licencia à sus Rectores, y Superiores para buscar Muger, el qual luego se la daba; pero dicen, que en otras partes les mandaba el Sumo Sacerdote, que se casasen, y si no se querian casar, quedaban obligados de alli adelante à ser continentes toda su Vida; y el que asi no vivia, era pregonado por malo, è infame; de tal manera, que ninguno despues queria darle su hija, ni recebirle por yerno. En la Provincia de Tlaxcalla se acostumbraba, que si se pasaba el tiempo de casarse, y alguno lo disimulaba, ò se descuidaba, ò no queria casarse, lo tresquilaban en castigo, y pena de su delito (que no era pequeño entre estas Gentes de esta Nueva-España, ni lo es agora, quando alguno es tresquilado, en especial Mugeres, que lo reciben por grandisima afrenta, si en este genero de castigo pagan alguna culpa grave, que cometen) y con esta afrenta, y confusion hechavanlo de la compañia de los demàs Mancebos; y si los castigaban à los semejantes, no era por la continencia, que prometian guardar despues, sino porque era caso raro, que en mui pocos acaecia, y tenianlo por mal aguero; porque lo ordinario, y cotidiano era casarse todos, sin repugnancia; antes, para ello, pedian licencia, y se la daban; pero por el contrario, si alguno se casaba sin la dicha licencia, tenianle por atrevido, y desvergonçado, y era notado de loco, y de poco seso, y por ello mui rigurosamente castigado.

Quando se despedian de aquellos Gimnasios, ò Escuelas donde se avian criado, el Maestro, ò Rector, que los avia governado, y doctrinado, hacia un prolijo raçonamiento, en el qual los amonestaba, que mirasen mui bien, y no se olvidasen de lo mucho bueno, que en aquella congregacion, y compañia avian visto, y aprendido, y que fuesen mui solicitos servidores de los Dioses; y que pues tomaban Muger, y Casa, trabajasen, por ser Hombres honrados, y mui cuidadosos de sustentarla, y de proveer su Familia; que no fuesen descuidados, y pereçosos, y que supiesen criar, y doctrinar los Hijos, que tuviesen, como ellos avian sido criados, y doctrinados, y que para quando huviese Guerras fuesen Animosos, Valientes, y Esforçados Hombres, y que con estas calidades, y condiciones los Dioses les aiudarian, y harian ricos, y bienaventurados, haciendo en ellas el deber à buenos, y honrados Hombres. Estos, y otros avisos les daban, con que los despedian, y ellos se iban à buscar Muger, y casarse, la qual hallaba luego, y aun le rogaban con ella, por saber los que le pretendian por yerno la diciplina regular, y vida honesta en que se avia criado.

Capitulo XIII.

De como se ofrecian los Niños à los Templos, y à las Escuelas, y Gimnasios, que estaban junto à ellos, y de lo que les enseñaban; y se refutan los vicios Antiguos, que en semejantes Congregaciones se usaban en Republicas Antiguas.

La manera de ofrecerse, y dedicarse los Mancebos, que servian, y se criaban en lo interior de los Templos, y los dichos, y referidos en el Capitulo pasado, era, que quando eran Niños, poco despues que se soltaban del pecho de las Madres, y que sabian andar, los traìan sus Padres à ellos, y ofrecianselos à los Sacerdotes, y Ministros de aquellas Congregaciones con una mui elegante Oracion, y Platica, que hacian, à los quales el Ministro respondia las palabras ordinarias, que tenia de costumbre, y luego recebia el Niño, y lo entregaba à los Maestros, que los criaban, hasta que fuesen de edad, para casar (como se ha dicho) y en teniendola para exercitarse en los ministerios, en que avia de servirle, ocupabanlos en ellos. Si eran de los de el servicio interior del Templo, enseñabanles (como se ha dicho) como avian de barrer, y con què reverencia avian de tratar el Fuego de los braseros ordinarios, y las velas de la noche, y tañer los Caracoles, ò Cornetas, y los Atabales, y Trompetas, y à mecer la tinta, con que se teñian todos los Sacerdotes, y Ministros del Templo, la qual mecian en una grande artesa, donde se teñian cada mañana todos, de pies à cabeça. Si eran de los Colegios, industriabanlos en las cosas de su oficio, en especial como avian de traer leña, y la que avia de ser para el gasto, y servicio del Templo, enseñabanles à cortar las espinas, y puntas de Maguey, y traer Ramos de Acxoyatl, para los Sacrificios, y otras cosas de honestidad, y provechosas para la vida, moralmente buena. Estos referidos entraban en esta tierna edad dicha, para el servicio del Templo, y permanecian en èl hasta casarse; pero demàs de estos (que eran muchos) todos los Padres, en general, tenian cuidado (segun se dice) de embiar à sus Hijos à estas Escuelas, ò Generales, desde la edad de seis Años, hasta la de nueve, y eran obligados à ello, en los quales oìan su doctrina, y eran enseñados en buena criança, y costumbres, y en las cosas de su Religion, segun à su edad, y años convenia.

Alguna mas señal de virtud, y aun de seguir mejor el dictamen de la raçon natural, y Gente de mas politico regimiento era esta, que no la de los Griegos, donde tanta Sabiduria mundana se sabe aver havido, y tanto en aquella Republica resplandeciò de exercicio de las Artes Liberales, donde los Padres embiaban à los Hijos à las Escuelas, y Generales, no solo à aprender Ciencias, y Documentos de Virtud, sino donde tambien avia Dioses de amores, y vileças, y les ofrecian Sacrificios de sus mismas personas, exponiendose à quantos querian usar mal de ellos, usando sucia, y nefandamente de sus cuerpos, como Lactancio lo refiere por estas palabras: Caso lamentable, y de llorar es, que Gente tan sabia, y docta, viviese tan ciega, y torpemente, que à sus Hijos hiciesen pacientes de los Dioses, desnudando sus cuerpos, y entregandoles à vicios nefandos; y que maravilla, que de esta Gente manasen tantas maldades, como cometieron, pues adoraron los vicios, y los tuvieron por Dioses? Estas son palabras de Lactancio, hablando de las abominaciones de los Griegos, y de como, por servir à los sucios Dioses, ofrecian à sus Hijos en aquellos Gimnasios, ò Lugares publicos de Escuelas, donde fuesen suciamente tratados de todos los que quisiesen.

De esta costumbre nefanda, que fue dilatada, y estendida por muchas Naciones del Mundo Gentilicas, hace mencion la Sagrada Escritura en el Libro segundo de los Macabeos, donde se dice, que Jason, despues que alcançò el Pontificado, y se introdujo en èl, por Simonìa, fue osado à edificar junto al Templo de Jerusalèn, un Gimnasio, que es Escuela donde se aprendian las ceremonias de los Idolos Gentilicos, y Efebia, que era lugar publico, y mancebia de moços para el vicio nefando. Estas son palabras de la Sagrada Escritura, donde dice, que lo uno puso con lo otro, y asi debia de ser entre los Griegos; y yà que no fuese en unos mismos aposentos, seria en diversos, aunque continuados, unos con otros, con puertas diferentes; pero en una misma casa, y debajo de un mismo tejado, y techo. Parece tambien, que las Efebias, que aqui nombra, eran los Lupanares, que se llaman en comun lenguaje, Casas publicas; y viene este nombre Efebia de una Diosa llamada Hebe; y dice Pausanias en su Libro Segundo, que la llamaban Pincerna, que quiere decir Copera, que sirve la copa à los Dioses, y de alli viene *Ephebus*, por Mancebo; y la Etimologia suia es de esta letra *E*, y de esta diccion *Phebus*, que es el Sol, y quiere decir, Moço mui lucido, hermoso, y sin barbas, de lo qual trata Lucano. Mas lo que yo quiero decir, por lo dicho, es, que nuestros Indios Occidentales tenian Escuelas, y Generales junto à los Templos, para enseñar à los Niños, y Mancebos, honestas, y buenas costumbres, y no maldades, y abominaciones, como las huvo entre los Antiguos Gentiles.

Capitulo XIV.

De las Mugeres, que servian en los Templos, que eran à manera de Virgines Vestales Antiguas, y de lo que hacian, y cosas, en que se ocupaban.

El Demonio, que siempre ha pretendido engañar al Mundo, no solo ha querido servirse de Hombres en sus Templos, y Sacrificios, fino tambien de Mugeres, como queriendo significar en esto, ser Señor de todas las voluntades, de ambos sexos, y mostrar autoridad, asi entre los Hombres, como entre las Mugeres, para cuio fin ordenò tener, no solo Hombres, Sacerdotes, y Ministros de su detestable, y abominable Idolatria, sino tambien Mugeres, que con el mismo cuidado le sirviesen; y ha sido tan ordinario, que casi no se ha pasado Siglo, en que no lo aia pretendido, y puesto en execucion, y asi se sirve de ellas. Tuvo principio este ministerio en las Virgines Vestales, que fueron dedicadas à la Diosa Vesta, para que tuviesen ordinario cuidado de atiçar el Fuego, que en el Templo ardia, à honra de esta Diosa, que segun San Agustin, y Ovidio, era el mismo Fuego, al qual, como los Romanos no podian figurarle con ninguna figura, y por semejante raçon no podian tener la Imagen de esta Diosa, entre las demàs de los otros, puesta, en el Capitolio, ordenaron, que huviese Fuego perpetuo, que la representase, y Ministros ordinarios, que lo atiçasen, y conservasen, sin apagarse. Estas constituiò Numa Pompilio, en el quinto numero de los Sacerdotes, como Hombre tan dado al Culto, y Religion de sus falsos Dioses, como lo dice Dionisio Halicarnasio en el Libro Segundo de las Historias Romanas; y de estas dice Tulio, que guardaban en la Ciudad el Fuego en el hogar publico, y Tito Livio en el Libro Octavo de la Tercera Decada, y en el Primero de la Primera. El modo de su eleccion era, escoger veinte Doncellas, por el Sumo Sacerdote, con muchas ceremonias, y condiciones, como Aulo Gelio, en el Libro Primero de sus Noches Atticas, lo dice, no avian de ser menores de seis años, ni maiores de diez, para ser electas, y consagradas, en este ministerio, no aviendo de tener macula ninguna, asi en su cuerpo, como en los sentidos. Luego que por el Sumo Sacerdote era recebida, y dedicada al oficio Vestal, la cortaban el cabello (ceremonia, que se usa entre nuestras Monjas, que significa cortar, y cercenar las costumbres del Mundo, y entrar à nueva vida, sin dependencia de cosas humanas.) Los primeros diez años se ocupaban, en aprender las ceremonias, de que en el Templo usaban, y los Ritos de las cosas Sagradas; y los siguientes diez años las exercitaban, y otros diez despues enseñaban à las que de nuevo entraban à ser Novicias. Y si pasado todo este tiempo alguna de estas queria casarse, podia libremente, y si no, quedabase en aquel Monasterio guardando perpetua virginidad.

A manera de estas Virgines Vestales avia en esta Nueva-España, Doncellas, y otras Mugeres, que se dedicaban, y consagraban al servicio de los Idolos, que por Dioses adoraban, las quales tenian sus salas, y casas à las espaldas de los Templos, no cerradas; porque nunca los Indios usaron puertas (à lo menos en muchas partes de estas Indias, y Nueva-España) todas estas eran Virgines, puesto que entre ellas avia algunas otras, que por su devocion servian en el Templo. El modo de la dedicacion, y consagracion de estas Monjas, ò Sacerdotisas, era, que luego, que nacian, las ofrecian sus padres à los Dioses, y Templos, y daba noticia de este ofrecimiento à los Satrapas, ò Curas de las Parroquias, y aquel Vicario General, que tenia cargo de los Monasterios, para que supiesen, que estaban dedicadas, y ofrecidas à aquel ministerio. Y siendo de quarenta dias, las llevaban los Padres à los Templos en braços, y ponianles en las manos un manojuelo de yerva, à manera de escoba, en señal, y demostracion de que avian de barrer en el Templo, en llegando à edad suficiente para ello; llevaban juntamente un incensario de barro, y un poco de Incienso, ò Copal en èl, significando en aquella ofrenda, que la avia de exercitar en el dicho Templo. Aviendo presentado à la Niña de esta manera, y con esta ofrenda, bolviase su Madre à su casa, con ella, dejando al Ministro el Incienso, incensario, y escoba, y encargaba el Ministro à la Madre, que cuidase mucho de su Hija, y tambien de llevar la ofrenda de veinte en veinte dias, que era una escoba para barrer, è Incienso, para incensar, y ofrecer à los Dioses, y corteças de Arboles, para quemar en los braseros, ò Altares del Fuego, que ardian delante del Templo. A esto quedaba obligada la Madre, desde que hacia el voto, y ofrecimiento de su Hija, para el servicio del Templo, lo qual cumplia con mucho cuidado. Y quando la Niña tenia edad para andar, ella misma llevaba su ofrenda, y alguna manta al Dios, à cuio servicio estaba dedicada; y en llegando à edad, que se requeria para servir, iba al Templo, y quedabase en èl, en compañia de las otras, que en èl servian.

Otras avia, que no eran ordinarias, y perpetuas, sino por raçon de Votos, que hacian, ò devocion, con que se ofrecian. De estas, unas prometian estàr un Año, otras dos, otras mas, segun à lo que cada una se atrevia, y tenia

devocion. Estos Votos hacian por diversas causas, ò porque estaban enfermas, y por recebir salud de mano de los Dioses, ò porque les diesen buen marido, ò Hijos, y otras cosas semejantes, y por la maior parte todas estas eran Virgines, y llamabanse Cihuatlamacazque, que quiere decir Sacerdotisas, ò Cihuaquaquilli, que quiere decir lo mismo. Estas Monjas, ò Moças recogidas tenian viejas, que las regian, y guardaban, que eran como Abadesas, ò Prioras de aquellos Calpules, y Salas donde vivian, las quales las regian, governaban, doctrinaban, y corregian en sus negligencias, tomandoles cuenta à ciertos tiempos, como quando en un Convento, tiene Capitulo à sus Monjas una Abadesa. Eran mui estimadas estas Mugeres de todos, y reverenciadas, por estàr en aquel recogimiento, en servicio de los Dioses, y por la religiosa, y honesta vida, que hacian. Luego que entraban en aquella Casa, les cortaban el cabello, como à las Virgines Vestales, y à nuestras Monjas, en señal de que profesaban nueva vida, y dormian siempre vestidas, por maior honestidad, y por hallarse mas prestas para levantarse à las horas del Sacrificio, à las quales acudian, como las Virgines Vestales las horas señaladas de la noche. Su Dormitorio era una Sala, donde todas dormian, en comun, que se velan unas à otras, como se acostumbra en los Conventos, y Dormitorio de Monjas.

El exercicio que tenian (despues que se desocupaban de los Sacrificios, y servicio del Templo) era hilar, y texer mantas de labores, y otras de colores, rica, y delicadamente labradas, para el servicio de los Templos, y Dioses en ellos adorados. Vivian mui honesta, y religiosamente, y en gran silencio, modestia, y recogimiento, los ojos en tierra, mostrando siempre gran exemplo, y aparencia de Religion. Sus ocupaciones espirituales eran levantarse à las diez de la noche, à media noche, y à la madrugada, para ir à poner Incienso en los braseros, donde siempre se ofrecian à los Dioses, las quales iban con su Madre, ò Abadesa, en renglera, ò procesion, puestas à una parte, como haciendo ala de un Coro; y se ponian los Sacerdotes de otra, y asi en dos alas y coros hacian sus ofrendas, y atiçaban los Fuegos, y quemaban sus Inciensos, y en todo este camino, que iban juntos Sacerdotes, y Sacerdotisas, con todos los otros Ministros, para esto señalados, à ida, ni buelta, no se hablaban los unos à los otros, guardando mucho silencio, y religion, llevando los ojos fijos en el suelo; iban las guardas, viejos, y viejas, con grande vigilancia, y cuidado, porque no huviese cosa, en aquel acto, que fuese de descomposicion, y soltura. Despues de concluìdo esto, se bolvian por el camino que avian ido, con la misma mesura, y composicion, cada qual à su sala. Tenian cuidado cada mañana de llevar comida caliente de Pan, y de Ave guisada, ò otras cosas, y presentarlo à los Idolos, ofreciendoles aquel calor, ò baho; porque tenian creìdo, que lo recebian mui de gana los Dioses, y que en ello se les hacia gran servicio, y gusto; despues se quedaba toda aquella comida para los Sacerdotes. Aiunaban todo el tiempo, que alli estaban, comiendo una vez al dia, y no antes de medio dia, y luego à la noche su moderada colacion. Las fiestas les era permitido comer carne, porque no aiunaban, de donde parece abstenerse en sus aiunos de comer carne, como nosotros en los nuestros. Tenian cargo de barrer todas las pieças bajas de los Templos (porque las altas tenian à cargo los moços Sacristanes, que eran los Hijos de Señores, como se ha dicho) quando iban barriendo, siempre iban àcia atràs, por no bolver à los Dioses las espaldas. En algunos dias festivos tambien bailaban, y regocijaban la fiesta de sus Dioses, especialmente en la de aquel, à cuio servicio, y Templo estaban dedicadas.

Si alguna de estas, cometia pecado alguno secreto, en violacion, y quebrantamiento de la castidad, temia, que sus carnes avian de podrirse, por lo qual hacian grande penitencia, con intencion de que los Dioses, la encubriesen su pecado, y no fuese disfamada por èl; pero si era sabido, ò llegaba à ser publico, no menos pena tenia, que las Vestales Romanas, de las quales se dice, que cometiendo estrupo, la enterraban viva, junto à la Puerta Quirinal, que se llamaba Collina, por donde salian al Collado Quirinal, en una cueva honda, à la qual se decendia por escalera, adonde las metian; y quando las llevaban iban todos sus parientes con luto llorandola, como yà muerta. Detras de todos seguian los Pontifices, y Sacerdotes, con gran silencio, mostrando mucha tristeça; y porque no pareciese, que las mataban de hambre, ponianles algun pan, y leche, y agua, y una candela encendida. Quitaban la escalera, y cerraban bien la cueva, y bolviase todo aquel acompañamiento, con el cumplimiento, que avia venido. Era aquel dia de esta Justicia, dia de lloro, y luto publico, en todo el Pueblo Romano, de mui gran temor, que à todos comprehendia, temiendo ser señal, è indicio de algun grande infortunio, que à toda Roma vendria. Plutarco en sus Problemas, parece decir, que una de las raçones, porque los Romanos le daban asi esta muerte, era, porque no osaban poner las manos en el cuerpo, sacro, dedicado, y consagrado à tan altos, y poderosos Dioses, pensando, que cometian un grandisimo sacrilegio, matandolas de otra manera. De esta pena, y castigo de estas Virgines trata largo Servio en el Undecimo de las Eneidas. Esta era la muerte de la estrupada; pero la del estrupador era sacarle à la Plaça, y

publicamente açotarle, hasta que rendia el Alma. Esta Lei tomò Numa (segun Dionisio, Plutarco, Livio, y otros muchos, y lo refiere Estephano Minando en los Annales Romanos) de los Albanos, que acostumbraban matar à açotes à la Virgen Vestal violada, y al violador, conmutando Numa la muerte de ella, en la manera dicha. Esta misma pena, ò otra semejante daban à las Doncellas dichas de esta Nueva-España, temiendo, que por aquella culpa los Dioses estaban mui airados, y que avian de descargar sobre la Republica su ira, y por esto morian ambos estraña, y rigurosa muerte.

Quando llegaban estas Moças, ò Doncellas à los años, y edad determinada, para casarse, estando en aquel recogimiento la pedian, y en concertandose el casamiento, entre los parientes, y principales del Barrio, Parroquia, ò Collacion, luego compraban Codornices, è Incienso blanco, y Flores, Cañas de humo (que se llaman Poquietes) è Incensario, que es un brasero à manera de sahumador, y aparejaban una buena comida, y componian, y adereçaban à la moça, de nuevos, y buenos vestidos, è iban con ella todas las parientas, y llevaban, toda aquella ofrenda, que avian aparejado, y ofrecianla al Cura, ò Vicario del Templo, à cuio servicio estaba dedicada; y ella lo ponia delante del Idolo, con grande reverencia, y mucho numero de ceremonias: Una de las primeras era tender una manta grande delante del Altar de el Idolo maior, y encima de ella ponian todas las cosas que llevaban en unos platos de madera pintados, y embarniçados, mui hermosos à los ojos, y en uno de ellos ponian tres Tamales, ò Bollos de masa de Maìz, y en otro cinco, y luego escudillas de barro de tres pies (que llaman Molcaxetes) llenos de Chilmolli, y Ave cocida, ò Carne de Patos, y todo mui bien puesto, y ordenado, lo dejaban, y ofrecian; y hecha esta ceremonia, se despedia la Moça del Monasterio, y servicio del Templo, y se iba à casar. Los Parientes hacian sus raçonamientos al Tequacuilli, ò Vicario del Monasterio, y Parroquia; y respondia al proposito, dando licencia, para que la llevasen à casar libremente. Esto es lo que se ha entendido de la Religion de estas Mugeres, Ministras, ò Sacerdotisas de los Templos, y de los otros Ministros, y Sacerdotes, que avia en esta Nueva-España; y segun tengo colegido, lo mismo fue de las Provincias de Quatimala, Nicaragua, y Honduras, y de otras muchas, por mas de ochocientas leguas; puesto que algo mas, algo menos, en Ministros, Ceremonias, y Sacrificios aia avido alguna diversidad, y diferencia. Y esto mismo podemos juzgar de todas las Naciones deste Orbe; porque no todos podemos saber las diferencias, ò variedad que tenian en su Religion, maiormente, que esto es lo mas esencial, y toda otra cosa fuera superflua, è impertinente.

Capitulo XV.

De dos diferencias de Mugeres, que asistian en el Templo, y Tabernaculo de Dios, en su Pueblo de Israel, y de como fue corriendo esta costumbre, hasta la Venida de Christo Nuestro Señor; y se concluie aver usurpado el Demonio esta manera de Religion, para la falsa suia, asi entre los Gentiles antiguos, como entre estos modernos Occidentales.

Desde los principios, que Dios començò à tener Casa particular, y conocida en la Tierra, ordenò su Magestad Santisima (ò yà por señales cònocidas, y claras, ò yà por inspiraciones internas hechas à los moradores de su Pueblo) que asi como avia Hombres, que se ofrecian à su santo, y particular servicio, segregados del comun de la Gente, huviese Mugeres, que con particular devocion siguiesen este camino, y le diesen el Alma, con actos particulares de devocion, y gusto, para que con perpetua asistencia le alabasen en su Templo, y le honrasen, y confesasen por el Dios conocido de Israel, y por el maior de todos los Dioses, siendo èl solo el que lo es, y los demàs falsos, y mentirosos, inventados al alvedrio de los Hombres, y canoniçados por el seso de los locos, que sin tener deidad, se la atribuìan. Que esto aia sido verdad, coligese de muchos lugares de la Sagrada Escritura; uno de los quales es del Exodo, diciendo de Moisen, que hiço una Pila de Bronce, de los espejos de las Mugeres, que velaban en la puerta del Tabernaculo, y segun esto, avia Mugeres consagradas à Dios, que se ocupaban en velar en su santa Casa, estando en ella en Oracion, por toda la noche. Y segun Rabì Salomòn, y lo refiere Nicolao de Lira, eran estas Mugeres devotas, que apartadas de las mansiones, y tiendas del Real, hacian su habitacion, à las espaldas, y costados de el Tabernaculo, para hacer Ofrendas, y Sacrificios. Y en el Primero Libro de los Reies, se dice, que los Hijos de el Sacerdote Heli, pecaban con las Mugeres que guardaban en la puerta del Tabernaculo (aunque Nicolao dice, que estas Mugeres eran las que despues de sus partos, venian à purificarse, y hacer las ceremonias acostumbradas, segun

la Lei ; otros consienten con el primer sentido, conviene à saber, que eran de las que continuaban las devociones del Templo) por lo qual era maior el pecado de estos Moços atrevidos, por quanto depravaban las intenciones devotas de las que à Dios se ofrecian con algun particular acto de devocion. En el Segundo Libro de los Macabeos se dice, que quando Heliodoro entrò en Jerusalèn, à dàr saco à los tesoros del Templo, en la comocion, y conturbacion que recibiò todo el Pueblo, asi de parte de los Sacerdotes, como de los demàs populares, entraron à la parte las Virgenes, que estaban encerradas : que segun parecer de algunos, eran Doncellas Nobles, y Principales, que hacian su morada en lugares recogidos del Templo, hasta que tuviesen edad para casarse. Que esto se entienda asi, y que huviese Mugeres, que continuaban la asistencia del Templo, està claro, y es cosa mui cierta ; porque de Ana, Hija de Fanuel, del Tribu de Aser, se dice, que estaba en el Templo en Oracion, los dias, y las noches, sin apartarse jamàs de este exercicio.

Esta costumbre se guardò todo el tiempo que durò el estado de los Judios, desde que fueron sacados por la Omnipotente Mano de Dios, de las crueles, y tiranicas del Rei Faraon, hasta la venida del mismo Dios en carne. Y que esto sea asi, està probado, por lo que tenemos referido del Exodo, de las Mugeres que se alojaban à los costados, y espaldas del Tabernaculo ; porque fue en tiempo de Moisen, el qual le edificò ; y dice, que de los despojos que estas devotas Mugeres le dieron, y ofrecieron, hiço el Labro, ò Pila, en que se lababan, que quiere decir, segun algunos, que con estos espejos lo compuso, y adornò. La continuacion de esta santa costumbre, se conoce, por lo que se dice, que pasò en tiempo de Heli, que sus hijos solicitaban las voluntades de las que dormian junto de la puerta del Tabernaculo, y que fuese corriendo hasta el fin, y acabamiento del Pueblo Judaico, se manifiesta por lo que se ha dicho de Anna profetiça.

La prueba de todo lo dicho, se hace mas averiguada, y clara, por lo que muchos Doctores dicen, tratando del recogimiento de la siempre Virgen, y sin par, Maria, luego à pocos Años despues de su Nacimiento, porque dice San Ambrosio, que avia en el Templo de Jerusalèn, lugar acomodado, y decente, en que vivian las Virgenes consagradas. Y Josefo dice, que avia muchas celdas, y aposentos apartados, que podian servir de este menester ; y en este lugar pasò esta Soberana Virgen todo el tiempo de su Niñèz, hasta que la sacaron para esposa de Joseph, aviendo estado trece Años en aquel recogimiento, con grandisimo espanto de los Sacerdotes que la veìan, y Donçellas, que en aquel mismo lugar la acompañaban. En este lugar de recogimiento, que tan de atràs avia en el Templo, vivian las Doncellas, hasta que llegaban à edad de poder casarse, que eran los catorce Años de su Nacimiento ; luego venia el Sacerdote Summo (ò otro por orden suio) y notificaba à las dichas Doncellas la Lei, y costumbre de el Templo, como lo cuenta Ludulfo de Saxonia, Cartujano, à cuio mandamiento acudian todas, con mui prompta obediencia, y las que llegaban à los catorce Años, salian, è ibanse à casa de sus Padres, y ordenaban de darles maridos. En lo que se ocupaban en aquel Santo Lugar, y morada, era en reçar mental, ò vocalmente ; en labrar Sedas varias, y diferentes, para las cosas del servicio del Templo, y vestiduras de sus Ministros. Cuidaban de dia, y velaban de noche, en las cosas de Virtud, y Oracion, y cantaban Himnos, y Psalmos al Señor.

Bien parece por lo dicho, la costumbre tan antigua, y santa que huvo en el Pueblo de Dios, de que en su santo Templo huviese Mugeres recogidas, que de ordinario le alabasen, y engrandeciesen, ocupandose en sus continuas alabanças. Y de aqui infiero, que como el Demonio quiere, en quanto puede, y se le dà permiso, imitar à Dios, hiço su Colegio de Virgenes Vestales, para que asi recogidas, y encerradas, guardasen virginidad, y le sirviesen en la administracion del Fuego. Y està mui claro aver usurpado esto del Santo Templo de Dios ; pues tantos Años fue antes su principio, que el que diò Numa Pompilio al de estas Virgenes, las quales constituiò entre los ocho grados de Sacerdotes, que ordenò, para los Sacrificios (como en otra parte, y Capitulo hemos visto) las quales, demàs de atiçar el Fuego de su encomienda, hilaban, y texian, y hacian otras cosas, en que se ocupaban, y entretenian, y cantaban Canticos en alabanças de sus falsos Dioses. San Isidoro, en su Chronica, dice, aver reinado en Roma Numa Pompilio, y aver instituido los Pontifices, y Virgenes Vestales, reinando en Jerusalèn el Rei Manases, de donde se colige lo dicho, y ser primero las de el Pueblo de Dios, que las del culto de el Demonio. Tambien vino discurriendo esta costumbre, hasta el tiempo de estos Indios, en cuios Templos (como queda visto por el Capitulo pasado) las avia en tanta abundancia, y en tantas cosas ocupadas, algunas de las quales son mui parecidas à las que obraban, las que à nuestro Verdadero Dios servian, en aquellos Tiempos de su Antigua Lei ; y por aqui se verà la embidia del Demonio, y sus astucias, y traças, aunque ninguna le vale para conservarse, dado caso que se tolere por algun tiempo.

De estas Mugeres que hemos dicho del Pueblo de Dios, unas eran casadas, otras viudas, y otras doncellas, consa-

gradas à Dios, por diversas cosas, aunque la principal, y ordinaria era, para ofrecerle divinas alabanças ; y las Doncellas, para conservarse en su virginidad, y pureça, hasta que de alli salian, para recibir esposo. Esto pasò en aquella Lei Antigua, y Casa del Pueblo de Israel, en la qual huvo Gente del estado de las Mugeres, que de ordinario alaban en ella à Dios. Pero esto se purifico, y engrandeciò mas, en la Venida de su Hijo, en carne, en este Estado Evangelico, y de Gracia, no solo aviendo Mugeres particulares, que en sus Santos Templos le alabasen de dia, y de noche ; pero Congregaciones de Santas Virgenes, que con particular Voto, y Consagracion perpetua, se sacrificaron à la guarda de su virginidad, y à las continuas alabanças de la Magestad Santisima de Dios ; de las quales, como dice Filon Judio (y lo refiere Eusebio Cesariense, en su Historia Eclesiastica) huvo en los principios de la Primitiva Iglesia, por los Montes de Palestina, y Desiertos de Egipto grandes Congregaciones de Mugeres, en lugares, y Casas, apartadas de los Monasterios de los Hombres, donde guardando perpetua castidad, servian à Dios en continua penitencia, abstinencia, y maceracion de sus cuerpos, cantandole Himnos, y Psalmos, con voces mui dulces, y acordadas, dandose al estudio de las Sagradas Escrituras, asistiendo à los Oficios Divinos, con grandisima devocion, y atencion.

De la primera que sabemos aver començado esta vida Monastica, y recogida con Voto de Virginidad perpetua, es la Sacrosanta Virgen Maria, como lo afirman todos los Doctores Sagrados, con animo constante, y firme de servir à Dios, en recogimiento perpetuo. Y que este Voto le aia hecho en el Templo, y Casa donde estaba, consta, porque es Sentencia comun de los Theologos, que le hiço antes de sus Desposorios, y asi lo afirma Escoto ; y se sigue claramente, de lo que se sabe, que sus Padres la llevaron al Templo de edad de tres Años, y no salio de èl, hasta que se le diò por Esposo al benditisimo Joseph ; de donde se sigue conclusivamente aver sido el dicho Voto en aquel recogimiento. Y aun despues de desposada, y preñada del Salvador del Mundo, dice Origenes, que pasaba lo mas del Tiempo, en aquel recogimiento, donde se avia criado desde Niña ; y reprehendiendo esto algunos Sacerdotes, y queriendolo estorvar (por ser cosa prohibida estàr las casadas en el lugar consagrado, para solas las Doncellas) fue defendida de Zacarias, Padre de San Juan Bautista, à quien por Espiritu Divino, fue revelada su pureça virginal, y la preñèz, y parto sin mancilla. De manera, que aver Mugeres consagradas à Dios, ha sido siempre ; pero mas en particular, en este estado dicho de la Lei de Gracia, cuia Patrona es la Santisima Virgen Maria, que con particular Voto ofreciò à Dios su virginidad, y vivir recogidamente, para servirle con las demas Doncellas, en continuas alabanças, si su Voluntad Santisima no huviera sido, de que se desposara con Joseph, para lo que tenia determinado de la Redempcion del Mundo. Y à imitacion de esta Gloriosisima Doncella se consagraron las que hemos dicho, de los primeros Tiempos de la Iglesia, y se consagran de presente, las que con titulo, y nombre de Monjas, viven Vida Religiosa, Santa, y bien regida, sirviendo à Dios en castidad perpetua, y cantandole Himnos, y Psalmos, como lo hacian las Sacerdotisas antiguas, que el Demonio quiso tener, fingiendose Dios, falsa, y mentirosamente. Este modo de vivir, y conservar castidad, y pureça de Vida, es mucho mas perfecto que el pasado, por quanto aquello era por tiempo limitado (conviene à saber) hasta que las dichas recogidas tuviesen edad para casarse, como parece por lo que pasaba en el Templo de Jerusalèn, y en las Virgenes Vestales de la ciega Gentilidad, que pasados tantos Años tenian licencia (si querian) de trocar vida, y en las Doncellas de las Casas del Demonio, de esta Nueva-España, y Pirù, las quales sacaban para tomar marido, y se le daban : teniendo lo contrario, por caso no convenible, ni hacedero.

Pero porque hemos dicho, que en la Lei Antigua no huvo quien por Voto se consagrase à perpetua virginidad, quiero, para los que no lo saben, referir lo que Hombres doctos, y sabios avràn leìdo, en la exposicion de Nicolao de Lira, hablando del Sacrificio que el Principe Jepte, quiso hacer de una sola hija que tenia, adonde prueba, averse consagrado à Virginidad perpetua, y que de esta manera cumpliò el voto, que avia hecho su padre, como parece en su Glosa, por muchas raçones sabias, y doctas, que alli pone ; que lo que yo pretendo, no es mas de decir, que aunque sea verdad, que le aia hecho, y se huviese consagrado à Dios, por virginidad perpetua ; y Maria, hermana de Moisen, fuese virgen, como lo afirma San Ambrosio, y Gregorio Niseno lo procura probar de la Sagrada Escritura, y huviese avido estas Virgenes Vestales, recogidas entre la Gentilidad, y las Doncellas, entre estos Indios ; y en la Lei Antigua, estas dichas, y otras, no llegan todas estas à igualar con el voto de esta Sacratisima Virgen, ni con su cuidado en alabar, y bendecir à Dios. De las unas (que son del Pueblo de Dios) clara està la prueba : pues està en opinion, si fue, ò no fue asi, lo que se dice de ellas, que hicieron ; porque aunque estos Santos dicen de Maria, la Hermana de Moisen, que fue Virgen, dice Josefo aver tenido por marido à un Hombre, llamado Hur, y de èl un Hijo, llamado Besebèl ; y de la Hija de Jepte, es parecer de Hombres mui sabios, que su padre la sacrificò, quitandole la vida ; porque tenia prometido, que la primera cosa que viesen sus ojos, bolviendo

de la Guerra victorioso, la sacrificaria à Dios ; y lo primero que viò, fue à su Hija, que lo saliò à recibir con otras amigas suias, tañendo, y cantando. Y Cayetano en el lugar de los Jueces, no solamente cree, que la matò, sino que la ofreciò en holocausto, lo qual decia el Abulense, que despues de averla muerto, la quemò, y hecha ceniça, la ofreciò al Señor.

De las segundas, que son las Mugeres Gentiles, y de las Congregaciones del Demonio, no ai comparacion ; lo uno, por ser en servicio del Demonio, lo que hacian, lo qual, no solo no era de alabança, ni honra, pero de oprobio, y menosprecio del mismo Demonio, à cuio servicio se hacia ; porque usurparse unò la Gloria que no tiene, bien se hecha de vèr, que antes es ofensa, y agravio, que se hace, que honra que recibe. Lo otro, porque dado caso, que esto fuera en orden de virtud (lo qual se ha negado, y niega) no era con perpetuidad, sino à cierto, y determinado tiempo ; y saliendo de aquel recogimiento, y trocando estado, se olvidaban del pasado, y se ocupaban en la criança de sus Hijos, y servicio de sus Maridos. De manera, que lo santo, y bueno (no negando lo que pasò en la Lei Antigua del Pueblo de Dios) es esto que pasa en este estado de Gracia, en el Voto de la Virginidad, y Castidad perpetua, y en el recogimiento de estas benditas Mugeres, ofrecidas à Dios, para que le canten sus continuas alabanças, conforme està ordenado por nuestra Madre, la Santa, y Catolica Iglesia Romana.

Capitulo XVI.

De lo que se ha podido colegir, y hallar del modo del Sacerdocio, de los Reinos de el Pirù, y sus Ministros.

Del Sacerdocio, y Ministros de los Templos, y Dioses del Pirù, no se ha podido colegir el orden cierto, que en su guarda huvo, ni el numero, y distincion de sus Sacerdotes ; y lo que mas se puede con verdad afirmar, es decir, que tenian Sumo Sacerdote, que en su lengua se llamaba Vilaoma, el qual tenia otros Sacerdotes sujetos, que eran sus inferiores, y de esto aun no se sabe afirmar mui en particular. Los Sacerdotes que avia, se dice, que no eran casados. Y la raçon de no poderse dàr tan cierta noticia de las cosas de aquellos Reinos, à cerca de su Religion, como la vamos dando de estos, fue, que como las riqueças que avia en ellos, fueron las maiores que juntas se han hallado, en todo el Mundo, las quales, casi todas las poseìan los Templos, y en ellos las guardaban, y conservaban los Sacerdotes : como los nuestros entraron tan de repente, y todo su principal intento no fue sino de recogerlo, y arrebañarlo todo, los Sacerdotes, à cuio cargo estaba, con miedo de que no los atormentasen por ello, lo desaparecieron, y trasportaron, y con este desaparecimiento, desapareciò tambien la memoria de sus escritos, y cosas que pudieran dàr noticia de lo que el Capitulo trata ; y asi por este modo casi se enterrò este nombre de Sacerdote. Sucediò tràs èl huirse los mas, la eversion, deshacimiento, y aniquilacion repentina, y acelerada de toda su Republica, aiudando à esto los nuestros, con las Guerras Civiles, que entre sì tuvieron. Y por esta causa, como tan en breve desapareciò el Sacerdocio, faltò la memoria de sus particularidades. Podrà tambien aver concurrido alguna inadvertencia de los Religiosos, que despues supieron las lenguas, los quales como preguntaron, y supieron otras muchas cosas de la Religion, no advirtieron a preguntar esto, que era tocante à su Sacerdocio. Solamente no se ha podido ignorar, por ser cosa, mas que otra, señalada, y mui notoria, la orden que avia de las Monjas en los Templos. Estas eran muchas en cada Monasterio, entre las quales avia mucho orden, concierto, y distincion, y sobre todo mucha Religion : El Dios à que eran consagradas, era el Sol, las quales hacian oficio de Sacerdotes, pues que ofrecian Sacrificios de muchas cosas, que por sus manos obraban, para el Culto Divino, y servicio particular del Sol. Todo su exercicio de estas Mugeres, era texer, y labrar ropa de lana finisima, teñida de mui finas, y diversas tintas, y colores : Hacian Vino mui delicado, y puro para los Sacrificios : Servian de noche, y de dia en los Templos del Sol, con grande cuidado, y solicitud ; y de creer es, que las devociones, y ceremonias, que exercitaban, debian de ser muchas, y mui devotas. Pues tan cuidadosos, y religiosos fueron los Reies Ingas, cerca del Culto Divino, y en especial del Sol, à quien tanto reverenciaron, maiormente diciendose de ellos, que en cosas de buen govierno excedieron, no solo à sus pasados, pero à muchos Principes, y Monarcas del Mundo, y asi no puede ser, sino que fueron muchas, y mui notables las ocupaciones, que para el exercicio espiritual, que en los Templos se avia de obrar, estos Reies ordenaron. Porque tanto numero de Virgenes, y Donçellas, hijas de Señores (que pasaban

muchas veces de docientas) y aiuntadas alli, para el Culto Divino, no avian de estàr ociosas, ni ocupadas profana, y desaprovechadamente.

Estas Virgenes se renovaban de tres en tres Años, de esta manera: Si por ventura el Rei estaba presente, ò en su ausencia su Governador, ò su Lugar-Teniente, hacialas presentar ante sì; y de las que yà estaban en edad de casarse, escogia tres, ò quatro, ò cinco, las mas hermosas, y de maior Dignidad, para Mugeres del Sol, y estas siempre permanecian en su virginidad. Escogidas yà, y dedicadas al Sol, apartaba otras tres, ò quatro, las de maior hermosura, para sì mismo, el Rei, y en su ausencia el Governador; y las demàs, casabalas con los Hijos de los Señores presentes, que al acto se hallaban; y otras daba à otros Grandes Señores sus Vasallos, aunque tuviesen otras Mugeres; lo qual ellos tenian por mui grande favor, y merced. A las que eran menos nobles, dabales licencia el Rei, para que sus padres las casasen. Casadas todas estas mandaba luego el Rei à los oficiales, à cuio cargo estaban, que hinchesen el numero de las Virgenes, que faltaban, de diez años arriba, que fuesen Hijas de Señores, para que se criasen en el Templo, como las pasadas, y sirviesen en los oficios, en que las otras se avian exercitado. Mientras estaban estas Mamaconas (que asi se llamaban) en aquellos Monasterios, guardaban, à lo menos exteriormente, tanta castidad, que se cree, no aver avido personas en alguna parte del Mundo, mas castas, ni que puedan de esta virtud ser loadas entre infieles. Algun Religioso afirmò, aver bautiçado à una de estas la qual vido yà mui vieja, que avia sido escogida, para muger del Rei Guaynacapa, padre de los Reies Guascar, y Atabaliba, que por morir el Rei presto, no llegò à su talamo, que viviendo ella despues muchos años, jamàs quiso casarse, y asi permaneciò en su virginidad; cuia muerte, llorandola un Señor, Hermano suio, entre otras cosas de que la loaba (ò que le causaban lastima) decia: Hermana mia, que mueres virgen al cabo de tantos años. De estas Monjas, ò Mamaconas, aun quedaron reliquias en el Tiempo del Christianismo (despues de aver destruido los nuestros el Templo del Sol, à quien estaban consagradas) y no en numero pequeño, sino mui grande, y crecido, que despues de ser Christianas, permanecieron en casta, y recogida vida, à la manera que nuestras Beatas, con Aviso particular, y religioso.

Capitulo XXXI.

De otra mas estrecha manera de Religion, con que el Dios Quetzalcohuatl era servido, de Mancebos, y Doncellas, y de como se las consagraban.

Tenian estos Naturales otro Dios (del qual ya hemos dicho, en otro lugar) llamado Quetzalcohuatl, el qual tenia sus Ministros particulares, asi de Mancebos, como de Doncellas, que à su devocion, y contemplacion se dedicaban à su servicio. Estos vivian vida mas estrecha, que los pasados, la qual se llamaba Tlamacazcayotl, que quiere decir: Vida de Penitencia, por ser en honra de Quetzalcohuatl, que dicen averla hecho mui grande, y averla enseñado à sus Discipulos. Estos vivian en Congregacion, como los Sacerdotes, y Colegiales, y las Doncellas, en recogimiento, como las Sacerdotisas. Traìan los unos, y los otros el cabello largo, eran mui honestos, y castos: Estos andaban mas honesta, y religiosamente vestidos, que los Ministros dichos, en el Capitulo pasado. Bañabanse à media noche, sin faltar jamàs en esta ceremonia; velaban hasta las dos de la mañana, orando, y cantando à su Dios Cantos, y alabanças; derramaban sangre de su cuerpo, al punto de la media noche, de diversas partes, y miembros donde se punçaban, con las puntas del Maguey. Aunque estaban en aquel recogimiento, tenian licencia de salir a los Montes, Bosques, y Fuentes à qualquier hora de la noche, à derramar sangre, y hacer Sacrificios al Dios, que mas le inclinaba à su devocion, como entre nosotros suele ser concedido à los Monges, y Religiosos salir à los Bosques, y Montañas à estaciones particulares, por el credito, que tienen de su buena vida, y santidad. Y lo que se dice de estos Mancebos, se dice tambien de las Doncellas, que en su recogimiento, no eran menos devotas, y honestas, que ellos.

Tenian un Rector, en su Convento, que se llamaba del nombre de su Dios, Quetzalcohuatl, el qual velaba mucho sobre su guarda, y doctrina, reformando lo relajado, y conservando las virtudes, y loables costumbres. Estos Mancebos, y Doncellas, en llegando à edad de quatro Años, dejaban à sus Padres, y Deudos, y se iban à estas Casas de recogimiento, donde avian de permanecer hasta que se les llegase el tiempo de casarse, y tomar estado. Tenian sementeras, en que trabajaban, y se ocupaban, que eran de la propriedad de los Templos; pero

para su sustento ordinario tenian los Padres cuidado de embiarles la comida. No usaban estos moços de beçote, ni orejeras, ni otra cosa, que significase liviandad; eran mui honestos en vestirse, y templados en el comer, y beber, hablaban poco, y eran mui diciplinados.

Para aver de dedicar alguno de estos, à este Dios Quetzalcohuatl, hacian sus Padres, y Deudos, un mui gran Combite, y daban la voz à Quetzalcohuatl, Rector de estos Colegios, asi de Mancebos, como de Doncellas, el qual no iba al Combite, ni asistia à la presentacion del Niño, por ser persona de mucha Autoridad, y que no visitaba à nadie, ni entraba en otra casa mas, que en la Real à vèr al Rei las veces, que se ofrecia; pero embiaba persona, que en su nombre recibiese al Niño, y lo traxese à su presencia, el qual tomaba en sus manos, y ofreciendoselo à su Dios Quetzalcohuatl, le decia: Señor, y Dios invisible, Defensor, y Amparador de todos, el Padre, y la Madre de esta criatura te vienen à ofrecer este Niño, porque es tu hechura, y obra de tus manos, para que viva, y sirva en este Templo, y Convento de Penitencia, y Diciplina; suplicote, Señor, lo recibas, en compañia de los tuios bien Diciplinados, y Penitentes, y le favorezcas, para que sea de buena Vida, y alcance alguna Dignidad, y algun bien en ella; y acababan con decir: Maymmuchihua, que quiere decir: Hagase asi, que es como decir: Amen. Si por ventura era el Niño, ò Niña de dos Años, tomaba posesion de èl, este Satrapa, haciendole una herida ligera, y sutil en el pecho, con una navaja, en señal, que era del culto, y servicio del Dios Quetzalcohuatl; pero si era de menos edad, davanle un collar, que llamaban Yanuali, el qual traìa puesto al cuello, hasta que llegaba à la edad conveniente, para ser admitido en aquella Congregacion, y Monasterio de Quetzalcohuatl, y llegados à ella, el muchacho se iba à su Monasterio, y la muchacha al suio.

Capitulo XXXII.

De la Platica, y Exortacion, que à estos Mancebos, y Doncellas hacian Deudos, y Parientes mas ancianos, y viejos, para inclinarlos al cumplimiento de el Voto, con que sus Padres los ofrecian à estos falsos Dioses.

Al quinto, ò sexto Año del nacimiento del Niño, ò Niña, que era la edad, en que avian de ser entregados à sus Monasterios, juntabanse los Parientes mas ancianos, y viejos, y llamando al muchacho, dabanle noticia del Voto, que sus Padres avian hecho, y del lugar donde lo avian prometido, y de la vida, que avia de tener, diciendo: Mui amado, y precioso Hijo, hacemoste saber, que Dios invisible, Criador de todas las cosas, llamado Quetzalcohuatl, te criò, por cuia voluntad naciste en el Mundo, y serà bien, que adviertas, que el maior Padre que tienes, es el Maestro, que enseña, y cria en diciplina, y doctrina sana, acompañada con buenas costumbres; por esta causa tus Padres, luego en tu nacimiento, y niñez, te prometieron à la Religion de Quetzalcohuatl, para que estès, y vivas en el Convento de los Tlamacazques, sirviendo à Dios, Criador de todas las cosas, pidiendole continuamente, te dè, de sus bienes, y comunique de sus bondades, y haga de buena vida, donde haràs penitencia, por ti, y por todos los demàs de tu linage, que andan enmarañados, y enfrascados en las cosas necesarias, y forçosas de la vida; y por toda la Republica, necesitada de favores de el Cielo. Hijo, advierte, que estàs obligado à cumplir este Voto, por ser mui justo, que obedezcas à tus Padres, que te criaron con gran trabajo, administrandote tu Madre la sangre de sus pechos; vè, Hijo, y metete en el Convento, para cumplir el voto prometido, que alli hallaràs Hijos de Principales, y Nobles, que antes que tu fueron à acreditar esta religiosa, y honesta vida, y de donde los sacan, y escogen para Señores de el Pueblo, Jueces, y Governadores de la Republica, y Capitanes Generales de los Exercitos.

Estando en el Convento, olvidarte has de tu casa, y hacienda, y de los regalos de tu niñez, y de los que te han hecho (parece cierto tener estos Gentiles en su boca aquellas palabras del Psalmo *: Oie, Hija, inclina con atencion tus oìdos, y olvida tu Pueblo, y la Casa de tus Padres) y proseguian, diciendo: Has de barrer el Templo, y las Casas de Religion, y las calles, y patios, por donde suele pasar Dios invisible; velaràs mucho, desechando el

* Nezahualcoyotl the celebrated king of Tezcuco, composed sixty hymns in praise of Huitzilopuchtli, which from a fragment or two which have been preserved show that he possessed a talent for poetry. Boturini mentioning these hymns says, "Y aun despues de la conquista, fueron celebres los LX Cantares, que el emperador Nezahualcoyotl compuso en alabanza del Criador del cielo, y tierra, y se sabe que el dia segundo del mes Panquetzaliztli, en una solemne fiesta, se cantaban las grandezas del Dios Huitzilopuchtli, y en el patio de su templo un hombre, y una muger, guiaban el canto." These hymns are here alluded to because one almost begins with the words "Man perisheth like the grass of the field," which would also appear to be taken from the Psalms.

sueño, y la pereça; obedeceràs à todos, con diligencia, y sin replica de palabras. Advierte mas que no vas a a Casa de Penitencia, à ser honrado, y preferido, ni à que en ella mandes, sino à obedecer, y ser mandado y sujeto todos. Y quando llegares à la edad maior, donde la carne comiença à mostrar, y tener sus sentimientos, seràs mui casto, venciendo sus movimientos, y deseos, como soldado valeroso; no daràs consentimiento à ningun mal pensamiento; porque en teniendo voluntad para pecar, avràs pecado, y serà causa de que Dios te prive de sus Dones, y de tu buena Fortuna, ni alcançaràs Dignidad, ni Nombre en la Republica, sino que te castigarà el Señor rigurosamente. Esto dicho haràs con toda voluntad, por ser mandamiento del Señor como lo hacen los otros Ministros, que sirven en el Templo, que se llaman Tlamacazquez, porque à eso vàs à su compañia, y eres obligado à nacer el bien, que vieres hacer. Otro aviso es, que en todo seas templado, y abraces mui de coraçon la abstinencia, y aiuno; porque los que unan, pocas veces son tentados (à lo menos derribados) de la carne. (No sè como dixeron estos Indios esta doctrina, que es lenguage de San Pablo, quando dijo, que huiesen la demasìa del beber, en el qual està la luxuria; y de la maceracion en sì mismo, dijo, que quando mas templado, y flaco en el cuerpo, se hallaba mas fuerte, y valiente en el espiritu.) Haràs mui alegremente los aiunos, que te mandare hacer tu Maior, y Prelado, porque no incurras, en pena de desobediente, y cometas en ello pecado; y por remate te decimos, que aprendas con cuidado lo que te enseñaren los Sabios.

Si era Niña la que avia de entrar, en aquella Religion, demàs de lo dicho, le hablaban unas venerables viejas de esta manera: Mui amada Hija, yà aveis oìdo lo que os han dicho los mui honrados viejos, lo que os rogamos es, que lo tengais siempre, en la memoria, por ser antorcha encendida, que os dà luz, y alumbra, para acertar en vuestras obligaciones; y sobre lo dicho añado esto poco (hablando una sola) Hija mia, en tu niñez te prometieron tu Padre, y Madre de meter en el Convento de la Religion de Quetzalcohuatl, donde estàn, y viven las Doncellas, que se dicen hermanas de Dios; estando con estas, seràs compañera de las Virgines, que sirven, y loan à Dios de dia, y de noche; pues, Hija mia, yà tienes edad de discrecion, y usas de raçon, justo es, que vaias al Convento, para cumplir el Voto, que tus Padres prometieron. Y hagote saber, que aquel Convento de Doncellas, es honesto, y es lugar de penitencia, y de buena criança, y meritorio; por eso es menester, que hagas la voluntad de la Persona que te mandare; porque el que viviere alli bien, y fuere obediente, y se humillare, y embiare suspiros al Cielo, con lagrimas, y se encomendare à Dios, ganarà su amistad; y el que lo contrario, incurrirà en su ira, y maldicion, para siempre. Vè, Hija mia, con toda tu voluntad, à servir à Dios, y estaràs, y viviràs con las Doncellas Castas, y Penitentes; y lo que mas te encomiendo es, que seas casta en Cuerpo, y Alma; porque las Virgines de coraçon, y cuerpo son mas allegadas à Dios: Barreràs todos los patios del Convento, y Templo, y con solicitud, y cuidado guisaràs la comida, que cada mañana se ofrece en el Altar: Obedeceràs à todos; porque la obediencia representa la buena criança, y nobleça: Seràs honesta, y recogida, no desvergonçada, y liviana; y si por estàr vestidas de carne las otras Doncellas, que alli estàn, algunas lo fueren, huie de su compañia, porque cada qual gana la merced de sus obras; y en una Casa de recogimiento se ha de tomar de unas lo bueno, que se viere hacer, y huir de lo malo, que otras cometieren. Con estas palabras, y platicas despedian à estos Muchachos; y cierto no sè què mas se pudiera decir en nuestro Christianismo, si no fueran errados en los Votos; y pienso que son platicas, que debian ser mui encomendadas à la memoria; pues no importa ser de Gentiles, quando las raçones son Catolicas; y como dice San Agustin, lo bueno que ellos dicen, lo hemos de tomar, y reducir à las cosas de Nuestra Lei, como de aquellos, que nos las tenian usurpadas; ni son malos documentos para los Religiosos, que vienen à tomar el Habito, sin proposito de ser mas que otro, para que siempre vivan consolados, y no pretendan mas en la Religion.

Capitulo XXXIII.

De la pena, y castigo, con que los Sacerdotes Gentiles castigaban à los inobedientes, à los mandamientos Eclesiasticos; la qual es mui semejante à la que, en este Estado de Gracia, usa la Iglesia, que se llama Excomunion.

Entre las penas Eclesiasticas (y que mas debe temerse) es la Descomunion, porque priva, y enagena al Hombre de la comunicacion de los Sacramentos, y consuelos espirituales, inclusos en la Iglesia de Jesu-Christo. Este modo

de Pena (ò otro casi semejante) fingiò el Demonio, en su Gentilico Pueblo ; y no debiò de ser con menos intencion, que en todas las demàs cosas, con que ha querido imitar à Dios, en sus Divinas, y justas Leies : si yà lo hiciera en orden de algun bien, y servicio suio ; pero ha sido, por solo introducir en los coraçones de los Hombres, para que pareciendo bueno por este modo, introduxese juntamente los muchos, y detestables errores, que en ellos ha pretendido, para mas engañarlos. Este modo de execracion usaron muchas Naciones Gentilicas, de las quales los Atenienses (de quien los Romanos se aprovecharon, y tomaron las Leies de las doce Tablas, segun Anastasio Germonio) tuvieron antiguamente ciertas maldiciones, ò execraciones contra los transgresores, en preceptos particulares, como lo tiene Ciceron, y parece decir lo mismo Hesychio sobre el Levitico, diciendo, que en Atenas avia un Templo de execracion, y detestacion ; del qual tambien hace memoria Aristofanes ; y Euripides dice, ha havido una manera, ò figura de descomunion entre los Argivos, usada tambien de los Atenienses. Tambien Platon la puso, diciendo, por exemplo las condiciones, y circunstancias, con que se avia de executar. Tambien de los Sacerdotes de Francia, dice Julio Cesar, que entre las cosas, que tenian de su mucho poder, y autoridad, era una esta manera de descomunion. Porque si alguna Persona publica, ò particular, ò Pueblo, ò Ciudad no estaba por lo que ellos mandaban, y determinaban, segun su juicio, y parecer, luego lo descomulgaban, apartandole, y segregandole de la Comunion, y participacion de los Sacrificios ; y esta pena se tenia, en toda Francia, por gravisima ; porque aquellos asi descomulgados, eran tenidos por Hombres malos, impìos, y perversos. Por esta causa huìan todos los demàs de ellos, quitandoles la habla, y pasando por el que encontraban sin saludarle, y tenian por mui mala su conversacion, y compañia ; temian (si hacian lo contrario) incurrir en la dicha maldicion contagiosa, y en el mismo daño, que los descomulgados avian incurrido. Eran infames, y privados de los actos legitimos, è incapaces para recibir Oficios publicos, y para parecer en juicio ; por lo qual, aunque pedian Justicia, no les era administrada. Todo lo dicho es de Julio Cesar ; y plugiese à Dios, que nosotros los Christianos temiesemos la verdadera descomunion, que la Iglesia fulmina, como aquellos temian la mentirosa, y falsa.

Bien se hecha de vèr, por lo dicho, la manera de pena, y privacion de comunicacion, que los Antiguos tuvieron ; pero què motivo huviese sido el suio para inventarla, no se sabe. Anastasio Germonio prueba, que la descomunion de la Iglesia fue instituìda por el mismo Christo, y lo comprueba, con lugares de la Sagrada Escritura, y muchas Autoridades de Santos Doctores. Pero aunque esto es asi verdad, como se puede vèr en los Lugares citados, de la que nuestra Iglesia usa ; de la de los Gentiles, decimos con el mismo Germonio, que serà posible, y caso mui creìble, que la tomaron de los Hebreos, de cuia Lei se aprovecharon, en otras muchas cosas, usurpando las del servicio del Verdadero Dios, y aplicandolas al culto idolatrico del Demonio. Y que los Hebreos aian tenido descomunion, lo dice Eliezer Rabbi, anotando el Capitulo 38 del Genesis, donde dice, que los hermanos de Joseph mandaron, con pena de Anathema, que nadie dixese, ni revelase, à Jacob, su Padre, la venta de Joseph. Y dice luego : Quereis vèr la fuerça, y eficacia de la descomunion ? Pues vedlo en el Capitulo Septimo de el Libro de Josue, y en el Primero de los Reies, y en el Quarto. En el de Josue se dice la muerte de Achan, porque hiço un hurto de Anatema. Y San Juan parece decir lo mismo, (conviene à saber) que usaban los Judios de ella, diciendo : Que se conspiraron los Judios, para que si alguno nombrase el Nombre Benditisimo de JESUS, lo hechasen fuera de la Sinagoga ; que es como decir : Privarle de la comunicacion, y compañia de los Fieles. Y en el Capitulo doce dice : Que muchos de los principales del Pueblo, creieron en Christo ; pero que por el temor que tenian à los Fariseos, no lo confesaban en publico, temiendo, que los hechasen fuera de la Sinagoga, que es lo mismo, que antes dijo. De manera, que por lo dicho queda probado, aver tenido, y usado el Pueblo de Israèl desde sus principios esta Pena ; por lo qual, y por aver sido mas antigua Republica, que la de los Griegos, y otras, es mui cierto, que de ella tomarian este modo de castigo las Gentes, que lo usaron, por ser amigo el Demonio de hacerse algo, no siendo nada, y de que sus Ministros goçasen de privilegios, que los de Dios han tenido ; como aquel que en todo lo que ha podido imitarle, no lo ha dejado de intentar.

Por lo que en este Capitulo se ha dicho, se hecha mui bien de vèr, la Autoridad del Sacerdote, que tiene poder espiritual para ligar Almas, y la que los Antiguos Gentiles tuvieron, aunque no para ligar, como liga en el Pueblo de Dios, entre sus Ministros ; pero usaban de ella, aunque impertinentemente, pues no ligaban en el Alma ; pero eran por ello temidos, y reverenciados. De donde se puede colegir, de quanta mas excelencia es (y por consiguiente, quan digno de maior veneracion, y reverencia) el Sacerdote Christiano ; pues el que lo introdujo en su Iglesia fue el Summo Sacerdote Jesu Christo, segun la orden de Melchisedech ; por el qual son los Hombres guiados à la futura, y cierta Bienaventuranza. De aqui tomò Santo Thomas motivo en el Ultimo Capitulo del Libro Primero

de *Regimine Principum*, para decir, que Dios, con su Soberana, y Divina Sabiduria avia permitido à los Romanos, y otras erradas Gentes, que à sus Sacerdotes, y Ministros de sus Dioses, tuviesen la suma reverencia, que tuvieron, para que se conociese quanto mas obligacion tiene el Pueblo Christiano, de honrar, y obedecer al Sacerdote Catolico, que ordenò, y puso en su Iglesia el Summo Sacerdote Jesu-Christo. Y asi son obligados los Reies, y Monarcas à reverenciar, y honrar, y obedecer al Sumo Pontifice, de la misma manera, y con la misma obligacion, que al mismo Hijo de Dios, cuio Teniente, y Vicario es en la Tierra, como dice San Cirilo. Y no es esto mucha maravilla, pues segun dice Valerio Maximo, siempre la Ciudad Romana, y los mismos Emperadores tuvieron por deuda debida reverenciar, y obedecer à los Sacerdotes, y Pontifices; teniendo por cierto, que mientras lo hiciesen, servian à la Divina Potencia, y que su Principado temporal seria prospero, y creceria con aumento de Gloria, y Felicidad humana. De estos Indios no sabemos aver tenido anatematiçacion, pero otros castigos muchos si. De donde colijo, que como todo se incluìa, en pena de muerte, no se les daba nada de las espirituales; queriendo el Demonio en ellos, que al que pecase, no le dilatasen el embiarselo al Infierno, con pena espiritual, que no podian ligarle con ella, sino que muriendo, fuesen cuerpo, y Alma juntos, acompañados de la maldicion de Dios, y castigo merecido de su Idolatria, è Infidélidad, por la qual eran expelidos de la comunicacion de los Angeles, y entregados à la compañia de los Demonios, que es el efecto, que la excomunion hace; la qual deben temer los Christianos, y reverenciar al que con semejante pena puede ponerle entredicho en la participacion de los Sacramentos.

Capitulo XXXIV.

Del tañer de las Campanas, y de los Veladores, que avia en los Templos, y Barrios, para llamar à las horas ordinarias de la administracion de los Oficios.

Quando se haian introducido las Campanas, dice Baronio, que no se sabe; pero que su origen le tuvieron de las Naciones Gentilicas; y que despues de tratar las cosas de la Religion Christiana publicamente, se usaron, y fueron haciendo maiores, para maior autoridad, y grandeça. Llamabanse Tintinabulos; pero despues tomaron nombre de Campanas del Lugar donde se hicieron. Pero los Hebreos, como dice Josefo, usaban llamar las Gentes à sus Solemnidades, con trompetas; subiase un Sacerdote en una de las mas altas, y eminentes Torres del Templo, alli tañia una trompeta à mañana, y tarde, dos veces al Dia. Los Gentiles usaron llamar con Tintinabulo, ò Campana à los baños, y otras obras. Y asi lo dicen el Poeta Marcial, y Juvenal; y en los Exercitos acostumbraban las Guardas, y Veladores andar con campanas, en las manos, al tiempo de la vela, y centinela. Esto afirma Suidas. Y de este Suidas, dice San Agustin, de Sentencia de Suetonio Tranquilo, que las Campanas, ò Tintinabulos, que se acostumbraron poner en uno de los lugares mas altos, y eminentes del Templo de Jupiter Capitolino, fue este el que puso la primera. Los Syros acostumbraron celebrar sus Fiestas con sonido de Tintinabulos, ò Campanas. Asi lo dice Luciano; y el mismo afirma, no usarse tañer à todas ocasiones, ni sin causa; pero que las tañian, para hacer señal à los Esclavos, y Gente de trabajo, y para otras cosas, que se hacian. Y asi como con ellas eran incitados, y despertados al trabajo, con ellas mismas eran otra vez llamados à descansar, y recoger. De manera, que el uso de las Campanas fue Gentilico; y que aian sido grandes, se vè claro, pues hacian sonido para regir las Gentes al trabajo, y bolverlos à sus casas. Pero la Iglesia lo redujo à sì, y lo aplicò à su uso, convirtiendo el uso profano, en costumbre Sacra, y Divina, en orden de congregar los Fieles à los Oficios Sagrados. Y aunque de los Tiempos antiguos, y pasados no sabemos, que en la Casa, y Templo de Dios huviese Campanas, para tañer, y llamar, con ellas, à las Gentes à la celebracion de las Fiestas, y otras ocasiones, que se ofrecian, como agora en esta Lei de Gracia se usa en las Iglesias; sabemos, empero, que avia Instrumentos Musicos de Viguelas, Citaras, Harpas, Organos, y Cimbalos, y de otros generos immensos, con que se celebraban; de los quales estos Gentiles modernos tambien usaron à sus tiempos, y horas.

De los Instrumentos, que sabemos aver mas usado, fueron unas Flautas, à manera de Cornetas, y de unos Caracoles, que sonaban como Bocina. Con estos llamaban para las horas, que se cantaban en el Templo de dia, y de noche; como si dixesemos, à Maitines, à Prima, à Visperas, y las demàs horas, à que acudian los Sacerdotes, y Ministros à sus Sacrificios, y loores del Demonio. Hacian con esta solemnidad de instrumentos, y atabales, cada mañana fiesta al Sol, quando salia, con armonìa, y estruendo singular, y saludabanle de palabra, como ofreciendole

en aquella hora Sacrificio de alabança; y tràs esto sangre de Codornices, que para este fin mataban entonces, arrancandoles las cabeças con violencia, y fuerça, y mostrandolas al Sol ensangrentadas, y descabeçadas. Esta ceremonia de tanto ruìdo, y estruendo hacian todos los Sacerdotes juntos, teniendo cada qual una Codorniz en sus manos. La qual ceremonia acabada, se guisaban las Codornices, y se las comian estos dichos Satrapas, que à no ser el acto idolatrico, pudieran apetecer muchos esta ceremonia, pues en ella tenian seguro, y cierto el almuerço, y no malo. Hecha esta ceremonia, ofreciendole incienso luego, con la misma armonìa, y musica de cuernos, y atabales. Los quales, como està dicho, se tañian à todas las horas, que de dia, ò de noche, se entraba à la Ofrenda del Incienso, y Sacrificio, y à los loores, y alabanças del Demonio. Haciendo en esto una manera de imitacion al tañer de las Campanas à las Horas Canonicas, con que en nuestras Iglesias Christianas se llama à los Ministros, y otras Gentes, para que se congreguen à los Oficios Divinos, y Festividades, con que se celebran.

Tañian de noche estos Instrumentos, ò Campanas otra vez, fuera de las que eran para despertar à las horas de su reçado, y esto hacian à honra de la noche, à la qual llamaban Yohualtecuhtli, que quiere decir: Señor de la noche; que si bien se nota, es el Demonio, Padre de las Tinieblas, y Obscuridades; y aunque diferenciaban la intencion, todo era à un mismo fin, pues era en servicio del Demonio, con actos, y ceremonias idolatricas. Estas eran sus Campanas, y de estas usaban en todas las Fiestas, y Solemnidades, que hacian, y cada dia (como està dicho) para las horas de sus Sacrificios. Avia Veladores, que velaban las vigilias de la noche, unos en los Templos, y otros en las encrucijadas de las Calles, y Caminos. Estos velaban por sus quartos, y horas, mudandose, acabado el tiempo de su vigilia, y vela. Unos velaban desde prima noche, hasta las diez, otros hasta media noche; y trocados estos, entraban en la vela otros, hasta las tres de la mañana; y à estos seguian otros hasta el Alva. Su oficio era despertar à los Sacerdotes, y Ministros, los que velaban en los Templos, para que acudiesen à los Sacrificios, y horas nocturnas. Los de las encrucijadas, à los de la Republica, para lo mismo, conforme estaban obligados. Tenian tambien cuidado estas Velas de atiçar el Fuego de los braseros, para que siempre ardiese, y nunca se apagase. Y à esta Vela llamaban Iztoçoaliztli, que quiere decir, Vela.

Caput XVI. Quinti Libri *Historiæ Acostæ.*

De Monasteriis Virginalibus, in culturam sui à Sathana fundatis.

Sicut in Romana ecclesia diversi Religiosorum ordines existunt: ita pariter Sathanas, mendacii pater, in his locis ita constitutum voluit, ut ministri ipsius duram, religiosam et dolorosam vitam agerent. In Peru virginum puellarumque tam numerosa cœnobia erant, ut in omnibus passim angulis provinciarum plurima conspicerentur. Virginum aliæ annosiores erant, quæ juniores in necessariis instituebant. Has Mamacônas vocabant. Cæteræ juniores, aliquandiu ad ministeria Idolorum aut Ingarum educabantur. Et hoc monasterium Acllaguaci, id est, domus selectarum appellabant. Cuilibet monasterio suus Vicarius aut Gubernator, Appopnâca dictus, præstituebatur. Huic, quas videbatur eligendi potestas et arbitrium erat, cujuscunque illæ vel ordinis vel status ac conditionis essent, modò annos octo completos nedum attigissent, et cœnobiis idoneæ esse possent. Quæ in cœnobium puella assumeretur, ad Mamacônas ducta, de variis tum ad cultum Idolorum, tum ad ceremonias, tum ad vitæ castitatem pertinentibus erudiebatur. Annos quatuordecim assecutæ, cœnobiis rursum eximebantur, et in Guacas seu domos precatorias abstrudebantur, ubi disciplina dura et accurata coërcebantur. In his perpetua castitas vovenda erat. Harum ergò nonnullæ Sacrificiis ordinariis, à solis virginibus præstandis: quædam extraordinariis, ut sanitatis impetrationi, si Ingarum quis aut obiisset, aut in bellum adversus hostes egressus esset, adhibebantur. Earum quoque nonnullæ pro Ingarum, et horum cognatorum Ducumque conjugibus ac concubinis educabantur. Quarum si quam Ingæ alicui dono dabant, munus præstantissimum obtulisse videbantur. Et hæc distributio in anno semel fiebat. Pro harum virginum sustentatione, quarum frequentissima multitudo erat, peculiares reditus ordinabantur, quibus viverent. Si quam ex puellarum medio numero Appopnâca in cœnobium selegisset, ne ipsis quidem puellæ parentibus adversari aut abnuere licebat. Quinimo filias suas istis ordinibus parentes plurimi ultro offerebant, eas hoc pacto, Ingis copulatum iri sperantes. Si quæ à Mamacônis sive Acclis, virginitatem temerasse deprehendebatur, ea aut viva sub terram defodiebatur, aut alio supplicii acerbissimi genere plectebatur. In Mexico Sathanas sibi quoque Moniales parturiverat: quarum tamen professio unius saltem anni erat. Harum isthæc ratio erat. In patente illa

area, de qua superius diximus, duæ ædes sibi ex adverso positæ stabant; quarum una virorum, altera fœminarum erat. In æde virginum, puellæ 12 annorum alebantur, usque dum annum ætatis 13 attingerent. Et hæ filiæ pœnitentiæ aut castitatis dicebantur, idolorum cultibus præstandis præfectæ. Harum munus erat, templum aqua conspergere et verrere, et manc tum Idolo tum ejus ministris, cibos, ex oblationibus et Eleemosynis collectis paratos, offerre. Cibi verò, qui idolo apponebantur, parvæ placentæ erant, manuum aut pedum, vel rerum aliarum specie formaque confectæ. Præter verò placentulas istas panem commistum alium quoque pinsebant: quem singulis diebus Idolo objectum, Sacerdotes posteà vorabant, sicut simile quid de Baal apud Prophetam Danielem legimus. Virgunculis his primo capilli tondebantur, quos deinde ad definitum quoddam tempus renasci permittebant. Eædem, sub noctis medium quoque non secus ac viri ad missæ celebrationem (quæ in æde ista continuo peragebatur) surgere cogebantur. Illis et Abbatissæ ordinariæ erant, quæ quaslibet ad officii sui opera compellebant. Pannos etiam et cortinas pretiosissimas vario genere texere addiscebant, quibus idola et templa prævelabantur. Habitus earum candidus erat: nec quoquam colore alio vestiri audebant. Noctu pœnitentiam agentes, flagris se incutiebant, et aurium summam partem sauciabant. Cruore ex vulneribus manante faciem ac genas tingebant: ad quas iterum emaculandas, in cellis suis vasa aqua plena asservabant. Vitam omni modestia et castitate commendabilem agebant. Si quæ secus vel in minimo facere depræhendebatur, nulla exceptione morti dedebatur, ut quæ Dei domum libidine fœda conspurcasset. Commissi autem piaculi suspicionem captabant, quoties aut glirem discursantem, aut vespertilionem volantem, aut Idoli velum arrosum conspicarentur. Arbitrabantur enim, nec glirem nec vespertilionem, tantum arrodendorum velorum facinus patraturos fuisse, nisi Deus, flagitio admisso irritatus, hanc ipsis potestatem indulsisset. Itaque exquisita indagine omnia explorabant. Rea deprehensa, illicò supplicio afficiebatur. In hæc cœnobia nullæ virgines admittebantur, nisi ex sex illis ditionibus, in hanc rem selectis, oriundæ essent. Hæ, veluti dictum est, unius saltem anni spatio, quo in Idoli ministerium à parentibus devovebantur, in cœnobio isto morabantur. Eo exacto, ad parentes, si luberet, redibant, et nubebant.

Porrò, quæ hactenus de virginibus cœnobialibus Peruanis enumeravimus, iis ferè similia sunt, quæ de virginibus Vestalibus Romanis ab historicis tradita legimus. Sed cur diabolo volupe fuerit, ut etiam à puris, castis et illibatis hominibus, singularibus ministeriis coleretur, sciendum est, isthæc omnia non eo animo facta esse, quasi is castitate et innocente vita delectaretur, cum fœdus et spurcus spiritus à natura sit: verum hanc potius ob causam, ut in universis Dei honorem prædaretur, et per proterviam æmularetur: cum prima et præcipua hæc summi Dei voluntas sit, ut in perfecta et consummata castitate et sanctitate ipsum colamus et veneremur.

Caput XVI.

De aliis monasteriis religiosis, quibus Sathanas adserendas et propagandas horrendas superstitiones utitur.

Ex literis illis, quas nostræ societatis quidam ex Iapan misit, satis abundè notum est, in locis illis maximum Religiosorum (quos Bonsos vocant) numerum existere. Ex iisdem etiam, quàm miras et inauditas superstitiones agant, quamque putida mendacia evomant, clarissimè constat. Itaque de his nos quoque hîc breviter aliquid dicemus. Qui in China Patres egerunt, Bonsos sive Religiosos diversis ordinibus discretos esse, recensent. Nonnulli enim vestibus vittisque candidis utuntur: alii atris. Et hi nec vittas nec crines habent, nec admodum magni fiunt, cum non minus quàm vulgata populi fæx à Mandarynis seu magistratu sontes plectantur. Nec pisces, nec carnes, nec quicquam aliud, quod vitam habuit, gustant, sola oryza et herbis pascendi. Furtim tamen et in abscondito nihil non, quod suave sit, comedunt, et populo promiscuo multo nequiores sunt. Religiosi aulici, in Paquin habitantes, maximæ apud omnes æstimationis sunt. Mandaryni persæpè in dictorum monachorum Varellas sive conventus animi gratia se conferunt: à quibus raro non probè appoti dimittuntur. Monasteria frequenter extra urbem sunt. Intra urbem sunt Templa ac delubra. In China nec templis nec Idolis multum tribuunt. Hæc enim omnia Mandaryni in risum ludumque convertunt, affirmantes, præter officium et potestatem Mandarynorum nullam aliam vitam aut Paradysum: præter sontium verò carceres et supplicia, nullum infernum restare. Iidem etiam prætendunt, cultus Idolorum universos ideò saltem excogitatos esse, ut hoc quasi freno populi ferocia coërceretur, quod ipsum Ethnicus quoque philosophus statuisse legitur. Hoc quoque velo ipse Aaron utebatur, cum

insanienti populo aureum vitulum extruxisset. Chinensium mos est, ut in navium puppis sacello, quod plerumque superimponunt, discinctam quandam virginem aut fœminam factitiam in sellam collocent; ante quam duo Chinenses, specie angelorum in pedes consederunt, superius verò Candela seu lumen, noctibus ac diebus jugiter ardens, suspensum est. Quoties ergò vela demissuri sunt, multis ritibus et ceremoniis idolo isti sacrificant, tùm tympana túm campanas simul impellentes, et telis ignivomis aërem percutientes. Sed de Religiosis pergamus dicere. Ex nullis odorari vestigiis possumus, uspiam in Peru peculiarem aliquam domum extitisse, in qua Religiosi congregati vixerint. Cæterorum verò sacerdotum ac Magorum numerus propè infinitus fuerat. Mexicanis consuetudo peculiaris quædam haud dubio ab ipso Sathana introducta, solennis fuit. Nam intra magni templi, de quo antè diximus, terminos duo monasteria erant, quorum hoc (ut jam comprehendimus) virginibus, illud viris, annos 18 aut 20 natis consecratum habitabatur. Hi Religiosi vocabantur: qui monachorum more radebantur quidem, sed pilos aliquantò longiores, et ad aures usque promissos alebant. Capillos autem per directum verticem transversorum quatuor digitorum latitudine tam promissos enasci permittebant, ut quasi cæsaries propendens, dorsum integeret, quos etiam flocci more torquebant aut innectebant. Hi juvenes, qui suas Idolo Vitzliputzli operas voverant, in paupertate et castitate summa vitam trahentes, Levitico officio fungebantur, templique sacerdotibus primariis subserviebant, thuribula et cereos accurando, vestes sacras custodiendo, loca sacratiora purgando, et ligna congerendo, ut loco lampadis perpetuus ignis ante Idoli faciem arderet. Præter juvenum horum certum numerum, pueri quoque quamplurimi velut horum simiæ alebantur, quorum opellæ et officia varia erant, sertis et herbis, ac rosis aut juncis templum ornandi; aquas loturis sacerdotibus ministrandi: novaculas ad sacrificia necessarias acuendi: eos, qui stipem rogaturi essent, comitandi: et tandem ipsas victimas ad aras procurandi. Singulis his Religiosis sui priores attendebant, ut castè et innocenter ubivis se gererent. In locum fortè aliquem, quo fœminæ essent, ingressi, capitibus pronis nutabant, et oculos in terram defigebant, aspectum earum minimè ferentes. Vestes eorum retium instar textæ erant. Conventuales autem pueri Eleemosynæ rogandæ causa in civitatem quotidiè mittebantur, quaterni quaternis, aut seni senis semper juncti. Horum incessus admodum religionis et devotionis plenus erat. Quod si diutius oberrando stipis nihil impetrassent, licentia data in agros irruebant, et frumenti tantum, quantum necesse esset, vellebant, nemine contrà hiscente, aut eosdem loco ejiciente. Nec enim ullos, quibus fruerentur, reditus alios habebant præter Eleemosynas. Horum numerus quinquagenarum nunquam excedebat. Pœnitentiam acturi de media nocte surgunt, et tubis lituisque inflatis populos ad preces excitant. Certo et ordinario numero Idolo serviunt: et ligna, ne ignis emoriatur, tempestivè injiciunt: et thuribulum, quo sacerdos suffitum Idolo ciet, necessariis instruunt. Dicti pueri suis majoribus in omnibus promiscuè obedientissimè parebant. Sacrificio à sacerdote peracto, pueri in locum privatum abscedebant, et acutissimis ferreis instrumentis malas sibi findebant: extillantemque sanguinem temporibus illinebant. Eo facto in alio loco parata aqua cruorem eluebant. Quin et capita sua, sacerdotum more bitumine perfundebant. Vestes ex cannabe crassa textas gerebant. Hac seria contritione, cum summa inedia, castitate et tolerantia, universum annum exigebant: adeò ut stupendum sit, vanam vanæ religionis imaginationem apud istos pueros potuisse tantum, ut tam constantia virili pro ordinis sui instituto istis fœdis Sathanæ abominationibus operari voluerint, cum verum et unum Deum, nemo nostrûm vel dimidia quidem religionis severitate, colere sustineat. Sed isthæc superstitio præcipuè illis admonitioni et exemplo sit, qui vel ad quamcumvis suorum peccatorum superficiariam condolentiam illicò insolescunt, et vitæ confidentioris sordibus se de novo illicò repolluunt. Hæc autem Indorum superstitiosa pœnitentia ideo ipsis toleratu facilior obveniebat, quia non assiduo duraret, sed unius anni curriculo finiretur.

Caput XVII.

De gravi alia pœnitentia Indorum, instinctu Sathanæ ipsis monstrata.

Ad hunc jam locum devoluti, operæ facturi pretium sumus, si execrandam Sathanæ ambitionem et fastum adhuc clarius in propatulum efferamus: ut eo propius conspecto, nativam nostram socordiam mittentes, ad serium et purum Dei immortalis cultum alacriores et religiosiores exurgamus. Indi dicti tanta tyrannide et cæcitate à Sathana percussi sunt, ut et Prophetis Baalicis in omnibus similes evaserint, qui se ipsos cædebant sauciabantque: et simul immanitatem eorum æmulati sint, qui Beel-phegor filios filiasque suas pro sacrificiis mactabant, et eosdem per

ignes ire jubebant, sicut de istis S. pagina apertè testatur. Sathanas verò per hæc id assiduè molitus est, ut cum perditione generis humani cultum suum latius propagaret. Paulo ante hæc recensuimus, quo pacto sacerdotes et religiosi de media nocte suo idolo fumigatum exsurrexerint. Id jam pertexendum. Suffitu peracto, sacerdotum primas sive superintendens in latam aream secedebat, in qua ex ordine multa scamna seu sellæ positæ conspiciebantur. In harum una considens ille, Puya ex Mangey, id est, framea ferrea pedem juxta digitos transfigebat, ut cruor confertim ex plaga emanaret. Eo tempora illinebat partim: partim frameam universam tingebat: quam ita cruentam in globos ex stramine confectos defigebat, ut pœnitentia, quam pro populo universo fecisset, ejus conspectu omnibus nota fieret. Posteà ex lacunæ cujusdam, in hunc usum fabrefactæ, et Ezapan, id est, aquâ sanguinis dictæ, aspergine cruorem capitis eluebat. In templo hujusmodi framearum magnus passim numerus offendebatur: cum singulæ singulis vicibus tantum servirent, et subinde recentes adhiberentur. Prætereà jejuniis quoque corpora castigabant, ita, ut quinque decemve diebus continuis persæpè nihil gustarent alimenti, si festa primaria agerentur. Hæc verò quatuor anni temporum primariorum similia erant. Castitatis tam pertinaces amatores erant, ut plurimi, ne carnis tentationibus succumberent, sibi ipsis genitalia finderent, et infinitis artibus quæsitis generandi seu coëundi potentiam destruerent; saltem, ut hoc pacto Deos suos propitios et pacatos servarent. Sed et à vino, Veneris incitabulo, in solidum abstinebant, et somno parcissimo utebantur, cum noctis partem maximam suis superstitionibus impenderent: et tandem dolores ac cruciatus infinitos sibimet studio ac amore diaboli creabant. Hæc verò universa eo animo et fine patrabantur, ut pro pœnitentiariis religiosissimis, et jejunatoribus strenuis ab omnibus haberentur. Flagris se plerumque nodosis cædebant. Eo verò die festo, quod in honorem Idoli Tezcatlipucæ (is Deus pœnitentiæ erat) celebrabatur, non sacerdotes solum, sed ipse quoque populus certatim flagellabatur. Flagella autem ex funibus recentibus, ulnæ majoris longitudinem habentibus, et ex cannabe tortis constabant. Funium extremitates nodis exasperatæ erant, quibus scapulas et dorsum percutiebant. Ad huic festo solemnitatem majorem conciliandam sacerdotes diebus quinque jejunabant, de die semel tantum cibum gustantes, et à conjugibus suis se disseparantes. His verò quinis diebus ne latum quidem pedem ex templo efferebant, sicut hæc omnia ex Jesuitarum literis ex India missis, prolixius intelligi possunt. In Peru, cum festum Ytu, admodum solenne, appropinquaret, populus universus duobus ad minimum diebus jejunio se macerabat, eo intervallo à conjugibus penitus amotus. Nec quicquam, quod cum Sale aut Axi decoctum erat, interim edebant, nec Chicao potabant. Ut peccata quædam definita expiarent, urticis se nonnunquam feriebant; nonnunquam saxis sese invicem contundebant, tamdiu, dum in cujuslibet dorso constitutus plagarum numerus emineret. Nonnullis in locis impulsu cacodæmonis excæcatæ hujus gentis aliqui in deserta et eremias profugientes, ibi vitam acerbam et duram longo tempore agebant. Interdum pro victimis seipsos offerebant, ex abrupto saxo se dejicientes, et in mille frusta comminuentes. Quæ hactenus commemoravimus, nihil aliud nisi laquei Sathanæ sunt, qui nihil in votis magis optatisque unquam habuit, quàm ut universum genus humanum in æternum secum exitium pertraheret ac præcipitaret.

Capitulo XXXIV. *del Libro Trece de la* Monarquia Indiana.

De los Oficios, y Oficiales, que havia entre estos Indios, en tiempo de su Gentilidad, y de las cosas curiosas, que hacian.

Entre los Indios de esta Nueva-España havia muchos Oficiales de muchos, y varios Oficios, en especial grandes Escultores de Canteria, que labraban, quanto querian en Piedra, con otras Piedras guijarreñas, y Pedernales, porque carecian de Hierro, y Acero, y tan prima, y curiosamente las labraban, como en nuestra Castilla, los Oficiales con escodas, y picos acerados, como se hecha mui bien de vèr, oi Dia, en algunas figuras de sus Idolos, que pusieron por esquinas, sobre los cimientos de algunas Casas en esta Ciudad de Mexico (aunque no son de la obra curiosa, que hacian) estos Idolos mandò picar los Años pasados, el Arçobispo Don Frai Garcia de Zuñiga, que falleciò este Año pasado de 1606, pero para el que pudiere, podrà vèr dos figuras hechas à lo antiguo, en el Bosque de Chapultepec, que son retratos de dos Reies Mexicanos, las quales estàn esculpidas en dos Piedras duras, nacidas en el mismo cerro, la una de mui crecida estatura, y la otra no tanto; pero tan enriquecidas de labor de Armas, y Plumas, à su usança, que parecen mas labradas de cera, que de la materia, que son, tan lisas, y limpias, que no

parecen hechas à mano*. Todo esto labraban (como hemos dicho) con otras Piedras, y Pedernales; y segun la curiosidad de la labor, pienso, que estuvieron mucho tiempo en acabarlas. De estas cosas eran mui curiosos todos los Lapidarios, y Canteros. Los Carpinteros, y Entalladores labraban la madera con Instrumentos de Cobre; pero los Lapidarios cortaban, y labraban las Piedras preciosas, con cierta arena, que ellos sabian, aunque aora las cortan con Esmeril, y hacian de ellas las figuras, que querian.

Havia Plateros, pero faltabales las Erramientas necesarias, para labrar de Martillo, ò Maçoneria; pero con una Piedra, sobre otra, hacian una Taça llana y un Plato. Para las cosas, que dicen de fundicion, y vaciado, eran mui habiles, y hacian una Joia de Oro, ò Plata, con grandes primores, haciendo mucha ventaja à nuestros Plateros Españoles, porque fundian un Pajaro, que se le andaba la Cabeça, lengua, y las alas, y hacian un Mono, ù otro Animal, que se le andaban cabeça, lengua, pies, y manos, y en las manos le ponian unos trevejuelos, que parecia bailar, con ellos. Y lo que mas es, que sacaban de la fundicion una Pieça, la mitad de Oro, y la mitad de Plata, y vaciaban un Pece, la mitad de las escamas de Oro, y la mitad de Plata, y otros variados, conviene à saber, una escama de Oro, y otra de Plata, de que se maravillaron mucho los Plateros de España. De estos ai ià mui pocos, ò casi ninguno, porque como andan tan oprimidos, y pobres, ni tienen de que hacerlos los Indios, ni Reies, para quien sean, y asi no ai Oficiales, que los hagan; verdad sea, que de los que viven he visto io vaciar algunas cosas mui curiosamente, y para unos cordones de Dalmaticas de la Capilla de San Joseph, en San Francisco de esta Ciudad, se huvieron de hacer unas Calabacillas de Plata, que sirviesen de botones (por ser el ornamento de mucha estimacion, y precio) y buscando Platero, que las hiciese, entre los Españoles, nos embiaron à un Indio, que vivia à las espaldas de nuestra casa, el qual las vaciò, segun sus antepasados sabian, y salieron con todo el primor imaginable. Y en esta manera de plateria, daban los Nuestros la ventaja à los Indios; porque demàs de querer Arte, requiere tambien espacio, y flema, la qual tienen estos Indios, para qualquiera cosa, que la pida.

Havia Pintores buenos, que retrataban al natural, en especial Aves, Animales, Arboles, Flores, y Verduras, y otras semejantes, que usaban pintar, en los aposentos de los Reies, y Señores; pero formas humanas, asi como rostros, y cuerpos de Hombres, y Mugeres, no los pintaban al natural, antes algunos tan feos, que parecian monstruos; que parece, que permitia Dios, que la figura de sus cuerpos se asimilase à la que tenian sus Almas, por el pecado, en que siempre permanecian; mas despues que fueron Christianos, y vieron nuestras imagenes, traidas de Flandes, de Italia, y otras partes de España, se pulieron mucho, y no ai cosa, que no imiten, y hagan; y son algunos de ellos tan diestros, y primos, asi de pincèl, como de encarnacion, que no les hacen ventaja los Castellanos; y viven oi algunos, que si quisiesen trabajar, en sus obradores, les dàn à cinco pesos, y de comer cada dia, como me lo ha dicho uno de los que han deseado, tenerlos en sus casas; pero no quieren, porque ganan mucho mas en las suias, y hacen sus lienços, y colaterales, como los Españoles, y jamàs les falta obra; porque demàs de ser buena, es mas barata. Hai Entalladores (y los havia en su infidelidad) mui primos, en especial en esta Ciudad de Mexico, donde, con la comunicacion de los Españoles, se han perfeccionado, y pulido mucho, de los quales conozco muchos, que hacen la madera de lo que se obligan los Pintores Españoles; y hai en esta parcialidad de Santiago (entre otros) Uno, que ninguno de los Nuestros le hacen ventaja, y èl excede à muchos: llamase Miguèl Mauricio, de mucho, y delicado ingenio, con el qual, y con los otros, que digo haver en esta parte de Ciudad, hice el Retablo de este Santo Templo, que edifiquè en ella, que es una de las mejores cosas del Reino. Labran Talla, y Escultura, asi grande, como chica, y hacen Imagenes, y Santos de hueso, de mucha curiosidad, y por serlo tanta, las llevan à España, como llevan tambien los Crucifijos huecos de Caña, que siendo de la corpulencia de un Hombre, y maior, pesan tan poco, que puede llevarlos un Niño de pocas fuerças, tan perfectos, tan proporcionados, y devotos, que no pueden ser mejores. De esta verdad todos son testigos, y asi paso por ella, sin curar de citar Autores. Havia Oficiales de Loça, y de Vasijas de barro, para comer, y beber en ellas, mui bien hechas, pintadas, y galanas, aunque no sabian usar de el vidriado; pero luego lo aprendieron del primer Oficial, que vino de España, por mas que èl se guardaba, y recataba de ellos. Otros Oficiales havia, y hai, en diversas Provincias de esta Nueva-España de hacer estos Vasos, que llaman Xicaras, y Tecomates, los quales son de ciertas

* A Mexican piece of sculpture of an extremely fine polish, and formed out of an excessively hard and heavy block of stone of a greenish colour, is preserved in the British Museum, an engraving of which of the size of the original will be found in the present work. From the feathered serpent at the back of the head, the green colour of the stone, and other peculiar characteristics it may be inferred that this is a bust of Quecalcoatle. The mutilations which it has sustained seem to be accounted for, by what Torquemada here says of the orders which were given by Don Frai Garcia de Zuñiga.

Calabaças mui duras, y bien diferentes de las nuestras : Son los Tecomates de Arboles Monteses, y Silvestres, que sin ningun culto, ni beneficio, las dàn en grandisimo numero, como io los he visto, en las Tierras calientes, porque no se dàn en las frias, de los quales hai de diversas formas, y maneras : Estas las pintaban (y pintan oi dia) de muchas figuras, y colores, tan finas, y tan asentadas, que aunque estèn cien Años, en el Agua, nunca la pintura se les borra, ni quita ; antes se envejecen, quiebran, y se desportillan, que dejen de conservar su color, y barniz. De estas hai muchas, y de muchas hechuras, y maneras, aunque lo ordinario es usar de ellas, en su hechura llana, y simple ; son Vasos mui hermosos, y lindos, que de las que llamamos Xicaras, hai algunas tan grandes, y anchas, que no la abraça un Hombre : son como Fuentes de Plata, y en algunas ocasiones sirven de lo mismo.

Havia, y hai, Texedores, que texian las Ropas, y Vestidos, à la manera, que las usaban, en especial los Reies, y Señores, y tambien los Ministros de los Templos, y para el adorno de los Idolos, y cosas de su servicio. Estas Ropas las hacian de Algodon, unas blancas, otras negras, y mui pintadas, de diversos colores *: Unas eran gruesas, como Angeo, ò Brin ; Otras delgadas, y tupidas, como Ruan, y otras mas delgadas, à manera de Toca, y muchas como Almayçales Moriscos ; eran, finalmente, como las querian. Otras hacian de pelo de Conejo, entretexido de hilo de Algodon, mui curiosas, que usaba la Gente Principal, à manera de Bernias, con que se defendian del frio, por ser mui calientes, suaves, y blandas, y tan artificiosamente labradas, que parecia de mui grande maravilla poderse poner en ellas, el pelo de Conejo. Otros Oficiales havia, que hacian Esteras de Palma, y Tule, que es Enea ; estas servian entre todos, como de Alfombras, que tendian, y tienden por los suelos, y son algunas tan lindas, y curiosas, tan labradas (de la misma Palma, y Juncia) que no se puede encarecer, y sirven à algunos de Tapices, y Paños de pared. Havia tambien Oficiales de curtir Cueros de Venado, Tigres, y Leones, y otros Animales, los quales adobaban maravillosamente, con pelo, y sin pelo, de todos colores, y tan blandos, que hacen oi Dia guantes de ellos. Demàs del calçado comun (que eran Sandalias de Cañamo de el Maguey, que es la cepa de su Vino) hacian tambien para los Señores, y Principales, mui pulidos y delicados Alpargates del mismo Cañamo, y Algodon, y algunos mui curiosos, mui pintados, y dorados, y para esto havia Oficiales mui aventajados, y primos.

Pero lo que parece mas de maravillar es, el Oficio, y Arte de labrar de Pluma, con sus mismos Naturales colores, asentada, de la misma manera, que pueden los mui primos, y pulidos Pintores, con delicados, y delgados pinceles. Solian en su Gentilidad hacer (y de presente hacen en algunas partes) muchas cosas de Pluma, como Aves, Animales, Hombres, y otras cosas mui delicadas, Capas, y Mantas, para cubrirse, y vestiduras para los Sacerdotes de sus Templos, Coronas, Mitras, Rodelas, y Mosqueadores, y otras cosas, como querian. Estas Plumas eran verdes, azules, coloradas, rubias, moradas, encarnadas, amarillas, pardas, negras, blancas, y finalmente de todas colores, no teñidas por algunas industrias Humanas, sino todas Naturales, como las crian varias, y diversas Aves ; y à esta causa tenian en grande precio, qualquiera especie de ellas, porque de todas se aprovechaban, hasta de los mas minimos, y pequeños Pajaritos. Pues si tratamos de el Tiempo presente, despues que vieron nuestras Imagenes, y otras cosas mui diferentes de las suias, como han tenido en ellas larga materia de estender la consideracion, y avivar los Ingenios ; es cosa maravillosa, con quanta perfeccion se exercitan, en aquella sutil Arte, y para nosotros mui nueva, haciendo Imagines, y Retablos ; y otras cosas de sus manos, dignas de ser presentadas à Principes, y Reies, y Sumos Pontifices ; como por mucho regalo, y estimacion se las han llevado †. Ai otra cosa de notable primor, en esta Arte de Plumeria, que si son veinte Oficiales, toman à hacer una Imagen todos ellos juntos, y dividen entre sì, por partes, la Imagen, y cada qual de ellos lleva à su casa la parte, que le cupo, en suerte, y la hace, sin vèr la que hace el otro, ni los matices, que le dà, ni colores con que la hermosea ; y despues de acabada, se buelven à juntar, y la componen, y pegan unas partes con otras, y queda, despues de toda junta, la figura, ò quadro, tan ajustado, è igual, en su proporcion, que no parece haver sido de diversas manos, sino de una sola, y sorteados los colores, con grandisimo cuidado.

* Ludolfus, in his *Ethiopian History*, says that the Jews of Africa fabricated beautifully wove vests.

† Garcia remarks that the art of painting with feathers, in which the Mexicans attained such great perfection, may be reckoned a lost art since the Phenicians practised it in early ages. "Lo que es mui digno de notar, en comprobacion de este dictamen, es el uso que tuvieron los Fenicios de la Pluma, para adornarse, segun Bocharto, i Fulero, i hacer Figuras, è Imagenes de ella : cuio Arte, con la destruicion de Tyro, i Fenicia pereciò en Asia, i aun no quedò reliquia de ella en Asia, ni Europa ; pero en las Indias Occidentales la hallaron los Españoles tan aumentada, i tan elegante, que los mas diestros quedaron pasmados de tan exquisita habilidad, como se ha referido, i prueban Aldrovando, que refiere algunas Pinturas de Pluma, i otros."

Y es mucho de notar, que lo mismo, que estos Oficiales hacen de Pluma, hacen otros mui comunes, y desechados, de hojas de Arboles, y Rosas, de diversos colores, que ni mas, ni menos, forman una Imagen de Santo, y hacen quadros de Armas, y letreros mui grandes, y vistosos, que representan mucha Magestad, en las açoteas, y puertas de Iglesia, en algunas Fiestas Principales, que celebran, asentando las hojas de los Arboles, y las de las Flores, y Rosas, con engrudo, sobre las esteras, ò Petates (que asi los llaman) conforme las colores, que pide cada parte de la figura, enriqueciendo el campo, y quadro con cien mil menudencias, el qual queda mui lindo; y despues de haver servido, en la ocasion, para que se hiço, se piden para adornar algunas salas, y aposentos; y de estos he dado io mucha cantidad, en especial, en la Capilla de San Joseph, del Convento de San Francisco, hechas para las Fiestas de estos dos Patrones; las quales piden algunos devotos, por su devocion, aunque despues con el tiempo se consumen.

Oficiales tenian, y tienen, de hacer Navajas de una cierta Piedra negra, ò Pedernal, que verlas sacar de la Piedra, es cosa de grande maravilla, y digna de mucha admiracion, y de ser alabado el ingenio, que inventò esta Arte. Hacense, y sacanse de la Piedra (si se puede dàr bien à entender) de esta manera. Sientase en el suelo un Indio, de estos Oficiales, y toma un pedaço de aquella Piedra negra (que es asi como Azabache, y dura, como Pedernal, y es Piedra, que se puede llamar preciosa, mas hermosa, y reluciente, que Alabastro, y Jaspe, tanto, que de ella se hacen Aras, y Espejos) * y este pedaço, que toman, es de un palmo de largo, ò poco mas, y de grueso como la pierna, ò poco menos, rolliço; tienen un palo del grueso de una lança, y largo, como tres codos, ò poco mas, al principio de este palo ponen mui pegado, y bien atado otro troçuelo, de un palmo (para que pese mas aquella parte) luego juntan ambos los pies descalços, y con ellos aprietan la piedra, como si fuese con tenaças, ò tornillos, de banco de Carpintero, y toman el palo, con ambas à dos manos, que tambien es llano, y tajado, y ponenlo à besar con el canto de la frente de la Piedra, que tambien es llana, y tajada, por aquella parte, y entonces aprietan àcia, el pecho, y con la fuerça, que hace, salta de la Piedra una Navaja con su punta, y filos de ambas partes, como si de un Nabo, ò Rabano la quisiesen formar, con un cuchillo, mui agudo, ò como si la formasen de Hierro al Fuego, y despues en la muela la aguçasen, y ultimamente la diesen mui delgados filos en las Piedras de afilar, y sacan estos Oficiales en un mui breve espacio de estas Piedras, por la manera dicha, mas de veinte Navajas. Salen de la misma forma, que son las que usan nuestros Barberos, para sangrar, salvo, que tienen un lomillo, por medio, y àcia las puntas salen algo combadas, con mucha graciosidad; cortan, y rapan el cabello de la primera vez, y con el primer tajo poco menos, que una Navaja acerada, pero al segundo corte pierden los filos, y luego es menester otra, y otra para acabar de rapar la barba, ò el cabello, aunque à la verdad son baratas, y asi no se siente gastarlas. Muchas veces se han afeitado muchos Españoles Seglares, y Religiosos, con ellas, en especial al principio de la Poblacion de estos Reinos, quando no abundaba la Tierra de los instrumentos necesarios, y Oficiales, que acuden oi à ella, de que viven, y con que se sustentan. Pero concluio, con decir, que verlas sacar, es cosa digna de admiracion, y no pequeño argumento de la viveça de los Ingenios de los Hombres, que tal manera de invencion hallaron.

Seccion VI. *de el Capitulo* II. *del tercero libro de* Garcia, sobre el Origen de los Indios.

De la Idolatrìa de los Judios, i Indios.

Quien leiere el Testamento Viejo, i las Historias de los Hebreos, verà quan inclinados eran los Judios à la Idolatrìa. En faltando Moises, luego idolatraron, como parece en el Exodo, adonde reprehendiendo el mismo Moises à Aaron, por què les havia dejado idolatrar? Respondiò: Tu conoces à este Pueblo, que es inclinado à la Idolatrìa. Algunos Doctores dicen, que entre otros Misterios, porque Dios apareciò à Moises en una Çarça, que ardia, i no se quemaba, fue porque no pudiesen hacer Idolos de ella, como los hicieran, si apareciera en otro Arbol. Porque à la Serpiente de Metal, que Moises hiço, la adoraron, i la guardaron hasta el tiempo del Rei Ezechias, que la mandò deshacer, i fundir, porque la daban los Hebreos honores Divinos, i idolatraban en ella. El Tostado advierte, que los Hebreos adoraban Idolos en Egypto, imitando à los Gitanos, que eran grandes Idolatras; i para probar esto, se aprovecha de lo que dice el Profeta Ezechiel debajo de una Metafora. Tambien prueba esto, diciendo, que si los Hebreos no

* We have seen a large mirror of this kind which was lately dug up in the city of Mexico.

estuvieran acostumbrados al culto de los Idolos, no pidieran luego, en saliendo de Egypto (ausente Moises) junto al Monte de Sinay, à Aaron, que les hiciese Dioses, à quien adorar. Lo tercero se prueba, porque sino estuvieran tan hechos à idolatrar, ni fueran tan inclinados à la Idolatrìa, no se la vedàra Dios tan à menudo, i con tanto encarecimiento, como parece desde el Exodo, hasta el fin de el Deuteronomio, i principalmente en este Libro del Deuteronomio. Finalmente concluie el Abulense, diciendo, que los Hebreos fueron oprimidos con trabajos, i dura servidumbre, porque si los dejàran en su libertad, no cesaran de acudir al Rito, i Ceremonias de sus Idolos. Y se ha de advertir, que el ser inclinados à la Idolatrìa, era mas comun en la Gente de los diez Tribus, como consta de lo que refiere la Sagrada Escritura en el Libro quarto de los Reies, Capitulo 17. de que ià hicimos mencion. Solo quiero que advierta el Lector, como refiere alli la Divina Escritura muchas cosas, que adoraban los Israelitas de los diez Tribus mui semejantes à las de los Indios, como era el Sol, Luna, i Estrellas, i Idolos, cuios Altares estaban hechos en Alturas, Collados, i Montes, adonde incensaban, i ofrecian sacrificio.

Yo entiendo que no huvo, ni ai Nacion en el Mundo tan inclinada à la Idolatrìa, como estos Indios eran en el tiempo de su Gentilidad, en lo qual parecen mucho à los Judios; porque aunque los Gentiles tuvieron infinidad de Idolos, i adoraban cosas sucias, i bajas, como era el Perro Osyris, i la Vaca Isis, que adoraban los Egypcios, i el Carnero Amon en los Desiertos de Libia: en Roma la Diosa Febrea de las Calenturas, i el Anser de Tarpeya: i en Atenas la Sabia, el Cuervo, i el Gallo, i otras semejantes bajeças, i burlerias, de que estàn llenas las Historias de la Gentilidad, viniendo en tan gran oprobrio, i bajeça los Hombres, por no haverse querido sujetar à la Lei de su Verdadero Dios, i Criador, como San Atanasio doctamente lo trata, escriviendo contra los Idolatras, [que como dijo Aurelio Prudencio:

Quidquid humus, quidquid Pelagus mirabile gignit,
Induxere Deos: Colles, freta, flumina, flammas.

Que en Castellano suena.

Quanto admirable engendraron
Tierra, i Mar, en Piel, i Escamas,
Estrechos, Montes, Rios, Llamas,
Para Dioses aplicaron.]

Mas en los Indios, especialmente del Perù, es cosa que espanta, i admira, i aun saca de juicio la rotura, i perdicion que huvo en esto, porque adoraban los Rios, Fuentes, Quebradas, Peñas ò Piedras grandes, Cerros, i Cumbres de Montes, que ellos llaman Apachitas, i lo tenian por cosa de gran devocion. Finalmente, qualquiera cosa de Naturaleça, que les parecia notable, i diferente de las demàs, la adoraban, como reconociendo alli alguna particularidad. En Cassamalca de Lanasca ai un Cerro grande de Arena, que fue principal Adoratorio de los Antiguos, que ellos llaman Guaca; i preguntado, què Divinidad hallaban alli? Responden, que aquella maravilla de ser un Cerro altisimo de Arena, enmedio de otros muchos, todos de Peña. Y à la verdad era cosa maravillosa pensar, como se puso tan gran pico de Arena enmedio de Montes espesisimos de Piedra. A este tono qualquiera cosa que tenga estrañeça entre las de su genero, les parecia que tenia Divinidad, hasta hacer eso con Pedreçuelas, i Metales, i aun con Raìces, i Frutos de la Tierra. Como en las Raìces que llaman Papas ai unas estrañas, à quien ellos ponen nombre Llallaguas, i las besaban, i adoraban. Adoraban tambien Osos, Leones, Tigres, i Culebras, porque no les hiciesen mal; i como son tales sus Dioses, asi son donosas las cosas que les ofrecen, quando los adoran. Usaban, quando iban de camino, echar en los mismos Caminos, ò encrucijados, en los Cerros, i principalmente en las Cumbres, Calçados viejos, i Plumas, Coca mascada, que es una Ierva como Çumaque, de que usan mucho: i quando no puden mas, siquiera una Piedra, i todo esto es como ofrenda para que los dejen pasar, i les dèn fuerças: i dicen, que las cobran con esto, como mas largamente se refiere en un Concilio Provincial de Lima, i en el Catecismo, que anda impreso por mandado del Concilio Provincial, que se celebrò en la sobredicha Ciudad Año de 1583. à donde se refieren inumerables idolatrìas, i supersticiones, que tenian los Indios del Perù. Pues los de Nueva-España fueron tan perdidos, i ciegos en esto, que nunca acabaràmos de numerar los Dioses que tenian. Solo digo lo que refiere Fr. Estevan de Salaçar en los Discursos del Credo, remitiendose à una *Historia, i Relacion de la Teologia de los Indios Mexicanos*, que tuvo en su poder, i se perdiò, i anegò en el naufragio de los Jardines Año de 1564. que de solos los borrachos tenia trecientos Dioses, con que quedarà probado, que no ha havido, ni ai Nacion mas dada à la Idolatrìa, que estos Indios, i por el consiguiente parecida à los Hebreos en esto de ser faciles para idolatrar.

Quien leiere al Profeta Ezechiel, verà como los Hebreos adoraban en los altos Montes, i levantados Collados: lo qual (como dije arriba) hacian sin faltar un punto los Indios del Perù, [como los demàs Gentiles.] Y porque aqui mi intento solo es probar, como en esto se parecen los Indios, i Hebreos, no quiero ser mas largo en contar Idolatrìas de los unos, i de los otros, remitiendome à lo que el P. Acosta, i otros han escrito de esta materia.

Seccion Ultima.

De el Vestido de los Indios, semejante al de los Judios.

Si bien se mira el Vestido que traen los Indios, particularmente en el Perù, es mui semejante al que traìan los Judios, porque usan de una Tunica, ò Camiseta, que es como Sobrepelliz sin mangas, i de una Manta rodeada encima. Traen por Calçado unas Sandalias, algunas hechas de suelas de Çapatos, i atadas por arriba, otras las suelas hechas de Cabuya, que es como Cañamo, con sus ataderos: i este Calçado es mucho mas usado en Nueva-España, como lo es en el Perù el Vestido que he dicho. Antiguamente traìan en el Perù el cabello largo, como los Naçareos, excepto los que llamaban Orejones, i oi Dia lo traen los que estàn por conquistar. Que aqueste aia sido el Trage, i Habito de los Hebreos, consta asi por sus Historias, como por Pinturas antiguas, que los pintan vestidos en este Trage. Y este Vestido, i Calçado traìan los Apostoles.

Estos dos Vestidos, Manta, i Camiseta, que traen los Indios en el Perù, eran los que puso en apuesta Sanson, que la Escritura llama *Tunicam, et Syndonem*, i es lo mismo que los Indios dicen en el Perù Cusma, i Pacha, i los Españoles Camiseta, i Manta.

Fr. Estevan de Salaçar dice, que los Caldeos usaban de una manera de Capuces, cuio es el Vocablo Capuz. Y cierto, que si bien se mira, difieren poco, à lo menos en la forma de la Camiseta de los Indios Peruanos, i del Guaypil, que traen de la misma hechura que la Camiseta, las Indias de Nueva-España; i menos se diferencian aquellos Capuces de los que traen las Indias de los Llanos del Perù. Fr. Agustin Davila, Arçobispo de Santo Domingo, refiere en su Historia Dominicana del Nuevo Mundo, como en un Pueblo, llamado Tamaçulapa, que es en la Misteca, se hallaron unas Vestiduras Sagradas, de el que ellos tenian por Sumo Sacerdote, mui semejantes à las que se ponian los Pontifices Maximos de la Lei de Moises, las quales tenian escondidas los Indios.

Capitulo III.

Como parecen los Indios à los Hebreos en muchas de sus Costumbres.

En este lugar havemos de tratar de las Costumbres de los Indios, i asi primero traerè exemplos de las que tenian los Hebreos, para que se vea como son mui semejantes, i parecidas à las de aquella Gente del Nuevo Mundo, que ese mismo orden he guardado en lo que hasta aqui he referido de los unos, i de los otros.

La Sagrada Escritura refiere, que Abraham alçò las manos al Cielo al Señor excelso, poseedor del Cielo, i Tierra, que era como juramento que hacia, de no tomar cosa alguna, grande, ni pequeña del despojo que havia tomado à los Reies, que vencieron à los de Sodoma.

Los Indios del Perù, si bien se echa de vèr, quando afirman, ò con eficacia dicen algo, miran al Cielo, i levantan àcia allà la mano, i la besan, jurando lo que quieren afirmar. Asi lo hiço aquel Mensagero, que fue à hablar à Guascar Inga, de quien hacen mencion las Historias de el Perù; i espero en Dios de hacerla Yo en mi *Monarquia de los Ingas*. Tambien hicieron esto los Señores, i Caciques, que fueron à hablar à Inga Yupangui, de quien tambien se tratarà en la sobredicha Monarquia, à que me remito, si sale à luz.

Costumbre era de los Hebreos, i durò hasta el tiempo de Christo Nuestro Señor, llamar Hermanos à los Parientes de segundo, i tercero grado de consanguinidad. Abraham (como parece en el Genesis) dijo à Loth: *Pues somos Hermanos, no es raçon, que entre nuestros Pastores, i nosotros aia discordias.* Y en el mismo Genesis llama la Escritura à Abraham Hermano de Loth, diciendo: *Como oiese Abraham que estaba cautivo su Hermano Loth.* Aqui le llamò Hermano la Escritura à Loth. Y esta misma nos enseña, que era Loth Sobrino de Abraham. Y asi la Divina Escritura, acomodandose à la costumbre, i modo de hablar, llama Hermanos à los primos Hermanos, i

Parientes. Y pues havèmos traìdo exemplos del Testamento Viejo, serà bueno que los traigamos tambien de el Nuevo. Por S. Mateo, S. Marcos, S. Lucas, i S. Juan, parece claro, como Santiago el Maior, i S. Juan Evangelista, Hijos del Zebedeo, i de Maria Salome: i Santiago el Menor, i S. Simon i Judas, Hijos de Maria Cleophe, se llamaban Hermanos de Christo Nuestro Señor, i sabemos que eran Primos hermanos suios, Hijos de Hermanas de Nuestra Señora. Los Indios (particularmente del Perù, de quien, como de Gente que tengo mas noticia, digo mas que de otros) tenian, i tienen oi Dia esta costumbre al pie de la letra, porque los Tios llaman Hermanos à los Sobrinos, i lo mismo es en los primos Hermanos. En el Genesis se dice, que Jacob adorò à su Hermano Esaù siete veces, postrado en Tierra, quando le saliò à recibir al Camino. Las palabras que aquesto refieren, reducidas al Castellano, son estas: *Y el mismo Jacob, saliendo à recibir à su Hermano Esaù, le adorò postrado en Tierra siete veces.* Y quando vino aquel Mensagero, de quien se hace mencion en el segundo de los Reies, à dar la nueva à David de la muerte de Saul, dice el Sagrado Texto, que se postrò en Tierra, i adorò à David. Tambien nos refiere el Evangelista S. Mateo, que llegò la Madre de los Hijos del Zebedeo à Christo Nuestro Señor, adorandole, i haciendo reverencias, como quien iba à pedir mercedes.

Estos Indios se humillan, postran, i hacen grandes reverencias, que en el Perù llaman mochas, quando vèn, i encuentran, i hablan à sus maiores, à los Sacerdotes que los doctrinan, i à quien quieren bien, ò deben respeto, i temor. Y aunque la reverencia, i postracion de rodillas que aora hacen los Indios de Nueva-España à los Sacerdotes, se la enseñò D. Fernando Cortès, Marquès del Valle, de felice memoria; pero Yo entiendo, que en alguna manera hacian algo de esto antiguamente, pues lo usan aora con los que no son Sacerdotes, como sean Personas de respeto. Todo lo qual se verifica al pie de la letra en los Indios del Perù.

Seccion I.

Donde se prosiguen las Costumbres de Indios, i de Hebreos.

En el Exodo cuenta la Sagrada Escritura, que ocupò el Rei Faraon en Egypto à los Hijos de Israel en Oficios viles, en lodo, pajas, i adobes. Pues esto mismo usaron los Indios en tiempo de su Gentilidad, como consta de las señales, i ruinas de algunos paredones de adobes, que han quedado en el Perù: i el Dia de oi se hacen en este Reino muchas Casas, i Edificios de adobes, los quales hacen los Indios, i los llevan acuestas de una parte à otra. Y en el mismo Exodo se dice, que les daban tareas à los Israelitas, i les hacian traer la paja para los adobes. Esto se hace puntualmente en el Perù, que les dàn tarea de veinte i cinco adobes cada Dia, i ellos traen la paja acuestas para el barro; i no solo se les señala tarea à los Indios en los adobes, sino tambien en qualquiera obra, ò material de ella, i en las cargas de Leña, i Ierva: porque es Gente tan floja, i tan para poco, que si esto no se hiciese, no valdria dos maravedis quanto trabajan, i hacen; i si algo hacen que no sea por tarea, es menester que el Amo, i Dueño de la obra, ò hacienda, estè presente, i les dè un grito, i gritos: en lo qual parecen bien à los Judios, que son Gente para poco trabajo; i asi solemos decir: *No son Judios para trabajo.* Y aunque Faraon daba à los Hebreos tarea para oprimirlos mas; pero Yo tengo para mi, que como los viò tan flojos, i tan para poco, que debiò de señalarla por esta causa.

La Sagrada Escritura dice en el Exodo, que los Hebreos estimaban en mas los Ajos, i Cebollas, i Ollas podridas que comian en Egypto, que no el Manà, que sabia al Manjar que querian, i deseaban: i asimismo deseaban mas estar en aquella esclavonìa, i vivienda trabajosa, i miserable que alli tenian, que ir à la Tierra de Promision.

Asi estos Indios estiman mas una poca de Chicha, que es su Vino, i unas Raìces, i Iervas para comer, que quantos regalos les pueden hacer, i dar los Españoles; i con estar tan oprimidos, i metidos en pretina (como dicen) en tiempo de su Gentilidad, i tener aora mucha libertad, con todo eso tienen por mejor vida aquella, que no la que tienen aora: la qual, sin comparacion es mejor, i de mucha mas libertad, descanso, i regalo, asi para el alma, como para el cuerpo.

Josepho Judio dice, que las piedras de las Torres, i Muros de Jerusalem estaban tan artificiosamente puestas, i juntas unas con otras, que con ser las piedras de Marmol, no se parecian las junturas.

Edificios de aquesta manera huvo en el Perù, i aun hasta aora han perseverado en el Cuzco, donde estaba la Casa Real de los Ingas, i el Templo del Sol, que aora es Capilla Maior del Convento de Santo Domingo, que en

aquella Ciudad està fundado en las mismas Casas de los Ingas; en Tiaguanaco, i Tambo, i en las que aora sirven de Ventas en el Camino Real del Perù, començando desde Pasto, que en Lengua de Inga llaman Tambos, han tambien perseverado algunos pedaços, i pieças enteras, cuia labor es estraña, i para espantar; porque no usaban de mezcla, ni tenian Hierro, ni Acero para cortar, i labrar las piedras, ni maquinas, ni Instrumentos para traerlas, i con todo eso estàn tan pulidamente labradas, i juntas con tal artificio, que en muchas partes apenas se vèn las junturas de unas con otras.

En el Exodo se cuenta, como Moises, por consejo de Iethro, haviendo escogido los mas fuertes, i esforçados Varones de todo Israel, los señaló, i hiço Principes de todo el Pueblo, ordenando, que unos fuesen Tribunos, que como explica el Tostado en el mismo lugar, tenian à su cargo mil, otros Centenarios, que tenian ciento, otros Quinquagenarios que tenian cinquenta. Otros Decanos, que tenian diez: los Decanos, segun el Tostado, estaban sujetos à los Quinquagenarios, i estos á los Centenarios, i los Centenarios à los Tribunos. Y despues en los Numeros se refiere, que fueron contados, i repartidos por Familias los Hebreos, que havian de ser para la Guerra. Y esto de haver Tribunos, Centenarios, &c. se conservò siempre en el Pueblo de Israel. David tuvo Tribunos, i Centenarios, como consta del Paralipomenon. Este mismo orden se guardò hasta los Macabeos, en cuia Historia se halla, que Judas Macabeo ordenò Tribunos de mil Hombres, i Centuriones, que tuviesen cargo de ciento, i Penthecontarchos, que tuviesen cargo de cinquenta, i Decurios, que tuviesen cada uno cargo de diez Hombres.

Este mismo orden tenian los Indios en todas las Provincias, particularmente en el Perù, adonde estaba la Gente repartida de esta manera: que havia Decuriones, cada uno de los quales tenia à su cargo diez, i se llamaba Chunca. Havia Centuriones, que cada uno tenia à su cargo cien Indios, i se llamaba Pachac. Havia Milenarios, que cada uno tenia cargo de mil, que eran diez Centurias con sus Principales, llamabase Guaranca. Havia, finalmente, otros Principales, que mandaban à diez mil, el nombre de los quales era Hun: i aun oi Dia persevera esto, de haver Familias, i repartimientos, no solo en el Perù, pero tambien en las demàs Provincias, como mas largamente lo dirèmos en la septima Opinion.

Seccion II.

Como era costumbre de los Judios, i los Indios enterrarse en Montes.

Costumbre era, i mui antigua de los Judios enterrarse fuera de la Ciudad en los Montes: i estos Sepulcros eran como Casas, ò Bodegas, ò Bobedas, dentro de las quales havia unas Cabernas, labradas en peñas, ò encamaradas con piedra, ò ladrillo, adonde podian estar muchos cuerpos de difuntos. La raçon porque estos Sepulcros, estaban en los Montes fuera de la Ciudad, era (como lo dice el Tostado) porque aquellos lugares eran, segun las Leies Humanas, consagrados, i dedicados para este ministerio. Y asi no era licito hacer alli alguna cosa profana, como es labrar la Tierra para sembrar, ò plantar Arboles en ella, sino que havia de estar aquella Tierra intacta, por el honor i reverencia del Sepulcro Humano, que en ella estaba. Aaron se enterró en el Monte Hor, como parece en los Numeros. Josue fue sepultado en el Monte de Efraim; i en el mismo Monte fue sepultado Eleaçar, Sumo Sacerdote, Hijo de Aaron. Los Varones de Jabes Galaad, sepultaron à Saul, i à sus Hijos en la Montaña de Jabes; i despues por mandado de el Rei David, fueron trasladados los Hijos de Saul, i de su Hijo Jonatàs, à la halda de cierto Monte en la Tierra de Benjamin. Tambien los Macabeos, que fueron Varones mui Ilustres, i Principes de los Judios, fueron sepultados en un Monte de la Ciudad de Modin. Y aun esta costumbre hallamos, que durò hasta el Tiempo de Christo Nuestro Señor, como parece por aquellos endemoniados, de quien hacen mencion S. Mateo, S. Marcos, i S. Lucas: i dicen, que salieron de los Sepulcros; porque dice el Abulense, que estaban estos Sepulcros en unos Montes: i el fundamento que para esto tiene, es lo que dice S. Marcos de aquellos Demonios, que estaban siempre de Noche, i de Dia en los Sepulcros, i Montes: dando à entender, que lo proprio era estar en los Sepulcros que en los Montes. Y finalmente, el Sepulcro de Christo Nuestro Señor estaba fuera de la Ciudad, junto al Monte Calvario, adonde fué crucificado: porque haviendo padecido fuera de la Ciudad (como dice S. Pablo) era tambien conveniente fuese sepultado fuera de la Ciudad, conforme à la costumbre antigua de los Hebreos [con quien se conformaron los Romanos, i lo establecieron en las Leies de las doce Tablas, i otras Naciones.]

En esto parecen los Indios à los Judios, que se solian enterrar en Montes, i lugares altos: i los Indios de los Llanos del Perù, por no tener Montes, porque son Arenales, los hacian de la misma Tierra, i Arena, [*i sumptuosos*

(como dice el Autor del Compendio, i Descripcion de Indias) *i al presente se vèn ruinas de sus sobervios Edificios: demàs de lo qual, por toda la Sierra del Perù estàn los Campos llenos de Sepulcros, à modo de Torrecillas, que al presente estàn llenos de Calaveras, i de Cuerpos de aquellos Gentiles, que con el uniforme temperamento, i sutiles Aires estàn secos, è incorporados: que los unos, i los otros he visto, i confirmaràn esta verdad todos los que hàn andado por aquellos Reinos;* i añade haver tomado esta costumbre los Indios, i los Moros de los Hebreos.] Y oi Dia muchos Indios, particularmente viejos, ò infieles, desentierran secretamente sus difuntos de las Iglesias, i Cementerios, i los entierran en Cerros, i Montes altos.

Seccion III.

De otras cosas, que refiere la Sagrada Escritura de los Hebreos, semejantes à las que hicieron los Indios.

Costumbre era entre los Hebreos, quando recibian pena, i pesar de alguna cosa, romper la vestidura que traìan, como consta de muchos lugares de la Sagrada Escritura. Quando supo David la desastrada muerte de Saul, dice el Sagrado Texto, que tomando David su vestidura, la rompiò, i lo proprio hicieron los que con èl estaban. Tambien leemos, que quedò esta costumbre hasta el tiempo de Christo Nuestro Señor, como parece por San Mateo: porque estando el Salvador delante de Caifas, Principe de los Sacerdotes, i diciendo que havian de vèr al Hijo del Hombre venir en las Nubes (refiere el Sagrado Texto) que entonces el Principe de los Sacerdotes Caifas, rompiò su vestidura, mostrando en esto la pena, i dolor, que havia recibido de oìr aquello, que èl tuvo por blasfemia; i asi dijo: *Blasphemavit*, que es, blasfemò.

Aquesto mismo hacian los Indios, como se verà en la *Monarquia de los Ingas del Perù*, que muchas veces he prometido sacar à luz. En la qual se dice, que como supiese Guaynacapac, que su Hijo Atahualpa venia retirandose i huiendo del Campo contrario, rompiò su vestidura, rasgandola por delante.

Item, era costumbre en los Judios dar un beso en el carrillo, en señal de paz, i amor, lo qual hiço Judas con Christo Nuestro Señor, aunque este fue beso de paz falsa, i mentirosa, pues era señal para entregarlo à los Judios, i para que lo conociesen.

Aquesto usaron tambien los Indios, como se verà en la *Monarquia*, donde se cuenta, que quando recibiò Inca Yupanqui à su Padre Viracocha Inca, despues de haverlo hospedado, i hechas las Ceremonias, i Fiestas del Casamiento del nuevo Rei, se levantò Viracocha Inca, i abraçó á la Reina, i la besò en el carrillo. Quando vinieron de la Conquista Yanqui, Yupanqui, i Topainca Yupanqui, Hijos de Pachacuti Inca, les diò un beso en el carrillo en señal de amor. En la misma Monarquia se dice, que Yanqui Yupanqui, Nieto de Pachacuti Inca, le diò un beso en el carrillo à su Tio Topainca, en señal de amor.

En el primer Libro de los Reies refiere la Sagrada Escritura, que bolviendo David victorioso, por haver muerto al Filisteo, llevò su cabeça à Jerusalem, i salieron al encuentro de Saul Mugeres de todas las Ciudades de Israel, cantando, i haciendo Danças de placer, las quales iban delante cantando la Victoria, que David havia tenido contra Saul, i diciendo, *Saul matò à mil, i David à diez mil.*

En nuestra Monarquia de los Ingas se dirà, como haviendo vencido Pachacuti Inga à los Indios Soras, ordenò, i compuso un Cantar, el qual contenia la Victoria, que de ellos havia tenido, i mandó que lo cantasen las Mugeres de los Señores, i Orejones, que eran los grandes de su Reino. Y quando el mismo Pachacuti Inga llegò victorioso de los sobredichos Indios Soras à vista de la Ciudad del Cuzco, mandò, que sus Capitanes entrasen cantando las cosas, que en la Jornada havian sucedido, i la victoria que havian tenido.

Item, era costumbre de los Judios echar del Templo las Mugeres esteriles, i que no parian, las quales eran repudiadas, i tenidas en poco, i vivian como afrentadas.

Aquesta costumbre me contò un Religioso de mi Orden, que tenian los Indios del Reino Çapoteca en la Nueva-España.

Seccion IV.

Como los Judios, i los Indios hicieron sacrificio de Niños.

En los Libros de los Reies refiere la Sagrada Escritura, que el Rei de Moab sacrificó à su primogenito Hijo sobre el Muro, à vista de los de Israel, à los quales pareciò este hecho tan triste, i lamentable, que no quisieron apretarle mas, i asi se bolvieron à sus Casas. Pero mas en particular refiere la misma Escritura la costumbre que tenian los Hebreos de los diez Tribus, de sacrificar Niños, como consta del contexto del Capitulo 17. de el sobredicho Libro de los Reies. Este mismo genero de crueldad, i sacrificio refiere la Divina Escritura haverse usado entre aquellas Naciones barbaras de Cananeos, i Gebuseos, i los demas, de quien escrive el Libro de la Sabiduria, que sacrificaban à sus Hijos ; i David se queja, que de estos aprendieron los de Israel sus Costumbres, i en particular sacrificar sus Hijos, i Hijas á los Demonios; i asi dice el mismo profeta: Y *sacrificaron sus Hijos, i Hijas à los Demonios.* Hieremias tambien hace mencion de aquesto mismo; aunque en la manera de matar, i sacrificar à sus Hijos, variaban los Hebreos, como lo advierte Genebrardo: porque unas veces los sacrificaban, matandolos con fuego, como se dice de Manases, que pasò à su Hijo por el fuego; i de Acaz, que consagrò, i sacrificò su Hijo, pasandole tambien por el fuego. Otras veces los sacrificaban degollandolos, que eso quiere decir David en aquellas palabras: Y *derramaron la sangre inocente, i sin culpa,* aunque parece que los quemaban despues, que como nota Genebrardo, en esto ai varias opiniones entre los Hebreos, diciendo algunos, que despues de haver muerto à aquellos Niños en sacrificio, los quemaban sobre las Aras, à imitacion, i exemplo de Abraham, que asi instituiò ofrecer en sacrificio à Dios su Hijo Isaac. Otros dicen, que encerrados, i metidos dentro de cierta concavidad, i hueco del Idolo, los quemaban en el mismo Idolo, encendido con el fuego, mientras los que estaban presentes al espectaculo hacian ruido, i estruendo, i tocaban los Tambores, ò Atabales, para que no se oiesen las voces del Niño. Otros (como son Rabi Salomon, i Kymhi) dicen, que los pasaban por medio de las llamas de dos fuegos, ò hogueras, teniendolos de una parte el Padre del Niño, i de la otra los Ministros del Sacrificio, hasta que el fuego le consumia: [de este parecer es Rabi Moises, Hijo de Naamàn, en los Comentarios del Pentateuco, aunque Rabi Salomon Jarchi, i Moises Maimonides intentan disimular esta maldad, afirmando, que solo los pasaban por las llamas: i asi disculpa à Achaz Teodoreto.] Pero sea como mandaren, que lo que sabemos cierto es, que los Judios sacrificaban sus Hijos, como ià lo diximos arriba, con autoridad de la Sagrada Escritura, i de lo que David, i Hieremias dicen à este proposito.

Aunque el sacrificar sus Hijos à los Dioses lo usaron otras Naciones de Gentiles (como se ha dicho) pero pues havemos referido esta perversa, i cruel Costumbre, que huvo entre los Judios, por què no dirèmos que de ellos, como de sus ascendientes la tomarian los Indios del Perú, que la guardaron al pie de la letra? De las Historias, que tratan del Perù, antes que fuese conquistado por nuestros Españoles, he sacado, que sacrificaban los Indios sus Hijos, por negocios que importaban al Inga, como en enfermedades suias, para alcançarle salud. Tambien quando iba à la Guerra, por la Victoria: i quando le daban la Borla al nuevo Inga, que era la Insignia de Rei, como acà el Cetro, ò Corona: en esta solemnidad sacrificaban cantidad de docientos Niños, de quatro à diez Años. Tambien quando moria Inga sacrificaban muchos Niños, los quales dice Juan de Betanços, que havian de ser mil, porque asi lo ordenò, i mandò Pachacuti Inga, antes que muriese. Estos Niños havian de ser varones, i hembras, traidos de todo el Reino, i algunos de ellos Hijos de Caciques, i Principales, para que apareados macho con hembra, bien vestidos, i con el servicio, i baxilla de Oro, que como casados, i Gente que havia de ir à servir à su Rei, i Señor, havian menester, fuesen enterrados en las partes donde el Inga huviese estado de asiento, hechando tambien algunos de ellos en la Mar. A estas partes, i lugares los llevaban cada par por si, macho, i hembra, con mucha veneracion en unas Andas, para ser de esta suerte ofrecidos en sacrificio por su Rei, i Señor; i à este sacrificio llamaban Capac Cocha, que quiere decir, *sacrificio solemne.* Gomara dice, que sacrificaban Niños los Indios del Nuevo Reino de Granada: [i los mismos sacrificios, que entre los Judios, hallò Benjamin de Tudela entre los Indios Asiaticos de la Isla de Chenaragà, ò Chingara.]

De lo que refiere la Divina Escritura en el quarto Libro de los Reies, Capitulo 17. consta, quan grandes Agoreros, i Supersticiosos eran los Judios, i particularmente la Gente de los diez Tribus: à lo qual eran mui dados los Indios (à lo que entiendo) mas que ninguna Nacion, como se puede vèr en el Catecismo de los Indios, que arriba citamos. [Los Judios eran tan mentirosos, que dice Andrès Gail ser proprio de ellos engañar: aunque Dios

les havia mandado decir verdad, tantas veces; i los Indios mienten tanto, qué nada se puede creer de lo que dicen, como queda dicho, i trae Herrera. Los Judios eran inconstantes, i ligeros: i nada tenian los Indios en que mas se les pareciesen. Los Judios eran ruines, i en extremo grado vengativos: i en una, i en otra calidad no hacian ventaja à los Indios: ni tampoco en ser crueles con los vencidos; lo qual prueba de los Judios, Beierlinck, i de los Indios Garcilaso, que dice: *Dios nos libre del furor de los Indios,* como queda ià referido. Hortensio dice, que los Judios son invencioneros, i noveleros, i no ai Nacion que exceda à los Indios en esto, como afirma Herrera, que en diferentes partes de su Historia asegura tambien ser holgaçanes, pereçosos, sortilegos, sucios, embaidores, reboltosos incorregibles, i viciosisimos, señas todas de Judios, à quien, como se và probando, deben su Origen.

Los Indios de Iucatàn ahogaban en un Poço los Perros que criaban para su regalo (i llamaban Tzomes) lo qual nota de abuso Judaico, prohibido por San Pablo, el Doctor Pedro Sanchez de Aguilar.

Entre los Judios eran mui frequentes los Baños: i entre los Indios havia pocos que no los usasen, i con tanta barbaridad algunos, que se mataban con ellos, segun nota Herrera: i aunque Torquemada dice, que esta no es Ceremonia Judaica, tienen por cierto algunos, que de los Judios los tomaran las otras Naciones: i de ellos, segun Dionisio Cartusiano, el malvado Mahoma puso en su Alcoràn, lo que anteriormente usaban los Indios. La veneracion con que los Indios se acercaban à los Templos, descalçandose, no solo para entrar, sino cien pasos antes de llegar à ellos, como Garcilaso advierte, parece derivada de los Judios, que celebraban descalços las Funciones sagradas: i tambien lo aplicó Mahoma à los Suios, los quales no pueden entrar en las Mezquitas calçados. Tambien entre los Judios era gran ignominia rapar el cabello, i entre los Indios era la maior afrenta: i entre las Gentes fue señal de esclavitud, segun S. Cirilo, i otros: por esto domada Africa dijo Propertio:

Testor maiorum cineres tibi, Roma, colendos,
Quorum sub Titulis Africa *tonsa* iacet.

Y Claudiano:

Militet ut nostris *detonsa* Sicambria signis.

Y Lucano:

Et nunc *tonse* Ligur.

Y al contrario fue obstentacion de libertad criar el cabello proprio entre los Griegos, Franceses, Godos, i otras Naciones, i puede ser tuviese este Origen cuidar tanto en algunas partes los Indios de èl, como dice Lorenço Beierlinck.

Bien notorio es, como entre las penas, i tormentos que tenian los Judios para castigar los malhechores, era muerte de Cruz: la qual era tan ordinaria, i comun en delitos graves, que quando sentenciaban à uno à muerte, ò la Divina Escritura dice, el que hiciere tal, ò tal pecado, muera por ello, se entiende muerte de Cruz: aunque es verdad que tenian otros dos generos de muerte, que eran apedrear, i quemar.

En la Historia del Perù se dice, que en una Provincia, que està debajo de la Equinocial, i en las faldas de ella havia muchos Templos, en algunos de los quales, especialmente en los Pueblos que llaman de Passao, tenian en todos los Pilares de ellos Hombres, i Niños crucificados, i los cuerpos tan bien curados, que no olian mal.

Seccion V.

De un Viage que hicieron los Indios Mexicanos, semejante al del Pueblo Israelitico.

De la Historia Mexicana, i lo que refieren el P. Acosta, i Fr. Augustin Davila, Arçobispo de Santo Domingo, consta, como los de aquesta Nacion tuvieron otro Viage, i Peregrinacion, semejante al que tuvieron los Hijos de Israel; [i tanto, que no falta quien diga haverle fingido los Indios, haviendo oìdo este.] Porque se dice, que esta Gente Mexicana (que fueron los que aportaron à Nueva-España, de la septima Cueva, ò Linage) saliò de las Provincias Aztlàn, i Theuculhuacan, por mandado del Idolo, llamado Vitzilopuztli, ò por mejor decir, de el Demonio, que estaba en este Idolo, à quien ellos adoraban por Dios. Este, pues, les mandò salir de su Tierra, prometiendoles, que los haria Principes, i Señores de todas las Provincias, que havian poblado las otras seis Naciones, que antes de ellos havian salido: que les daria Tierra mui abundante, mucho Oro, Plata, Piedras preciosas, Plumas, i Mantas ricas. Con esto salieron, llevando à su Idolo metido en una Arca de Juncos, la qual

llevaban quatro Sacerdotes Principales, con quien èl comunicaba, i decia en secreto los sucesos de su camino, avisandoles lo que les havia de suceder, dandoles Leies, i enseñandoles Ritos, i Ceremonias, i *Sacrificios*, haciendo que del Cielo lloviese Pan, i sacando de el Pedernal Aguas para que bebiesen, i otras maravillas, semejantes à las que Dios hiço en el Pueblo Israelitico. No se movian un punto, sin parecer, ni mandato de este Idolo: quando havian de caminar, i quando parar, i donde èl lo decia, i ellos puntualmente obedecian. Lo primero que hacian, donde quiera que paraban, era edificar Casa para su falso Dios, i ponianle siempre enmedio del Real que asentaban, puesta el Arca siempre sobre un Altar, hecho al mismo modo que le usa la Iglesia Christiana. Hecho esto, hacian su sementera de Pan, i de las demàs Legumbres que usaban; pero estaban tan puestos en obedecer à su Dios, que si èl tenia por bien que se cogiese, lo cogian: i si no, en mandandoles alçar su Real, alli se quedaba todo para semilla, i sustento de los viejos, i enfermos, i Gente cansada, que iban, dejando de proposito, donde quiera que poblaban, pretendiendo con esto, que toda la Tierra quedase poblada de su Nacion.

Quien no dirà que parece esta salida, i peregrinacion de los Mexicanos, à la salida de Egypto, i camino que hicieron los Hijos de Israel? Pues aquellos, como estos fueron amonestados à salir, i buscar Tierra de Promision: i los unos, i los otros llevaban por Guia à su Dios, i consultaban el Arca, le hacian Tabernaculo: i asi les avisaba, i daba Leies, i Ceremonias, i asi los unos, como los otros, gastaron gran numero de Años en llegar à la Tierra prometida: que en esto, i en otras muchas cosas ai semejança de lo que las Historias de los Mexicanos refieren, à lo que la Divina Escritura cuenta de los Israelitas, i sin duda es ello asi. No quiero ser mas largo en contar mas Costumbres, i cosas de la inclinacion, i natural de los Indios, remitiendome en esto à lo que otros Autores han escrito: demàs, de que lo que he referido es à nuestro proposito, dejando lo que no lo es, para otro lugar que alli lo serà. Solo digo, que con todo lo que he dicho, i referido en estos fundamentos, i lo que despues dirè en la tercera objeccion de esta Opinion, havrèmos probado, no scientifica, sino probablemente, que nuestros Indios proceden de los Hebreos, particularmente de aquellos diez Tribus, que se perdieron, de quien Esdras hace mencion.

Capitulo V.

De la segunda objeccion contra la quinta Opinion, donde se trata de la invencion de las Letras.

La segunda objeccion, que Yo hallo, es, que si los Indios descendieran de Hebreos, usaran de Letras, como ellos las usaron, i fueron mui curiosos en ellas: i aun segun opinion de algunos, los primeros inventores.

A esta objeccion respondo, que la misma duda, i dificultad se puede poner de qualquiera Nacion de que ellos procedan, i de qualquiera de las tres Partes del Mundo, Europa, Asia, i Africa, que partiesen los primeros Pobladores à las Indias, de do supusimos al principio que havian de salir, ora fuese este Viage por Mar, ora por Tierra, ora con determinacion propria, ora por la Mar, con fuerça de Vientos, i Tormentas, ora con peligros, i echados de otros, por Tierra; porque la invencion de las Letras es mui antigua, que segun opinion de algunos, fue Adam el que las inventó, i enseñó à sus Hijos, i Nietos. Fundanse estos Autores, en lo que dice Diodoro Siculo, que los Caldeos, en cuia Tierra fue Babilonia la Cabeça, fueron grandes Astrologos, i que tuvieron Letras mas antiguas que el Grande Alexandro, por quarenta i tres mil Años, que siendo menstruales (como enseña Xenofonte) resultan cerca de tres mil i seiscientos i treinta i quatro de los Solares: los quales contados, retrocediendo con ellos, i bolviendo al tiempo pasado, llegarèmos al de Adàm. El Tostado cree, que Adàm usò de Letras, i escriviò algunas cosas, que despues con el Diluvio perecieron, [i le sigue el erudito Varon D. Gabriel Alvarez Pellicer, i otros; i Platon no admite otro inventor, que à Dios, haciendo incapaces à los Ingenios Humanos de discurrir tan rara, i tan util sutileça, que parece echò el sello à todas las invenciones, como dice Galileo; i Matute afirma, que se debiò à los Angeles.] Plinio, por no saber quien fue el inventor de las Letras Asirias, ò Fenicias, dice que son eternas, ò sempiternas. Josepho dice, que los Hijos de Seth inventaron las Letras. Suidas afirma, que el mismo Seth las inventò. Genebrardo, i el Coronista Honorio, i Pedro Comestor, tienen por mui cierto, que Enoch las inventó. Y fundanse estos Autores en lo que Judas Tadeo dice en su Epistola Canonica de Enoch, que profetiçò el Diluvio, i el fin del Mundo; infiriendo de aqui, que esta profecìa la dejaria escrita, como lo sienten S. Geronimo, S. Augustin, Origenes, Tertuliano, Beda, i otros muchos, entre los quales Annio sobre Beroso, aplica à Enoch la Escritura que refiere Josepho de la profecìa de Adam, que escrivieron los hijos de Seth en dos Colunas, una de Ladrillo,

i otra de Piedra; i tiene Annio mucha razon, porque haviendo dicho Josepho, que Adam profetizò el Diluvo, i el fin del Mundo; i que los Hijos de Seth lo escrivieron en dos Colunas; i luego, citando Judas Tadeo esta profecìa de Enoch, claramente se colige, que Enoch fue el que la escriviò: i por el consiguiente, desde su tiempo ai Letras en el Mundo, las quales quedaron en Noè por sucesion; i asi vinieron de mano en mano al Pueblo Israelitico: i Heber las supo, i las enseñò; i dame animo à creer, que tienen esta antigüedad. Beroso refiere, que en tiempo de Noè, antes que se fabricase el Arca, huvo muchos que predicaban el Diluvio, que havia de venir, con que todo el Mundo havia de perecer, i que esto lo dejaron escrito en Piedras. Dice mas Beroso, que Noè dejò escrito en una Piedra lo que sucediò en el Diluvio, para memoria de sus Descendientes. De donde se infiere la antigüedad de las Letras, i como todos tuvieron noticia de ellas, por la que los Hijos de Noè darian en las Partes que poblaron, que (como arriba diximos) fueron las Partes del Mundo Viejo, Asia, Africa, i Europa. Y aunque se lee de algunas Naciones, que usaron de Geroglificos, como los Egypcios, i de Pinturas, como los Cartagineses; pero Yo entiendo, que tenian tambien Letras, ò Caractères para su comunicacion, i trato. A lo menos de los Egypcios, asi lo siente Pierio; i de los Cartagineses tampoco ai duda, antes la ai, si dejaron de usar de Letras, por usar de Pinturas, ò si juntamente con las Letras usaron tambien de Pinturas; porque para creer que usaron de Letras, ai muchos Testigos: i para las Pinturas, no he hallado mas de Alexio Vanegas; con cuia autoridad hicimos un fundamento probable para la quarta Opinion (fuera de lo que se dirà adelante.) Y siendo esto asi, concluio con lo que en esta solucion comencè: *que de qualquiera Parte, i Nacion que procedan, i vengan los Indios, havian de usar de Letras;* las quales he hallado que tuvieron los primeros Pobladores de Indias; porque Pedro de Cieça refiere, como era fama en su tiempo, que en unos Edificios de Vinaque, de que arriba hicimos mencion, se hallò una Losa con algunas Letras; i en las Opiniones que se siguen, dirèmos como en otras Partes del Perù, i de Nueva-España se hallaron Letras en Piedras, i Pilares. Y asi me parece, que como los Griegos en mucho tiempo no tuvieron Letras (segun Platon, i otros Autores refieren) por aquel gran Diluvio de Deucalion, en el qual pereciò toda la Grecia, con las buenas Artes, [aunque los Eretrios, que Dario llevò junto à Babilonia, mucho tiempo despues conservaban Lengua, i Letras, 500 Años antes que Apolonio pasase por alli:] asi los Indios las perdieron por su larga peregrinacion, i viage tan prolijo, i trabajoso, ò por algun Diluvio, Peste, ò Guerras; como ordinariamente todas las buenas Artes han perecido, ò por Diluvios, ò Pestilencias, ò Guerras. De nuestra España sabemos, que se perdieron en ella las Letras con la venida de los Godos: en cuio tiempo resucitaron con harto trabajo, hasta la destruicion, que por ella vino en tiempo del Rei D. Rodrigo. Y lo mismo aconteciò quando entraron los Moros en España; pero en lugar de Letras usaron los del Perù de unos Ramales, ò Cuerdas, con muchos nudos de diversas colores; i los de Nueva-España, de Pinturas, como mas largamente lo referimos en la quarta Opinion. Tertuliano llama Caldeas à las Antiguas Letras: conviene à saber, à las Pinturas, i Geroglificos de los Egypcios. Y (como dice Covarrubias en sus Emblemas Morales) tiene raçon, por haverlas aprendido de los Caldeos, i estos de los antiguos Hebreos. Luego segun esto, no es maravilla que los Indios usasen de Pinturas, que son como Geroglificos, en lugar de Letras, pues descienden de Hebreos, segun esta quinta Opinion.

Capitulo VI.

De la tercera objeccion, donde se refieren Ritos, i Ceremonias, semejantes à las de los Hebreos.

La tercera objeccion, que algunos ponen, es, que si los Indios fueran descendientes de aquellos diez Tribus de los Hebreos, no dejàran caer de todo punto su Lei, Ritos, i Ceremonias, en que ellos siempre fueron mui puntuales, i observantes.

A esto respondo, que (como en otra parte dixe) la Gente de los diez Tribus era mui inclinada al mal, è idolatrìa, i pasando por donde havia tantas Naciones de Gentiles, i Idolatras, con quien necesariamente havian de comunicar, i tratar, i de quien havian de ser hospedados, es cosa llana, que en tan grande ocasion se les pegaria algo, i aun mucho, como se les pegò en Egypto; porque si tratando con la demàs Gente de el Pueblo escogido de Dios, con mui pequeña, i leve ocasion fueron Idolatras, què maravilla es, que lo fuesen donde todos lo eran, i por el consiguiente perdiesen su Lei, i Ceremonias, como nos consta que han hecho en Inglaterra, Alemania, i otras Partes, cuios moradores fueron observantisimos de la Christiana Religion, i Lei Evangelica, i por seguir su torpe apetito, i libertad, la han perdido, i dejado caer, de tal manera que no tienen rastro de Christianos? (no trato de los Cato-

licos que entre ellos ai) de lo qual puedo ser Yo testigo, porque vì, i oì que hicieron en Cartagena de las Indias, en Nombre de Dios, i en otros Puertos de las Indias, que han tomado, tan abominables cosas, i tan grande estrago en las Imagenes, i Templos, que por la reverencia que se les debe, no quiero referirlas aqui, sino sentirlas, i pedir à Dios castigo de ellas. En lo qual son estos Ingleses peores que Hereges, porque el Herege confiesa algo de lo que cree la Santa Madre Iglesia Catolica, i esto lo mezcla con errores, i heregias; pero esta maldita canalla de Ingleses no muestran tener cosa alguna de Catolicos, i Christianos, i asi para no tener este nombre, no se bautiçan; de los quales vì Yo algunos en Panamà. Y conocì un Personage grave de la misma Nacion, que haviendo desembocado por el Estrecho de Magallanes, i corrido la costa del Mar del Sur, fue preso de Don Beltràn de la Cueva, Cuñado de el Marques de Cañete, que à la saçon era Virrei en el Perù, se hallò, i se supo por su misma confesion, que no era bautiçado. Pero siendo informado, instruìdo, i catequiçado en la Fè Catolica, se bautiçò à su peticion, i fue su Padrino el sobredicho D. Beltràn de la Cueva. Asi que no es dificultoso de persuadir dejasen caer los Hebreos de los diez Tribus su Lei, i Ceremonias, metidos en tan grandes ocasiones, ò por vivir à sus anchuras, i no estar ligados, i atados con tantos Preceptos, como havia en la Vieja Lei. Con todo eso, inquiriendo, i examinando esto, con mucho cuidado, he hallado, que guardaron los Indios algunas Ceremonias, i Preceptos de la Lei antigua, que guardaban los Hebreos.

Quanto lo primero, en todos los Reinos, i Provincias de los Reinos Occidentales, tenian Sacerdotes dedicados al culto de sus Dioses, i ministerio de los Templos. Y es cosa de notar, que en tanta diversidad de Reinos, i diferencia de Lenguas, de Ceremonias, de Ritos, i de Leies, ninguno de ellos dejò de tener Sacerdotes. Y si no me engaño, no huvo entre los Gentiles Nacion que tan observante fuese como los Indios, en lo qual parecen bien à los Judios, i en la autoridad, i sucesion del Pontificado.

En Nueva-España havia un sumo Sacerdote, i otros menores, i eran ungidos [como los de los Judios] con cierto licor, llamado Ulli, ò Olei, mezclado con la sangre de los Niños, *que circuncidaban*, i traìan el cabello largo, como los Naçareos.

Bien manifiesto es en el Levitico, i Deuteronomio, quan usado era entre los Hebreos ofrecer Animales en sacrificio, *è incensar el Altar*, lo qual hacian los Indios al pie de la letra, aunque erraban en el objecto, pues no conocian al verdadero Dios, à lo menos clara, i distintamente, como le conocian los Judios; pero al fin, ià que havian perdido este conocimiento distinto, i claro, haviales quedado esta Ceremonia de tener Sacerdotes, de ofrecer Animales, i de incensar el Altar donde tenian sus Idolos; de lo qual, i de lo que en este Capitulo dixeremos, hallarà el curioso Lector muchos exemplos en el discurso de mi *Monarquia*, i en otros Libros, que tratan de las Leies, Idolatrìas, i Ceremonias, que tenian estos Indios. Y porque procedamos con claridad, quiero referir las que guardaban los Judios, començando desde el Exodo, para que confiriendolas con las que guardaban los Indios, se vea como eran algunas mui proprias, i otras mui semejantes.

Seccion I.

De algunas Leies, que guardaban los Indios, semejantes à las de los Hebreos.

Costumbre, i Lei era de los Judios celebrar la Fiesta, i Pasqua del Cordero, quando la Luna estaba llena, como parece en el Exodo, adonde se dice, que mandò Dios à Moises, i à Aaron, estando en Tierra de Egypto, que diesen orden, como los del Pueblo de Israel celebrasen la Pasqua à los catorce Dias de la Luna, en la Noche: i determinando el Señor en el Levitico à Moises el Dia, i Mes en que se havia de hacer esta Fiesta, mandò que fuese en el Mes primero, que es Março, à los catorce de la Luna en la tarde, que es quando està llena, i lo mismo bolviò à repetir en el Monte Sinay.

Los Indios del Perù celebraban por mandato, i Lei de Inga Yupanqui una Fiesta à las Aguas en su decimo Mes, que es Septiembre, quando la Luna estaba llena. Los Indios de Tlascala, de Cholula, i otras Provincias Comarcanas hacian tambien esta Fiesta, que era la maior de todo el Año, la qual celebraban en su Mes, que corresponde à nuestro Março, antes de la qual aiunaban, i hacian grande penitencia. En estas mismas Provincias hacian Fiestas à los tres Dioses del Agua, *en una de las quales asaeteaban un Hombre puesto en una Cruz*, i en otra acañavereaban à otro en una Cruz baja.

[Los Judios celebraban las Neomenias el primer Dia de la Luna; i como dice Torquemada: *Si bien se considera*

esta costumbre, parece hurtada de los Hebreos, de los quales dice Santo Tomàs, que ordenaron las Neomenias en todos los principios de los Meses, en memoria de la conservacion, i governacion de todas las cosas, la qual conservacion es la que nuestros Indios pedian en las suias en todos los principios de los Meses.]

En el Genesis mandò Dios à Abraham, que se circuncidasen los Niños, de ocho Dias nacidos; i despues mandò à Josue, que circuncidase los Hijos de Israel, que havian nacido en el Desierto, los quales, por el largo camino, i desierto de quarenta Años no se havian circuncidado.

Esta Lei guardaban los Indios en algunas partes, como fue en Iucatàn, i en la Isla de Acuzamil, *donde se circuncidaban por Religion, i los Indios Totones de la Nueva-España, i los Mexicanos hacian lo proprio.*

Pero si contra esto nos arguiere alguno con lo que dice Herodoto, que los Egypcios se circuncidaban antes de Abraham, i que estos, i los Colcos, que son Pueblos de Asia, cerca de Ponto, i los Etiopes, fueron los primeros entre todos los Hombres del Mundo, que usaron la circuncision, i que los Syros, i Fenices, que son en Palestina, lo aprendieron de los Egypcios: i que los otros Syros, que moraban cerca del Rio, llamado Termodon, i otro dicho Pantenio, Rios de Asia, entre Capadocia, i Ponto, i los Pueblos vecinos de aquellos Macrones, asi dichos, aprendieron de los referidos la circuncision. Y finalmente, si nos dixeren, que solos aquellos siete generos de Gentes, que he nombrado, que son Colcos, Egypcios, Etiopes, Fenices, Syros de Palestina, i Syros de los Rios Termodon, i Pantenio, i sus vecinos los Macrones fueron los que usaron en el Mundo la circuncision, [i aun la usan los Etiopes, como en su Confesion de la Fè dice el Rei Claudio, para darse por descendientes de Abraham, segun Goes, i guardan el Sabado, i no comen Tocino, por lo qual los creiò Feildio medio Judios.] A Herodoto, i à los que alegaren lo referido, se responde, que sin duda los Hebreos fueron los primeros que la usaron, por mandado de Dios; de los quales, como de Gente mas antigua, la tomaron todos los que alli nombra Herodoto, à lo menos los Egypcios, i los Syrios, i de estos los demàs, [aunque tarde, pues no la llevaron à Grecia, i Libia, bien que Ludolfo duda donde fue primero.] Tampoco es contra esto la circuncision de que usan los Moros, porque es cosa cierta, que Mahoma la tomò de los Judios. *Y siendo esto asi, siguese, que tambien nuestros Indios la tomaron de los Hebreos,* de quien vamos probando que proceden; [i aun se puede presumir, que las Navajas, i Cuchillos de Piedra, que tenian los Indios, segun Torquemada, Maiolo, i Salmuth, tuvieron origen de las que usaban los Judios en la circuncision, como dice Bernal Diaz del Castillo, i otras acciones, como consta del Exodo, i Josue.]

Seccion II.

Donde se prosiguen las Leies de los Hebreos, i Indios.

En el Levitico mandò Dios à Moises, que huviese fuego siempre en el Altar, el qual ardiese de Noche, i de Dia, i no faltase.

Los Indios Mexicanos, i los Totones, ò Totonacas, que son en Nueva-España, guardaban esto al pie de la letra; i lo mismo hacian los Indios del Perù en los Templos del Sol.

En el mismo Levitico mandò Dios à Moises, que la Muger recien parida no entrase en el Templo, hasta que estuviese purificada de la sangre menstrual.

Los Indios de la Provincia de Nicaragua guardaban en alguna manera esta Lei, porque las Mugeres, quando estaban con su costumbre, no podian entrar en el Templo.

Item, en el Levitico mandaba Dios à los Hebreos, que la Muger, quando estuviese con su costumbre, estuviese apartada siete Dias de su Marido, i que en este tiempo no durmiese con ella su Marido, ni tocase à la cama donde ella dormia, ni donde se sentaba.

Los Indios de la Isla Española tenian por pecado dormir con su Muger, estando recien parida, i criando. Y los

* Gomara describing the customs of the Indians of Rio de Palmas, a country situated to the North-East of Mexico, says, "No duermen con preñadas, ni con paridas hasta que pasen dos años. Dexan las mugeres que son esteriles, y casan con otras." "Nadie come lo que guisan las mugeres con su camisa, quando cuezen sus vinos derraman los vasos, pasando cerca la muger, si no estan atapados." These customs all resemble the enactments of the Mosaic law, and if any doubt is entertained about the first, the following passage from Clemens Alexandrinus, an ancient Father of the Church, will remove it, "ὁ Μωσης ἀπαγει των ἐγκυων τους ἀνδρας." This prohibition is not found in the Pentateuch as it has been transmitted to us, and since we must not accuse one of the Christian Fathers of falsifying the words of Moses, we must suppose that he refers to a portion of the sacred text which has been lost or to oral tradition which the Jews declare was delivered by God to Moses from Mount Sinai, at the same time that he gave them the written law.

Indios del Rio de Palmas, que cae treinta Leguas sobre Panuco, àcia el Norte, i los de toda la Costa, hasta la Florida, no dormian con sus Mugeres, quando estaban preñadas, ò paridas; i los mismos Indios del Rio de Palmas no comian lo que tocaban sus Mugeres, quando estaban con su regla: i si pasaban cerca de los vasos, quando cocian la Chicha, que es su Vino, sino estaban tapados, los derramaban: en lo qual parece que guardaban la Lei referida. Pero los Indios del Darien, que es Provincia de la Costa del Nombre de Dios, hacian divorcio, i se apartaban el Marido de la Muger, estando ella con su costumbre: en lo qual guardaban estos Indios de todo punto la sobredicha Lei. Tambien los Indios de la Provincia de Nicaragua guardaban esta Lei al pie de la Letra.

Item, en el mismo Libro mandaba Dios, que no durmiese el varon con su Madre, ni la hembra con su Padre, ni el Padre con la hija, ni la Madre con el hijo, ni Hermano con Hermana, ora lo fuese de Padre, i Madre, ora de solo Padre, ò de Madre: ni el Antenado con su Madrastra, ni el Padrastro con su Antenada. Y finalmente, parentesco de primero, i segundo grado de consanguinidad, era prohibido en la Lei antigua, i tenia pena de muerte.

Los Indios de la Isla Española tenian por cierto, que havian de morir mala muerte, si dormian con Madre, Hija, ò Hermana. Los de Nueva-España ahorcaban à el que dormia con su Madre; i si el Padre se echaba con su Hija, ahogaban à los dos con una soga; i el Hermano que llegaba à su Hermana, que fuese de Padre, i Madre, ò de solo Padre, ò Madre, tenia pena de muerte: i esta era ahogada, dandola Garrote: lo qual era entre ellos mui detestable; Y si alguno era convencido, que havia llegado à su Madrastra deshonestamente, morian ambos. Un Rei de Tezcuco mandò matar en veces quatro de sus Hijos, porque fueron convencidos, que se echaron con sus Madrastras. Si el Padrastro llegaba à su Antenada, morian ambos à dos por ello: i à los que dormian con las Suegras, ahorcaban. A los Indios del Perù era prohibido por Lei, casarse Hermano con Hermana, sino era el mismo Rei, à quien era permitido. Y tambien entiendo, que les era prohibido dormir con qualquiera Parienta, ò Pariente, dentro de primero grado de consanguinidad, i afinidad, [aunque en otras partes se casaban con Madres, i Hermanas, como dice el P. Victoria:] de la misma manera sabemos que era prohibido à los de Nueva-España, i à los de la Española. Pues los del Perù no eran governados por Reies mas barbaros, ni de menos entendimiento, i raçon que los demàs. En el Nuevo Reino de Granada tenian los Indios de Bogotà licencia para tener quantas Mugeres quisiesen, con tal, que no fuesen Parientas. Y aunque es verdad, que la misma naturaleça, i la raçon abominan semejante pecado, i asi diràn algunos, que estos Indios guardaban la Lei Natural en esto de no llegar à Parientas, como otros muchos Gentiles, i Barbaros la guardaron. Pero à esto digo, que hallo à nuestros Indios mui sequaces de la Lei antigua, acerca de muchas cosas que en ella se mandaban. De donde se colige, que la Lei que ellos guardaban, acerca del aiuntamiento deshonesto entre los Parientes dentro de primero grado de consanguinidad, i afinidad, era la que Dios puso à los Hebreos, que no contradice à la Natural.

Item, en el mismo Levitico era Lei, que muriese el que cometia el pecado nefando.

Los Indios de la Nueva-España guardaban esta Lei, sin faltar un punto, i la executaban con grande rigor; i el proprio castigo hacian en la Muger que se echaba con otra, por ser tambien contra Naturaleça.

Seccion III.

De otras Leies de el Levitico, que guardaron los Indios.

Item, en el Levitico mandaba Dios, que el que durmiese con alguna Esclava, fuesen ambos à dos açotados.

Los Indios de Nueva-España tenian esta Lei en alguna manera: porque el que dormia con alguna Esclava, antes de tener edad para conocer varon, era Esclavo: i el que llegaba deshonestamente à alguna Esclava agena, i acontecia morir, estando preñada, quedaba hecho Esclavo. Los Indios de Guatemala, si uno llegaba à Esclava agena, la pena era como pecuniaria.

En el mismo Levitico, i en el Deuteronomio havia una Lei, que muriese la Muger comprehendida en adulterio; i aunque alli no pone què genero de muerte havia de ser; pero los Judios, de cierta consequencia, i por tradicion apedreaban à la Adultera en la Puerta de la Ciudad. Porque en el Deuteronomio mandaba Dios, que fuese muerto el Adultero, i Adultera. Y luego añade: *Si alguno recibiere por Esposa alguna Doncella, i hallandola alguno en la Ciudad, se echare con ella, sacaràs al uno, i al otro à la Puerta de la Ciudad, de donde es el Adultero, i seràn apedreados.* De aquestas palabras coligieron los Judios, que se havia de dar el mismo genero de muerte al Adultero, i Adultera. Y que la guardaron asi los Hebreos, parece claro, i manifiesto en Daniel, adonde se dice, como la

inocente Susana, infamada de aquellos Viejos verdes, fue llevada como Adultera fuera de la Ciudad para ser apedreada. Y esta misma Lei alegaron los Judios à Christo Nuestro Señor, como parece por San Juan, quando haviendo comprehendido en Adulterio à una Muger, se la pusieron delante.

Los Indios del Perù tenian esta misma Lei, como consta de las que instituiò Pachacuti Inga, de quien Yo hago mencion en mi *Monarquia*. Y los Indios de la Nacion Mexicana, los de Guatemala, i de otras Provincias de Nueva-España castigaban con pena de muerte à los Adulteros, de los quales algunos en algunas Provincias eran apedreados, i en otras les ataban las manos, i pies, i tendidos en Tierra, les daban con una piedra redonda, como las que aguçan Cuchillos, en las sienes, de manera, que de el primer golpe les saltaban los sesos; à otros achocaban con unas Porras, ò Palos gruesos.

Item, en el Levitico mandaba Dios, que santificasen el Año quinquagesimo, el qual era Año del Jubileo, porque en èl se concedian muchas cosas à los Judios.

Los Indios de Nueva-España, fuera de otras Fiestas, que hacian entre Año, tenian una solemnisima de cinquenta en cinquenta i dos Años, la qual se celebraba el Dia ultimo de la postrera Semana en la Ciudad de Mexico, i como en Metropoli de la Provincia era aqui mas solemne, que en las demàs. Y es de notar, que el Año entre estos Indios era de trecientos i sesenta Dias, de manera que en cada Año faltaban cinco Dias, i mas los intercalares, que vienen à hacer cerca de un Año, el qual, quitado de los cinquenta i dos, quedan cinquenta i uno, poco mas, ò menos, i asi poco se diferenciaban de los Hebreos en el Año del Jubileo.

Seccion IV.

Donde se concluien las Leies del Levitico, i Deuteronomio, que guardaban los Indios.

En el Deuteronomio mandò Dios á Moises, que no anduviese la Muger en habito de Varon, ni el Varon en habito de Muger; los quales dice el Texto Sagrado, que son abominables acerca de Dios.

En Nueva-España tenian los Indios esta misma Lei, aunque con mas rigor, porque ahorcaban à los que andaban vestidos de esta manera.

En este mismo Libro mandò Dios à Moises, que el Hombre que despues de casado hallase alguna fealdad en su Muger, le diese libelo de repudio.

Los Indios de la Nacion Mexicana dejaban, i desamparaban sus Mugeres, i las repudiaban, quando se les probaba que eran malas, sucias, ò esteriles. Los de la Provincia de Cumanà repudiaban sus Mugeres, quando cometian adulterio. Lo proprio hacian los Indios de la Provincia de Nicaragua en Nueva-España; [i lo mismo usaron los antiquisimos Gentiles, de quien los Judios havian tomado la costumbre, permitida por Dios à su obstinacion, para evitar dejasen la Lei con la Muger aborrecida.]

En el mismo Deuteronomio havia una Lei, que si la viuda, cuio Marido era muerto, no havia tenido Hijos de èl, se casase con ella el Hermano de su Marido, ò el Pariente mas cercano; [i antes de el Deuteronomio parece se guardaba lo mismo algunas veces, como se refiere en el Genesis.]

Los Indios del Perù guardaban esta Lei, porque Pachacuti Inga, que la instituiò, mandaba, que la Muger viuda se casase con el Pariente mas cercano de su primer Marido.

Item, los Indios de Nueva-España, quando alguno moria, i dejaba Mugeres, el Hermano estaba obligado à tenerlas, i casarse con ellas. Y en Guatemala se casaba la viuda con su Cuñado; i si no lo havia, con el Pariente mas cercano al difunto.

En los Numeros mandaba Dios, que ninguna Muger, à quien pertenecia la herencia paternal, casase con otro, que no fuese de su Tribu.

Esto se guardaba en el Perù, porque como he dicho otras veces, havia entre ellos muchas Familias, cuia Cabeça, i Señor se llamaba Curaca: i el Indio, ò India de una Familia, que ellos llaman Ayllu, no se podia casar con otra, ò otro de otra Familia. Tambien los Indios del Darien no se casaban con Estrangeras.

Seccion V.

Como los Indios guardaron los Preceptos del Decalogo.

Ya que havemos referido las Leies, i Preceptos, que mandaba Dios guardar à los Hebreos, con los quales tienen grande semejança los de los Indios, i aun algunos son los mismos: quiero referir aqui, como guardaba esta Gente Indiana los Preceptos del Decalogo, que no causarà poca admiracion, [aunque se consideren del Derecho Natural,] ni menos serà pequeño argumento para nuestra Opinion. Rebolviendo los Memoriales que tengo, i leiendo los Libros, que tratan de las Costumbres, i Leies de los Indios, he hallado, que en muchas Provincias de Indias guardaban la Lei, i Preceptos del Decalogo. Y ià que en algunas partes no los guardasen todos, à lo menos guardaban algunos, ò los mas: i esto con mas observancia en unas Provincias, que en otras.

Quanto al primer Precepto, que prohibe la Idolatria, no ai que dudar, sino que erraban, porque tenian muchos Dioses, no haviendo mas que uno, que sea verdadero Dios, sumamente bueno, todo poderoso, Criador de Cielo, i Tierra. Bien es verdad, que reconocian, i sabian que havia un Dios mejor que los demàs, al qual buscaban en confuso, con alguna luz natural, de là que el Criador estampò en las Criaturas racionales, conforme lo que dice David: *Sellastenos, Señor, con la luz, i conocimiento de tu Rostro.* Sino que esta luz la tenian ià tan ofuscada, que casi no les alumbraba: i asi no atinaban con el que era verdadero Dios. Semejantes eran estos Indios à los Gentiles, que tenian en Atenas un Dios no conocido, al qual adoraban en Altar particular, intitulado: *Ignoto Deo. Al Dios no conocido.* A quien declarò, i diò à conocer el Apostol S. Pablo, como consta en los Actos de los Apostoles. En Nueva-España adoraban con maior adoracion al Idolo llamado Vitzilipuztli, al qual toda la Nacion Mexicana llamaba, *El todo poderoso, i Señor de lo criado:* i como à tal, le hicieron el mas rico, i sumptuoso Templo, de maior altura, mas hermoso, i de mas galano Edificio: cuio Sitio, i Fortaleça se puede conjeturar por las ruinas que de èl han quedado en medio de la Ciudad de Mexico. Y en el Perù confesaban, que havia un Criador, i Hacedor de el Mundo, al qual llamaban Viracocha, i le ponian Titulo, i Renombre de Gran Magestad, i Excelencia, como Pachacamà, ò Pachayachachic, que el uno quiere decir, *Hacedor del Mundo;* i el otro, *Sabidor, i que entiende el Mundo.* Tambien le daban por Renombre Usapu, que quiere decir, *Admirable:* i otros semejantes, que eran como Atributos. Pero como quiera que tenian otros muchos Dioses, no podemos decir, que guardaban en todo, i por todo el primer Precepto, que no solo manda honrar, i servir à Dios, sino tambien prohibe la Idolatrìa, i adoracion de otros Idolos, i Dioses. Tenian por cosa perniciosa los Indios de la Vera-Paz, i de otras Provincias de Nueva-España à los Brujos, i Hechiceros, que hacian daño con sus embustes, á los quales ahorcaban, ò daban garrote, principalmente quando mataban, ò hechiçaban algun Señor, haciendole impotente, ò causandole alguna enfermedad.

Quanto al segundo Precepto, que es no jurar, no he hallado que tuviesen alguna pena, sino es que quando los cogian en mentira, ò levantaban algun testimonio, i por ventura fue la causa, que no acostumbraban jurar viciosamente, ò con mentira.

Quanto al tercero Precepto de santificar el Sabado, tenian sus Fiestas en Dias señalados, en los quales hacian grandes sacrificios, *i se holgaban,* particularmente en el Perù. Los Indios Totones, que son en Nueva-España, estaban obligados à ir al Templo el Sabado, à la Ceremonia que alli se hacia, i sacrificio que ofrecian à sus Dioses.

Quanto al quarto Precepto, que es honrar Padre, i Madre, guardabanlo con gran rigor: porque los Padres exortaban con grande diligencia à los Hijos, que honrasen al Padre, i à la Madre, i à los Reies, i maiores de la Tierra; i à los que tenian sobervia contra los Reies, i Señores, ò hacian alguna traicion, los ahorcaban, ò daban otro genero de muerte.

Quanto al quinto Precepto, que es no matar, i no hacer injuria al proximo, tambien lo guardaban: i la pena era de muerte. Y lo proprio se usabà con la Muger que mataba la Criatura en el vientre, i con quien la ajudaba, i con quien mataba con Hechiços, i Iervas à otro, i con el que fue complice del delito, i diò la tal medicina, ò por mejor decir, ponçoña. En las Provincias donde no se usaba tener Esclavos, castigaban cruelmente al que vendia à otro por Esclavo, porque fuera de que moria por ello, le vendian los Hijos, i Muger: i de el precio que por ellos se daba, llevaba el Fisco, i Camara del Señor cierta parte, i todo lo demàs se gastaba en comida, i bebida con la Gente del Pueblo, como bienes de Concejo, i Comunidad. En algunas Provincias de Nueva-España, como es en la Vera Paz, se guardaba lo que he referido del Esclavo, i tambien que quando riñendo se herian, en siendo avisado el Cacique, i Señor, por

la queja que daban los Parientes del herido, embiaba al delinquente un hueso, ò una hacha, para denotar que èl havia de ser herido con aquellos instrumentos, pues havia hecho mal à otro. Entonces el malhechor embiaba rogadores, i daba sus escusas, para deshacer la culpa. Pero el Juez, ò Señor mostraba mucho rigor, de manera, que hasta sentenciarlo, nunca respondia bien: al cabo quedaba sentenciado à que diese cierta cantidad de Plumas ricas, ò Mantas, ò Cacao, lo qual era para el Fisco. En algunas Provincias, el que mataba à su Esclavo, ò le heria, no tenia pena alguna, *porque decian, que aquella era hacienda suia.* Y qualquiera que mataba al Esclavo ageno, moria por ello. Y si el Marido mataba à su Muger, ò al contrario la Muger al Marido, moria por ello.

Seccion Ultimo. *Donde se prosiguen las Leies de el Decalogo, que guardaron los Indios.*

Quanto al sexto Precepto de no fornicar, hallo, que en el Perù, i Nueva-España castigaban la simple fornicacion, adulterio, incesto, estrupo, i sodomìa. De lo primero tenemos exemplo en los Indios del Perù, los quales (como despues verèmos) tenian una Lei, la qual ordenaba, que los doce Jueces, que estaban nombrados para mirar por las cosas de la Republica, i Gente de la Ciudad del Cuzco, tuviese cuidado de mirar por los Mancebos, i Moças solteras, à los quales no consintiesen hacer ninguna liviandad; i quando en algo de esto fuesen comprehendidos, los denunciasen para castigarlos à su tiempo: en lo qual eran puntuales, asi los unos para denunciar, como los otros para juzgar, i castigar. Confusion grande para los que estàn tan ligados con Lei Divina, Humana, i Positiva, i andan tan sueltos, i libres, que por eso deben de llamar Solteros, i Solteras à las que no estan casadas, i son deshonestas, pues tan libre, i sueltamente viven, sin haver quien las denuncie, i Jueces que las castiguen, como los tenian los Indios en el Perú, aunque barbaros, i sin conocimiento verdadero, i cierto de Dios. Pues en la Nueva-España tambien tenian castigo estos tales; porque en la Provincia de Guatemala havia una Lei, que los que pecaban en el vicio de la carne, siendo solteros, pagaban cierta cosa; pero morian, si los acusaban los Parientes, porque se tenian por afrentados. En la Vera-Paz guardaban este orden, quando uno decia à otro que havia pecado, ò si le decian, que como, ò por què hiço aquello? si respondia por el pecado, se entendia el de la carne, que es cosa para notar. Si fornicaba con Viuda, ò Esclava, pagaba cierta cantidad de Plumas, ò otras cosas. A la Esclava que dormia con varon libre, i dentro de su Casa, la achocaban la cabeça con dos grandes piedras *fuera* del Pueblo, ò la empalaban: i lo proprio hacian al Hombre con quien pecò. Y finalmente, en otras Provincias castigaban à los Moços, i Moças, si eran traviesos, i hacian alguna vellaqueria, i el castigo era trasquilarles, i darles Mantas pobres, i rotas. Otras veces les picaban los labios, i orejas, i otras partes del cuerpo, para que asi fuesen conocidos por ruines. En la Provincia de Guatemala, si alguno llegaba deshonestamente à Esclava agena, la pena era como pecuniaria, ò daba otro tanto, como la Esclava valia, ò daba otra. Pero si alguno la amaba, i tenia por Muger, ò por mejor decir, Manceba, i Concubina, el culpado llevaba maior pena.

Quanto al adulterio, la pena era apedrear los Adulteros en el Perù: en Nueva-España era la que arriba diximos. En otras Provincias les daban otro genero de muerte. Quanto al incesto ià havemos dicho como se castigaba. Quanto al estrupo, en algunas Provincias de Nueva-España moria el que forçaba alguna Doncella, ora fuese en Casa, ora en el Campo. El que corrompia, i viciaba alguna Esclava, antes de tener edad para conocer varon, era Esclavo. En la Vera-Paz, si algun Mancebo conocia alguna Doncella, la pena era hacerle casar con ella. Pero si la Doncella estaba desposada, el esposo jamàs bolvia à ella, mas pedia su dote, i lo que trajo en vestidos, i hacienda de casa de sus Padres, i con eso se iba en paz, i quedaba libre, i soltera.

Tambien castigaban à los someticos, i el castigo era pena de muerte; i si una Muger pecaba con otra, las daban garrote, i por maior pena morian ahogadas. En dos, ò tres Provincias se usaba este vicio abominable, i nefando, el qual se permitia publicamente, teniendo Casas publicas de Hombres. Hacian esto los miserables, porque el Demonio havia hecho creer que los Dioses que adoraban hicieron eso mismo, i que asi era licito, i bueno. Pero con todo eso siempre se tuvo por abominable, i feo este pecado, acerca de estas Gentes, aunque entre los que lo usaban no se castigaba; pero el que cometia este pecado, era tenido por infame. En Mexico, i en Tezcuco se hacia gran castigo en los someticos. El pecado de la bestialidad nunca fue visto, ni oìdo entre los Indios, [aunque si entre los Judios, segun Seldeno,] i por eso no havia Lei contra èl, como tampoco la huvo para la molicie, porque Yo entiendo que no supieron, ni conocieron tal pecado.

Pues quanto al sacrilegio, i aiuntamiento con la que tiene hecho voto de castidad, tambien tenian los Indios sus

Leies, para castigar à las Doncellas, que estaban en Conventos, i Casas, encerradas como Monjas, ò como las Virgines Vestales, que huvo antiguamente en Roma (de que se tratarà adelante.) En el Perù, si alguna de aquellas Virgines, ò Doncellas, ò Mamaconas, que eran como Maestras de Novicias, ò Abadesas, era comprehendida en algun delito contra su honestidad, el castigo era infalible de enterrarla viva, ò matarla con otro genero de muerte cruel. En Nueva-España, que tambien havia de estos Monasterios de Virgines, i Doncellas, la que hallaban no haver guardado honestidad, i pecado contra su limpieça, i castidad, moria luego sin remision, aunque el pecado fuese mui leve, diciendo que havia violado la Casa de Dios: i tenian por aguero, i por indicio de haver sucedido algun mal caso de estos, si vian pasar algun Raton, ò Murcielago en la Capilla de su Idolo, ò que havia roìdo algun velo; porque decian, que si no huviera precedido algun delito, no se atreviera el Raton, ò Murcielago à hacer tal descortesia. Y de aqui procedian à hacer pesquisa; i hallando el delinquente, por principal que fuese, luego le daban la muerte. En el Perù, i en algunas Provincias de Nueva-España tenian Mancebìas, i Casas publicas de Mugeres, à las quales no consentian que viviesen entre las Mugeres casadas, i Doncellas, para con esto evitar maiores males, i daños en la Republica, i para que las demàs, que eran casadas, i doncellas, viviesen seguras.

Quanto al septimo Precepto, que es no hurtar, se guardaba con grande rigor, asi en el Perù, como en Nueva-España. Si el Lector quisiere vèr el castigo, que hacian por este delito los Indios del Perù, i de Nueva-España, lea el segundo Libro de la tercera parte de las Republicas del Mundo, hechas por el P. Romàn, de la Orden del Doctor S. Augustin, que alli se trata esto mui de proposito.

Quanto al octavo Precepto, que es no mentir, ni levantar falso testimonio, tenian tambien los Indios Leies para castigar al que mentia, i al que levantaba algun falso testimonio. Los mentirosos en el Perù eran castigados, segun la qualidad de la mentira. Pero si las Mugeres eran notadas de este vicio, por pequeñas mentiras que dixesen, eran trasquiladas, en pena de su delito. Si oi se guardàra esta Lei, Yo aseguro, que havian de faltar Barberos, i no cabeças de Mugeres trasquiladas. Castigaban al que infamaba à otro falsamente, con la pena del Talion. Si alguna Muger acusaba à algun Hombre, que la havia forçado, no la creìan, sino traìa testigos, ò alguna cosa de aquel Hombre, como era el Paño de manos, las Bragas, ò la Manta con que se cubren *, en lugar de Capa; si esto traìan, la creìan, i sentenciaban al culpado: i si no, lo pagaba la que levantò el testimonio. Esto se hacia en el Perù; pero en la Nueva-España se castigaba este pecado con grande rigor, i particularmente en la Vera-Paz, i en otras Provincias. Era cosa abominable levantar à otro un falso testimonio: i lo mismo la mentira. Y asi amonestaban à los Niños, que no hiciesen semejantes pecados, porque eran mui feos, i los castigaban por ello.

Quanto al nono Mandamiento, que es de no codiciar la Muger agena, aunque los Indios no entendian què cosa era deseo, ni apetito carnal consentido, para conocerlo por pecado; pero por lo que havemos dicho acerca del sexto Precepto, verà el Lector, como tambien guardaban este en alguna manera; pues ià que no castigaban el afecto, ni lo tenian por pecado, al fin castigaban el efecto. Lo mismo podemos decir de el decimo Mandamiento, que de el septimo, quanto al efecto, pues como cosa injusta la castigaban, i conocian que era malo. En algunas Provincias tenian por maior delito el hurto de cosas de Templo: la pena era, quedar el que hurtaba por Esclavo, por la primera vez; i al segundo hurto †, lo ahorcaban. Y esto baste para satisfaccion de la objeccion, que arriba

* This was the kind of evidence which the wife of Potiphar is said in the thirty-ninth chapter of Genesis to have brought against Joseph.

† Since right to possession as regards many kinds of property exists rather by legal enactment than *jure naturæ*, and all rights that belong to that class are protected by the law, it may be worth while to notice (because the coincidence is singular) a curious exemption from penalty as well as blame which both the Hebrew and the Mexican laws held out in certain cases to persons who infringed upon the rights of private property. By the Mexican law religious mendicants and perhaps other poor people, who had vainly solicited charity, were allowed to go into the maize-fields and to pluck some ears of maize to satisfy their hunger; and by the Hebrew law, as we know from the second chapter of Saint Mark, persons casually passing through corn-fields had a right to pluck for their own use some ears of corn, since if such a right had not existed the disciples of Christ would not have plucked the ears of corn on the Sabbath day, for which they were upbraided by the Pharisees, nor would the latter have failed to reproach them for the illegality of the act of taking what was not their own, as well as for their not resting upon that day. There is something further remarkable in the forbearance which the Mexican and the Hebrew law exhibited towards those who, yielding to the imperious dictates of hunger, invaded the most unprotected kind of property, the crops standing in the open fields; since great is the contrast between the indulgence which those codes displayed and the severity of the law of England, where the life of a man becomes frequently forfeit for that of a sheep, death being by the statute law the punishment for sheep-stealing. This observation is here introduced not for the sake of disparaging a code of laws in many respects admirable, but to point out a blot in them which ought to be effaced. The *unequal*, and in Ireland dreadfully abused, punishment of transportation, the power to sentence to which is often lodged in the breasts of those whose fellow-creatures ought never to be at their mercy, is that which is generally inflicted upon those who are convicted of the above-named offence, since in that country both judges and juries consider in this case the evasion of an unjust law preferable to its execution; and it would be well if in all cases the dictates of conscience were obeyed rather than the letter of laws which are not framed in the spirit of universally recognised justice.

pusimos, acerca de las Ceremonias, i Leies de los Hebreos, à las quales son bien parecidas, i semejantes las que he referido de los Indios: los quales en este genero, i materia parecen mas à los Judios, que à otra Nacion alguna: argumento no pequeño para probacion de nuestro intento. Y si los Indios no guardaban en todo, i por todo las Ceremonias, i Leies de los Hebreos, ni eran tan observantes como ellos, no ai que espantarse; porque (como arriba diximos) proceden de aquellos diez Tribus perdidos: los quales, apartandose tanto de su Tierra, i pasando por donde havia tanta variedad de Sectas, i Religiones Gentilicas, algo se les havia de pegar de sus Costumbres de aquellos, i despegar de las que guardaban en su Tierra, conforme al Testamento Viejo, i Lei de Moises. Y asi se puede creer, que iban entremetiendo algunas de los Gentiles, i Gentes por donde pasaban, con las suias: i olvidando por otra parte de las proprias, ò por mejor decir, dejandolas caer de malicia, pues eran de su natural tan faciles para el mal: ò finalmente, por la division de Reinos, i Monarquia, donde necesariamente havia de haver nuevas Leies, nuevas Ceremonias, i Ritos, i nuevo modo de governar, para con esto distinguirse, i diferenciarse unos de otros. Y esta raçon hallo Yo para la division de las Lenguas, como despues dirèmos.

Capitulo VII.

De la quarta objeccion contra la quinta Opinion, donde se trata de la Lengua Hebrea.

La quarta objeccion, que se puede ofrecer contra esta presente Opinion, es, que si los Indios fueran descendientes de los Hebreos, hablàran la Lengua Hebrea.

Para esta duda he hallado tres, ò quatro soluciones, i respuestas. La primera es, la que dimos à la primera objeccion de la quarta Opinion. La segunda solucion es, que asi como al principio del Mundo hablaron los Hombres una Lengua, la qual hablo Adàm, i sus Hijos, i Nietos, i Descendientes, hasta la edificacion de aquella Torre de Babèl, adonde por permision de Dios huvo nueva invencion de Lenguas, las quales se fueron confundiendo en tanta manera, que hasta el tiempo que Roma era Señora de todo el Mundo, eran innumerables, i casi infinitas las que havia. Y asi, como desde este tiempo de los Romanos, hasta que por Guerra se dividiò su Imperio, i Monarquia, huvo una Lengua General, que es la Latina, de la qual por la sobredicha division de Imperios, i de Reinos, se inventaron nuevas Lenguas, derivandolas de la misma Latina, quales son Italiana, Francesa, Catalana, Valenciana, Castellana, Lusitana, i otras muchas, las quales, con emanar, i proceder de una misma fuente, i origen, vemos, que sino es en las Letras con que se escriven, i en algunos Vocablos, en todo lo demas son mui diferentes, asi todas, de la Latina, como ellas mismas entre sì.

De la misma manera, pues, digo, que podemos decir à nuestra duda, que aunque la Lengua Hebrea era general, i la hablaban los Hebreos de los diez Tribus, de quien vamos probando proceden los Indios, por la division de Reinos, Imperios, i Señorìos, que entre ellos huvo, fueron inventando nuevas Lenguas para entenderse, i con esto juntamente diferenciarse unos de otros.

Dice lo quarto el Padre Acosta, que si los Judios no se vieran circuncidados, no se tuvieran por Judios, [pues era tan estimado este Precepto, que (como dice Maimonides) aun en Sabado era licito executarle;] i que los Indios poco, ni mucho no se retajan, ni han dado jamàs en esa Ceremonia.

En esto se engañò, lo primero, porque èl mismo refiere en su Historia, como los Mexicanos sacrificaban el miembro viril, à los Niños recien nacidos, i que en alguna manera remedaban la circuncision de los Judios, [que usaban los Guaycurues del Paraguay, como dice el Compendio, i Descripcion de Indias. Y Herrera afirma, que en Guaçacoalco, i Iluta se circuncidaban, i en Cuetxala, i que asi lo tenian por costumbre: lo qual prueba la conformidad, aunque en Iucatàn no se usase, como asegura el P. Cogolludo contra Pineda, è Illescas: i Laet contra Pedro Martir, i Gomara; ni es tampoco cierto, que los Españoles se equivocasen con las bubas de los Indios, como discurriò Laet, de que se rie Grotio.]

Lo segundo, porque, demàs de lo dicho, de la Republica de los Indios, que escriviò el P. Romàn, i de la Historia General, que hiço Gomara, i de otras Historias de aquellas Partes, consta, como en otras Provincias se circuncidaban los Indios, de que arriba hicimos mencion.

A lo quinto, que dice, que como havian de olvidar los Judios su Lengua, su Lei, i Ceremonias? Yà tenemos satisfecho, i respondido en las objecciones pasadas: i aqui podemos tambien responder lo que el mismo Padre dice

à una objeccion tacita, semejante à esta. Dice, pues, que no es cosa increible pensar, que aunque huviesen salido los primeros Pobladores de las Indias de Tierras de Policia, i bien governadas, se les olvidase todo con el largo tiempo, i poco uso. Pues es notorio, que aun en España, i en Italia se hallan manadas de Hombres, que sino es el gesto, i figura, no tienen otra cosa de Hombres. Hasta aqui es del P. Acosta, à quien escrivo esta Carta, para que con ella responda à su duda.

A lo sexto que dice, que no en todos los Indios es general ser medrosos, supersticiosos, agudos, i mentirosos, ià havemos respondido atràs.

A lo septimo que dice, que la causa de traer los Indios el vestido, de que usan, es por ser el mas sencillo, i natural del Mundo ; i que por eso fue comun antiguamente, no solo à los Hebreos, sino à otras Naciones. Digo, que de ninguna leemos, que el Trage de su vestido sea tan conforme al que usan los Indios, como el de los Judios.

A lo octavo que dice el sobredicho Padre, acerca de la Historia de Esdras, poniendo en condicion, si se ha de hacer caso de ella, por ser apocrifa, i teniendo por tan fabuloso el Rio Eufrates de Esdras, como la Atlantida encantada de Platon, ià respondì arriba, diciendo, que Esdras, en lo que refiere en el quarto Libro, que es apocrifo, i no de Fè, tiene tanta autoridad, como un Doctor grave, i aun mas. Y aora, para maior fuerça de aquello, i de el fundamento de aquesta Opinion, el qual restriva en la autoridad de Esdras, quiero probar quanta sea, i quanto credito le dèn los Sagrados Doctores, en lo que dice en el tercero, i quarto Libro. Sixto Senense, uno de los Hombres mas doctos, que ha tenido nuestra Sagrada Orden de Predicadores, dice, que los Griegos, no solo reciben por Canonico el tercer Libro de Esdras, sino que lo anteponen al primero, i segundo del mismo Esdras, i de Nehemias, de quien nadie tiene duda, sino que son Canonicos, i de Fè Catolica. Entre los Griegos, S. Atanasio se aprovecha del Testimonio de Zorobabèl, que refiere Esdras en el tercer Libro, Capitulo tercero, i con èl arguie contra los Arrianos. S. Augustin lo tiene por legitimo Libro de Esdras, como parece en las palabras, que dice en los Libros de la Ciudad de Dios, adonde se pueden vèr, i creer, para que se entienda, i conozca el caso que hace este Glorioso Doctor de Esdras, en el tercer Libro.

Seccion II. de el Capitulo VIII.

De la autoridad de el quarto Libro de Esdras.

Pues para la autoridad de el quarto Libro de Esdras, que es el que mas hace à nuestro proposito, no nos faltan Santos Doctores, entre los quales es uno S. Ambrosio, el qual tiene à este quarto Libro por de Esdras, de quien fue escrito por revelacion Divina, como parece en las palabras, que este Glorioso Doctor pone en el Libro de *Bono mortis,* donde dice, que S. Pablo siguiò la sentencia de Esdras, en aquello que escriviò cerca del fin de la primera Epistola, à los Corintios, de los diversos ordenes de claridad, i de la gloria de los escogidos, que han de resucitar. La qual sentencia tomò el Santo S. Ambrosio, como testimonio de gravisima autoridad, para confirmar la doctrina, que escrive de las moradas de las Almas Santas, despues de la separacion del cuerpo. Y el mismo Santo, sobre el Evangelio de San Lucas, alega del septimo Capitulo de este quarto Libro de Esdras, la profecìa del tiempo de la venida de Nuestro Señor, i de su muerte, i de la conversion que havia de haver de el Mundo al mismo Christo. La profecìa es esta : *Mi Hijo Jesus serà revelado, i conocido à aquellos que con èl se alegraran : los quales quedaron en quatrocientos Años ; i despues de estos Años, sucederà, que morirà mi Hijo Jesu Christo, i se convertirà al siglo.* Hasta aqui es de Esdras. Finalmente, en la Epistola à Honorancio, aconseja San Ambrosio, que se ha de leer el quarto Libro de Esdras, porque en èl se demuestra, i prueba, que el Anima es de substancia Celestial, con que se impugnan, i confutan los errores, desvarios, i vanas palabras de los Filosofos, que sienten lo contrario.

De aqueste quarto Libro de Esdras parece que tomo S. Cipriano, muchos Años antes, lo que escriviò contra Demetrio : conviene à saber, que el Mundo està viejo, i que ià và cerca del fin : lo qual se echa de vèr en el descaecimiento, i desmedro de todas las cosas, pues las fuerças de los Elementos, Planetas, i Animales estàn debilitadas, i diminuìdas, i los cuerpos de los Hombres son aora menores, i mas dèbiles, que fueron antiguamente.

Tambien la Iglesia Catolica honra, i autoriça este Libro : la qual cada Año, en la tercera Feria de Pentecostes, comiença el Introito de la Misa, de aquella Sentencia, que està en el segundo Capitulo de este Libro. La Sen-

tencia es : *Accipite jocunditatem gloriæ vestræ, gratias agentes Deo, qui vos ad Cœlestia regna vocavit.* Y en las solemnidades, i fiestas de los Martires canta de el mismo Capitulo : *Modo coronantur, et accipiunt palmam.*

De la autoridad de estos Testimonios, i Testigos, colige Sixto Senense, la raçon, i causa por què se juntò este Libro con los demàs de la Divina Escritura. He sido prolijo en este digreso, i discurso, para bolver por la autoridad de Esdras, i de lo que dice en el quarto Libro ; i para mostrar como no tiene raçon el Padre Acosta, en poner duda, acerca de lo que dice el mismo Esdras de los diez Tribus. Porque aunque es verdad, que de comun consentimiento de los Santos Padres se determinò, que este quarto Libro se pusiese entre los Apocrifos ; pero esto fue (como advierte Sixto Senense) por alguna doctrina sospechosa que en èl ai, la qual claramente parece que contradice à las reglas de la buena, i recta doctrina de la Fè. Pero si bien miramos lo que el mismo Sixto refiere de este quarto Libro, como cosas disonantes, ninguna de ellas toca à nuestra Historia de los diez Tribus, de quien vamos tratando en esta Opinion. Y asi, quitando lo que Sixto refiere, que disona, i lo demàs que parece disonar en este Libro, quedarà lo demàs por verdadero : de lo qual, sin miedo, podrè aprovecharme en este lugar, como en efecto me he aprovechado, pues los Autores arriba citados, tan graves, como son S. Pablo, S. Ambrosio, S. Cipriano, i la Iglesia Catolica, se aprovecharon de èl, como està dicho : [no obstante que en Hebreo nunca le ha havido : i en Griego, si le huvo, se perdiò : i solo existe en Latin.]

A lo nono que dice el Padre Acosta, que quando se aia de dar credito à esta Historia apocrifa de Esdras, mas contradice, que aiuda à nuestro intento. Porque alli se dice, que los diez Tribus huieron la multitud de Gentiles, por guardar sus Ceremonias, i Lei : mas los Indios son dados à todas las idolatrìas del Mundo. Digo, que bien se compadece saliesen de aquella Tierra para las Indias con ese intento, i proposito, i que no lo pusiesen en execucion de veras, por algunas causas que les sobrevinieron ; entre las quales, una pudo ser, que como esta Gente era mui inclinada à la idolatrìa, segun que ià havemos dicho, i pasò por tanta Tierra de Gentiles Idolatras, entre quien forçosamente havian de vivir, i con quien havian de tratar algunos Dias, se les fue resfriando su proposito, i avivando su mala inclinacion, que es terrible negocio la ocasion de un pecado, i vicio para Gente que à èl es inclinada, fuera que del todo no dejaron caer su Lei, i Ceremonias, pues havemos dicho en la tercera objeccion, que guardaron muchas de ellas.

Seccion III.

En que se concluie la respuesta à lo que dice el P. Acosta contra esta Opinion.

A lo ultimo, en que dice el P. Acosta, que vean bien los que siguen esta Opinion, en què manera pueden llegar las entradas del Rio Eufrates al nuevo Orbe? Digo, que no se ha de entender lo que dice Esdras del pasage, i entrada de la Gente de los diez Tribus por el Rio Eufrates en ese sentido ; porque de esa manera, bien claro està ser disparate : sino que quando fueron trasladados los diez Tribus de Samaria, à Asiria, pasaron por aquellas entradas del Rio Eufrates : en cuio pasage dice luego Esdras, que hiço entonces el Altisimo señales, i milagros, i detuvo las venas del Rio, hasta que pasaron. No sè Yo por què no se ha de creer esto, que dice Esdras : pues sabemos de la Divina Escritura, que hiço el mismo Dios maiores milagros, i señales con los mismos Israelitas, quando pasaron el Mar Bermejo, i Rio Jordàn. De manera, que aquella conjuncion adversativa, *Autem*, se refiere al pasage por el Rio de los diez Tribus, desde Samaria, adonde estaban, à Asiria, que segun todos los Geografos, està de aquella parte del Rio Eufrates ; i no se refiere al viage de esta Gente, desde los Medos, adonde entraron en consulta, para dejar los Gentiles, hasta la Region donde fueron, que son las Indias : [aunque no falta quien diga pasaron à Coçar, i de alli à la China, i Tartaria : i a Coçar hacen los Arabes fundacion de un Hijo de Jafet, que tenia este nombre :] ni tampoco aquella clausula referida, que està *Per introitus autem*, es de Historia, que pasa adelante, distinta de lo referido, i dicho en lo pasado, sino declarativa de lo que antes se havia dicho. Porque diciendo Esdras, que los diez Tribus fueron trasladados de su Tierra à la otra parte del Rio, que es Asiria, era necesario luego referir, como entraron por el Rio ; i porque siendo tan caudaloso havia luego duda, como pudieron pasar Niños, Mugeres, viejos, i enfermos, i tanta Gente como alli havia? Dice luego, como respondiendo à esta duda, i objeccion tacita : *Fecit enim tunc Altissimus signa, &c.* Porque hiço con ellos luego el Altisimo señales, i milagros, deteniendo la corriente, i venas del Rio : [Y aunque los Rabinos, valiendose de la confusion que ai sobre este Rio, quisieron hacerle el Sabatico, de que Josefo, i Plinio hacen mencion en otros sitios, i con

contrarios efectos, i refiere Harduino muchos, que creieron haver, ò haver havido Rio de este Nombre, que corria los seis Dias de la Semana, i cesaba el Sabado: esto no tiene fundamento, ni puede creerse sea el Rio de que hablò Esdras; i los mismos Judios conocen la ficcion, como testifica Job Ludolfo, ignorando el sitio del Rio, i la morada de los diez Tribus, como se ha dicho.]

Tambien la clausula, que à la sobredicha se sigue, que comiença: *Per eam enim Regionem, &c.* es declarativa de lo que Esdras dijo: conviene à saber, que haviendo entrado aquella Gente en consulta, i acuerdo para dejar los Gentiles, se fueron à una Region mas apartada. En la qual clausula declara, como aquella Region adonde fueron, estaba Año i medio de camino, espacio bien conforme al que ai desde los Medos à las Indias.

A lo demàs que dice el Padre Acosta, que no sabe como esta Gente Indiana se puede llamar pacifica, &c. Digo, que de su natural lo es, como se vè por experiencia; porque pacifico llamamos al Hombre, que vive en paz, sin traer pleito, ni guerra con nadie, ni èl de su natural se inclina à eso: i asi lo son los Indios; i si han tenido Guerras, ha sido contra su voluntad, i defendiendose de los que fueron à quitarles sus Tierras, como succdiò en el Perù en tiempo de los Ingas: i en Nueva-España, en el de los Moteçumas; i despues en ambas Provincias, i en las demàs de la Tierra-firme, i Islas, quando entraron los Españoles. Y con esto damos fin à la Quinta Opinion, [remitiendo al Lector al P. Torquemada, i al Compendio, i Descripcion de las Indias, i otros, que entre otras raçones ponen la multitud de los Indios, que puede igualarse à la de los Judios, de quien dice Oseas, que excede à las Arenas del Mar, i su Tierra à las demàs; i no nos detenemos en averiguar si de los Judios, que en tiempo de Senacherib se retiraron con el Rei Tiraca de Etiopia, su Auxiliar: cuio Viage se pone en el Compendio, i Descripcion de las Indias: advirtiendo, que] con lo que havemos respondido al P. Acosta, tenemos satisfecho al P. Fr. Tomas Maluenda, porque casi dice lo mismo que el P. Acosta: [i no se responde à Rudbekio el Moço, que el Año de 1704. havia ià publicado una Muestra de la Historia de Laponia, en que se persuade haver sido poblada aquella Provincia de los diez Tribus, i descender de ellos la maior parte de los Lapones; porque mas facil Viage les damos en lo que queda referido, dejando para otro lugar la Opinion que hace descendientes à los Indios de la Tribu de Isacar, una de las diez de el Cautiverio de Salmanasar, i omitiendo el dictamen de Rabi Salomon, que atribuie la Poblacion de las Indias à la Tribu de Neptali, que con otras, dice, se perdiò en Oriente.]

Capitulo III. del Libro doce de la *Monarquia Indiana.*

De cosas, que entre estos Indios, de esta Nueva-España, se permitian, y disimulaban.

No solamente permitiau los Antiguos Moradores de estas Indias, en sus Republicas, las Mugeres publicas, dichas en el Capitulo pasado, sino otras especies de mas, que el uso fue introduciendo, y los Hombres inventando: lo qual toleraron, y disimularon los Reies, y sus Leies, porque con esto tenian sus Republicas en Paz, y no eran cosas, que en nada las menoscabasen, ni perturbasen, de las quales fue una, que los Mancebos, antes que se casasen, y viniesen à tener casa, y nombre de vecinos en el Pueblo, maiormente los Hijos de Señores, y Hombres ricos, tenian sus Mancebas; y vino à entablarse tal costumbre, que las pedian à sus Padres, como se suelen pedir las Mugeres, que se han de recibir por vinculo de Matrimonio, en especial las pedian à las Madres. Esto se declara por la platica, que de ello tenian, y tambien por el nombre propio, y vocablo que lo significaba; porque à la Manceba llamaban Tlacallalcahuilli, que quiere decir: Persona dejada; como quien dice: Persona, que podia dejarse, sin injuria del Matrimonio, à diferencia de la Muger propia, que llamaban Cihuatlantli; y donde no havia de pedir, ò demandar la Hija à los Padres, para tomarla por Manceba, la llamaban con el nombre comun, y general, que es Temecauh. Acostumbrabase comunmente, ò por la maior parte, que despues que aquel Mancebo havia un Hijo, en la dicha su Manceba, luego le era forçoso, ò dejarla, ò recibirla por Muger legitima: lo qual le requerian sus Padres, diciendole, que pues ià tenia Hijo, que mudase estado, è intencion; como si le dijeran: Pues ià parece haver raçon, para que la recibais por Muger, recibidla; y sino, dejalda, que nosotros buscaremos con quien casar à nuestra Hija, y la daremos Marido; porque ià no es raçon, que viva mas tiempo amancebada. Y si el Moço acordaba de tomarla por Muger, combidabanse los Parientes, y Deudos de una, y otra parte, y hacianse las ceremonias, que usaban, en sus legitimos Casamientos.

Havia otra especie de Mancebas (como suele aver, y las ai entre nuestros Españoles) que quando se enamoraban, èl de ella, y ella de èl, con la fuerça de su aficion, se copulaban, y vivian esta vida el tiempo que querian, ora fuese

poco, ora mucho; pero si durante su amancebamiento se concertaban de casar, decianselo à sus Deudos, y hacian las ceremonias del Matrimonio, y quedaban casados: y este tal, aunque hasta entonces le llamaban con el comun nombre de Mancebo, que es Tepuchtl, ià de alli adelante lo perdia, y le llamaban Tlapalihui, que quiere decir: Hombre hecho, y de fuerças, y ella perdia el nombre de Manceba, y se llamaba Cihuatlantli, ò Nocihuauh: Pedida, ò mi Muger. Otra especie de Mancebas havia, y se permitia, que era la de los Señores Principales, ò las tomaban ellos, ò las pedian despues de ià casados, con la Señora, y Muger legitima, que llamaban Cihuapilli.

Todas estas especies de Mancebas, puesto que muchos las tenian, y en muchas partes se usaba tenerlas, empero tenianse por ilicitas de todos, y solamente por permitidas; y parece esto claro, porque siempre los Padres, y los Parientes ancianos, y viejos, amonestaban à sus Hijos, y Parientes Mancebos, que huiesen de aquel vicio; y los reprehendian, y castigaban, quando podian sobre el mismo caso; y por esto tenian las Hijas mui guardadas, y encerradas, temiendo no fuesen por engaño, ò aficion persuadidas à semejante deshonestidad. De lo dicho parece el buen orden, y buena Policia, que estas Gentes tenian en sus Republicas, por las Leies con que eran governadas, permitiendo por ellas algunas cosas, que si las quitàran todas, sucedieran maiores males.

Capitulo IV.

Donde se trata de las Leies, con que estas Gentes Indianas se regian, y governaban, con las quales tenian, en Paz, y tranquilidad sus Republicas.

Aunque diximos, en los Capitulos antecedentes, de los Indios Isleños, regirse, y governarse *Manu Regia*, que es al Albedrio, y Prudencia de sus Reies, decimos lo contrario de estos de esta Tierra firme, y Reinos poderosos, de esta Nueva-España, los quales, para conservarse en Paz, y Justicia, las tenian mui ordenadas, y pasadas por mui deliberado Consejo, y confirmadas de unas generaciones, en otras. Y aunque de estas ai muchas extravagantes (de que luego diremos) me ha parecido hacer algunas divisiones, poniendo en proprios lugares, lo proprio, y concerniente à sus especies, de las quales serà su primera especie, y division la de los carnales, y deshonestos.

Era Lei, que ninguno se ajuntase à su Madre; y el que lo contrario hacia, moria ahorcado; y si esta culpa se cometia por el Hijo, con voluntad de su Madre, ambos morian una misma muerte, de la qual quedaba libre la dicha Madre, si la culpa havia sido cometida, haviendo sido forçada, y con violencia; y era tenido este pecado entre todas estas Naciones, por horrible, y abominable; y no sin causa, pues es tan contrario à toda buena Raçon, y Lei Natural, como lo determinan todos los Hombres Doctos, en especial Escoto; y en comprobacion de esta Verdad, dice el Filosofo, que el Camello reconoce à la Madre, que le pariò, y jamàs la acomete, para semejante copula, aunque para ello le quieran hacer fuerça, y que de todo, en todo, lo rehusa; y comprueba esta repugnancia grande, que hace, con decir, que una vez hechò un Hombre, un Camello à su Madre, que para este acto la tenia encubierta, y disfraçada, y despues del acto, como la descubriese, y fuese conocida del Hijo, fue tanta su rabia, que arremetiò al que lo havia provocado à la copula, y cogiendole entre los dientes, le matò, con grande coraje, y saña. Tambien cuenta, en este mismo Capitulo, que un cierto Rei de Scithia tenia una mui hermosa Iegua, cuios Potros eran admirables, y que porque la casta fuese buena, y no mezclada, le mandò hechar un Cavallo, Hijo suio, el qual lo rehusò, y no quiso, por conocer, por instinto natural, que era su Madre; pero cubriendosela, y viendola delante, acometiò el acto, que antes no queria, por no haverla conocido, con el disfraz, que se la havian puesto; pero despues que la viò, y conociò, fue tanto lo que mostrò sentir el caso, que corriendo desatinadamente, se despeñò, y hiço pedaços; esto dice Aristoteles, en el Lugar citado. Y si Animales, faltos de raçon, tienen este sentimiento, no es maravilla, que lo alcancen, y prohiban por Lei los que la tienen, y usan de ella, por ser cosa prohibida en Lei Natural. Y de aqui se entienden aquellas palabras de Adàn, hablando le la Muger: Por esto se ha de dejar Padre, y Madre, quanto à la copula carnal, como dice Escoto, en el lugar citado; y añade, que el Padre no puede casarse con su Hija; y no solo el Padre, que la engendrò, pero ni ninguno, que sea de aquella sangre, y generacion, por linea recta; y en tanto grado debe ser esto verdad (prosigue Escoto) que si Adàn resucitàra aora, y bolviera à la vida moral, en que fue criado, no tuviera Muger con quien casar, aunque lo contradice Caietano; de manera, que si el acto del Padre con la Hija es prohibido, en Lei Natural, por ser cosa, que la contradice, mucho mas se debe entender el Hijo, con la Madre, por ser horrendisimo caso violar las entrañas, en que se formò, y anduvo, para venir à tener conocimiento de las cosas de la Vida.

No era licito (y estaba ordenado por Lei) tener copula Hermano, con Hermana, y ahorcaban al comprehendido en esta culpa, que la tenian por grave. Esta prohibicion no es de Lei Natural, pues sabemos, que los primeros Hermanos del Mundo casaron con sus Hermanas; porque à no ser asi, ò havia de criar Dios Mugeres de nuevo, para el acto de la generacion, ò se havian de quedar los Hombres sin Mugeres, pues no havia otras, que las que Eva paria, y es de Fè creerlo; y no haviendo otras en el Mundo, estas havian de casar con sus Hermanos; pero despues de la multiplicacion de las Gentes se derogò esta Lei; y asi como entre otras Naciones, y entre nuestros Christianos, tambien estos Indios la prohibieron.

Es de notar aqui, que aunque decimos, que fue derogada esta Lei, no lo fue con Lei positiva contraria, que expresamente lo prohibiese; antes sabemos haver mandado Dios lo contrario, en la Lei Escrita, diciendo en el Levitico, que ninguno fuese osado à cometer este crimen con Hermana de Padre, ò Madre, ò de entrambos juntamente, sino es en el caso dicho, es à saber, haviendo muerto el Hermano sin Hijos; y lo mismo buelve à decir adelante en el Capitulo veinte. Escoto dice en el Quarto de las Sentencias, que en aquella Lei Antigua fueron prohibidos algunos grados de consanguinidad; y en este Estado Evangelico, à los principios de la Iglesia, hasta siete; pero despues fueron reducidos à quatro, por el Papa Inocencio Tercero. Pero de donde proviene esta prohibicion (dice Escoto) no es de Christo Nuestro Señor en esta Lei Evangelica, porque en ella no prohibiò, sino lo que contradice la misma Lei Natural, que es Hijo con Madre; pero es mandamiento de la Iglesia, por obviar inconvenientes, que à ser de Lei Natural, no fuera dispensable, como lo fue con los Reies de Inglaterra, como en sus Opusculos lo prueba Caietano; y lo que de suio es prohibible, en ninguna ocasion se concede; por lo qual decimos, que si convino esto à los principios del Mundo, ià aora no hace ninguna conveniencia: Lo uno, por haver muchas Mugeres de grados ià mui apartados: Lo otro, porque es decencia, y respeto, que se guarda à la propinquidad de la sangre: y esto guardaron tambien estos Indios, si no eran algunos Señores, que con sus Hermanas se casaban, aunque de estos fueron mui pocos.

Prohibian el acto del Padrastro, con Entenada; y si era de voluntad de la dicha Entenada, morian ambos ahorcados. Esta misma fue Lei Antigua del Pueblo de Dios.

Lo mismo tenian por Lei, si el acto era con Suegra, por raçon de tener, por grave exceso, que un mismo Hombre tuviese acceso con Madre, y Hija.

El que cometia Adulterio tenia pena de muerte; y fue Lei de los Romanos, escrita en las doce Tablas, como lo dice Gelio.

Y asi era, que à los Adulteros, apedreaban; que es lo mismo, que acostumbraban los Hebreos, por mandamiento expreso de su Lei; segun aquel caso de la Muger Adultera, que trajeron à la presencia de Christo Nuestro Señor, à la qual acusaban, de comprehendida en el pecado; à los quales respondiò Christo, que el que se hallese sin pecado, la tirase la primera piedra, no aprobando el adulterio, sino reprehendiendo la malicia con que pensaban cogerle, en su soberana respuesta; de manera, que esta Lei ha sido usada de otras Naciones tambien, como de esta, y fue expresa de los Judios. A ninguna Muger, ni Hombre castigaban por culpa de adulterio, si para el dicho castigo no precedia mas, que la acusacion del Marido; pero havia de haver testigos, y juntamente confesion de los acusados; y si los dichos Adulteros eran de la Gente Principal, y Noble, morian ahogados, en la Carcel; y si de la del Comun, y Pueblo, con la pena dicha; y no es poco de considerar esta distincion, y diferencia, pues no se hace mas, entre Gente de mucha raçon, y Pulicia, para que los Nobles no sean de todo punto afrentados de los plebeios, ià que con la vida pagan.

Tenia pena de muerte, el que mataba à su Muger, por sospechas, ò indicios, que tuviese, de que no le guardaba lealtad conjugal, aunque el caso fuese mui manifiesto, cogiendolos entrambos juntos; y este castigo se reservaba para el Rei, ò Jueces nombrados, para el conocimiento de estas, y otras semejantes causas, y las tocantes al Matrimonio; de los quales dice el Padre Frai Toribio Motolinia, que conociò algunos, en la Ciudad de Tetzcuco, y vido actos juridicos, que acerca de esto hicieron, y oiò sentencias, que pronunciaron; y la raçon que daban, para que el ofendido no pudiese matar à sus ofensores, era, porque decian, que usurpaba la Jurisdiccion Real, no llevando su acusacion à sus Jueces, para que averiguada la verdad, y convencidos los Reos, muriesen, por sentencia, y no por sola pasion del Marido, que los mataba. Esto era inviolable entre estos Indios; aunque entre nuestros Españoles se permite matarlos, por el dolor grande, que en aquel acto recibe el ofendido.

En el Pueblo Antiguo de los Hebreos era Lei, que el Marido, que por algunos indicios, ò causas manifiestas, tuviese sospecha, de que su Muger no le guardaba la fee conjugal, à que estaba obligada, tuviese licencia, si la fuerça

de los celos le aquejaba, de llevarla al Templo, à la presencia del Sacerdote, ante el qual la acusaba del crimen, que sospechaba haver cometido, el qual, por falta de testigos, è informacion suficiente, no podia probarle. Hecha la acusacion, destocaban à la Muger, que se sospechaba ser adultera, y hecho Sacrificio por ella, con algunas cosas, que en los Numeros, expresa el Texto Sagrado, tomaba un Vaso de barro el Sacerdote en sus manos, lleno de Agua, y hechaba en ella un poco de polvo, cogido de el suelo del Templo, y maldecia las Aguas, y polvo, y luego decia à la Muger: Si no ha dormido contigo Varon ageno, y si no has maculado, ni manchado el talamo de tu Marido, no te ofenderàn estas Aguas amarguisimas, en las quales tengo hecha junta, y congregacion de maldiciones; pero si has faltado en la fee de tu Marido, y te has apartado de la obligacion, que le tienes, y te has manchado, y juntado con otro Varon, quedaràs comprehendida en estas maldiciones, y començabalas à decir de esta manera: Hagate Dios comprehendida en estas maldiciones: pongate por exemplo publico de tu maldad en todo su Pueblo de Israèl; quiera èl, que tu muslo se pudra, y coma de Cancer, y que tu Vientre se hinche, y rebiente; entren estas Aguas malditas, en tus entrañas, y con la hinchaçon de tu Vientre, se pudran tus muslos; à las quales maldiciones dichas respondia la Muger, Amen, dos veces, y dabale à beber las Aguas, que tenia en el Vaso. Si era verdad el crimen, que el Marido le imponia, podriansele las entrañas, y rebentandole el Vientre, moria la adultera; pero si no lo era, no la ofendia, y quedaba libre de la calumnia. Algo de esto, se quiso introducir, en el Christianismo, en los primeros Tiempos de la Iglesia; pero aunque les fue permitido, à los del Pueblo Judaico antes del advenimiento de Christo, dioseles este permiso (como dice el Tostado) como à Gente imperfecta; porque si no tuvieran este permiso, matàran à sus Mugeres, con la rabia de los celos, que havian engendrado; y porque no fuese con atrevimiento proprio, se les concediò este permiso, con Autoridad Divina, y asi à estos les fue licito; pero como la Lei Evangelica es en todo perfecta, repudiò este uso, por quanto no era licito, aunque fue tolerable, por aquel Tiempo, y lo evitò entre los Christianos, y lo tiene prohibido, por diversos Canones, como se notan, en el Derecho, y lo toca Santo Thomàs, en su Segunda Parte; de manera, que todas las Republicas bien ordenadas ha havido Leies de tolerancia, para la conservacion de su buen Govierno.

Aunque la muerte ordinaria de los Adulteros era con piedras, en medio de las Plaças, ò Mercados, era con esta diferencia, que à unos ataban de pies, y manos, y les daban con una grande piedra, en las sienes, con que à pocos golpes moria; otros eran muertos à garrotaços; y otros cargados de piedras de el tropel de la Gente, y Pueblo, que se hallaba al espectaculo, que era sin numero; y apenas havia recibido la primera el reo, quando estaba cubierto de otras sin cuento; de tal manera, que pudiera aquel ser el lugar de su sepultura, sin que de su misero cuerpo se pareciese nada. Y si por alguna raçon particular los Adulteros, siendo de los Pipiltin, que quiere decir Principales, y Nobles, eran ahorcados por este crimen, les emplumaban las cabeças, poniendoles ciertos penachos verdes, y con este atavio los quemaban; y decian hacer esto por genero de compasion, que de ellos tenian.

Todos los que cometian incesto en el primer grado de consanguinidad, tenian pena de muerte, si no eran cuñados y cuñadas; y era costumbre, que quando moria alguno, que tuviese Hermanos, el maior, ò menor, uno, ù otro de ellos, si eran muchos, la recibia por Muger, dado caso, que el difunto huviese havido Hijos en ella.

Esta costumbre parece que quiere oler à la Lei Antigua, que mandaba Dios, que si el casado moria sin Hijos, quedase obligado el maior, de los que quedaban, à casarse con ella, para resucitar la generacion de su Hermano; porque el Nombre del difunto, no pereciese, sino que se eterniçase; pero es con esta diferencia, que alli lo mandaba Dios, por defecto, y herencia de los Hijos; y aqui no se guardaba este respeto, entre los Indios, aunque tampoco era esto siempre, como tambien allà en la Lei Antigua; porque quando el Hermano no queria, ni à persuasion de la cuñada, ni en la presencia de los Jueces, hacia aquella ceremonia de escupirle en la cara, y descalçarle un çapato, y quedaba libre, aunque no sin afrenta, è ignominia; pero esto no se sabe, que sucediese entre estos Indios.

Al Marido, que tenia acceso con su Muger, despues de haverle faltado en la fee conjugal, le castigaban, y esto era en algunas partes, y es cosa mui de notar; porque entre nosotros los Christianos es Lei, que si acaso se ha cometido esta culpa, y el Marido la perdona, no puede despues matarla por ella, haviendo llegado otra vez à los actos Matrimoniales; y debia de ser esto asi entre esta Gente, y no sè el origen, ni raçon en que se fundaban.

No tenia pena, por la Lei, el que llegaba à la Manceba de otro, si no era, que huviese mucho Tiempo, que la tenia el otro, y eran tenidos ambos, por casados.

Al que cometia el pecado nefando ahorcaban, y ponian sumo estudio, y diligencia los Jueces, en inquirir, si se cometia esta culpa en las Republicas, para castigarla, por tenerla por bestial, y agena de toda raçon.

El Hombre, que se vestìa habitos de Muger, moria ahorcado; y lo mismo la Muger, que se ponia en habitos de Hombre.

Esta fue prohibicion, en la Lei Antigua, que diò Dios à su Pueblo; y dà la raçon Lira, diciendo: Que por escusar actos libidinosos, que en semejantes trages pueden solaparse, y encubrirse.

Si algun Summo Sacerdote, ò Pontifice era comprehendido en alguna culpa de deshonestidad, ò era hallado con alguna Muger, era desterrado, y privado de sus bienes, y castigado, con otros maiores castigos; pero si eran notados del pecado nefando, los quemaban en algunas partes, y en otras los ahorcaban, ò mataban, como les parecia convenir, y satisfacer à la gravedad de el caso.

A las alcahuetas castigaban, con esta pena, averiguado, y sabido, por cierto, que usaban el oficio de tercera: La sacaban à la verguença, y en la Plaça, delante de todo el Pueblo, la quemaban los cabellos, con rajas de tea, hasta que llegaba el calor, y fuego à lo vivo de la cabeça, y asi afrentada con sus cabellos quemados, y untada toda la cabeça con las gotas de la resina de la Tea, la despachaban à su casa. La diferencia de estos Indios, y nosotros en esto, no es otra, sino que nuestras Justicias usan encoroçarlas, afrentandolas en publico; aunque para quien no tiene verguença de usar semejante oficio, no es mala coroça quemarle los cabellos; y quien no se afrenta de ofender à Dios, menos tendrà por afrenta verse empapelada, y asi no es mal castigo, para quien no tiene verguença, darle el que le puede poner temor, y causarle dolor, y escocimiento. Y si la persona, à quien se alcahueteaba era de estimacion, y autoridad, le daban maiores penas à la alcahueta.

La Muger, que con otra Muger tenia deleitaciones carnales, à las quales llamaban Patlache, que quiere decir Incuba, morian ambas por ello.

Si alguno tenia acceso, con alguna Esclava agena, y la dicha Esclava moria estando preñada, hacian Esclavo al que cometia esta culpa; pero si paria, llevabase el Padre la cria, y quedaba *libre*. Esta Lei no sigue la nuestra, *que hace esclavo al Hijo de la Esclava,* siguiendo el parto al vientre.

Capitulo V.

Donde se ponen las Leies, que hablan contra los Ladrones, y se confutan otras Antiguas.

Una de las cosas de que mas se afrentaban estas Gentes, era, hurtar lo ageno, conformandose, con aquella Sentencia, que dice: Lo que no quieres para ti, no lo quieras para otro; y como sea verdad, que ninguno quiere, que otro le tome las cosas, que son suias, y reconoce por proprias, tampoco querria quitarselas al vecino. De aqui es, que jamàs usaron Puertas, en el Tiempo de su Gentilidad; porque no era necesario defender nada con ellas; siendo cierto, que sin Puertas estaba todo defendido, aunque para cubrir, y ocultar lo interior de la casa, usaban de un Cañiço, à manera de çarço, el qual ponian por puerta arrimado à los umbrales de la casa, y colgaban de èl un sartal de tejuelas, ò otras cosas, que pudiese hacer ruido; y el que llegaba à querer entrar, ò pedir algo, movia las tejuelas, y al ruido salian los de dentro à saber quien era, ò què queria, y el que llegaba, ò entraba, de alli era despachado, con todo recato, y encogimiento, sin que huviese exceso en pasar los limites del recaudo, que traìa. Esta era costumbre tan inviolable, que jamàs se quebrantaba; y de aqui se conocerà, quan seguras tenian sus Haciendas los unos, de los otros, en sus casas; pero porque no ai virtud moral, que puesta al albedrio del Hombre, sea de todo punto guardada, ià que por los mas de una Republica esto se execute, ai algunos, que lo quebrantan; por eso digo, que es esto lo general (como veremos en otra parte) pero para lo particular, y para los transgresores, tenian puestas las Leies siguientes.

Era Lei, que nadie hurtase en general; y si era cosa de valor, y el que lo havia hurtado, aun no lo havia gastado, ò despendido, quitabaselo la Justicia, y al dicho ladron vendian por esclavo; pero si lo havia ià gastado, ò malbaratado, moria por ello.

El que hurtaba en la Plaça, ò Mercado, que llaman Tianquizco, luego alli era muerto à palos, por tener por mui grave culpa, que en semejante lugar, y tan publico, huviese tanto atrevimiento.

El que hurtaba cantidad de Maçorcas de Maiz (que son las espigas del trigo de estas Indias) moria ahorcado por ello; y la misma pena tenia, si en los campos, y sembrados arrancaba matas de este dicho Maiz en cantidad.

Erales permitido á los que pasaban de camino, tomar alguna, ò algunas Maçorcas para comer. Esta libertad, y permiso se usò en la Lei Antigua del Pueblo de Dios, concediendoseles à los que pasaban, poder comer en las

Viñas, y Sembrados, lo que les bastase; y esto es lo que reprehendiò Christo Nuestro Señor à los Fariseos, quando notaron à sus sagrados discipulos, de que en el Dia del Sabado entraban en los Sembrados, y tomaban lo necesario, para satisfacer la hambre, lo qual les era permitido (como hemos dicho) porque la Lei daba este permiso, con tal, que no huviese exceso en el arrancar, ò cortar las espigas, y esto no era hurto; porque como se dice en el Derecho, la Necesidad no hace al Hombre ladron, sino la voluntad, y asi la necesidad les hacia entrar à coger espigas, las quales fregadas entre las manos, limpiaban los granos, y se los comian; porque como dice la Glosa de este Capitulo, la Hambre escusa de ladronicio, por quanto la Necesidad carece de Lei. Y esta misma necesidad escusò à David, comiendo los Panes de la proposicion, que eran de solos los Sacerdotes, como tambien se lo refiere el Señor, en este mismo Capitulo de San Matheo, y comer lo necesario, y no mas, se dice en el Derecho ser licito. Y no sè si quedò de aqui la costumbre, que en nuestra España se guarda, con los que entran en las Viñas, aunque sea en presencia del Viñadero, como, no haga mas de comer, sin sacar ningun racimo, à lo menos dice el Glosador del Derecho, que de Derecho Divino le es licito à qualquiera comer uvas de Viña agena.

No pueden dejar de quedar reprehendidos los Antiguos Romanos, en este permiso, y licencia, que estos Indios tenian dada à los caminantes, y gente, que pasaba junto de los sembrados, para que pudiesen coger alguna, ò algunas Maçorcas de la primera renglera de las cañas; lo qual ellos prohibieron, con grandisimo rigor, ordenando, que de noche no se hurtase ninguna espiga de los sembrados, y no solo que no lo hurtasen, ni cortasen, pero que ni aun la pisasen; y à los comprehendidos en el quebrantamiento de esta Lei, si era Mancebo ià de edad suficiente, que de ella se pudiese colegir su malicia, moria por ello, sacrificado à la Diosa Ceres, y con mas rigor, que si fuera homicida*; y si era menor de edad, era açotado por el albedrio del Pretor, ante quien pasaba esta acusacion, y pagaba èl, ò sus deudos por èl, el daño hecho, con el doble, ò tres tanto. Siendo, pues, los Romanos los que se preciaron de usar de las Leies de las doce Tablas; y llevando esta, con tanto rigor, en cosa tan leve, no es maravilla, que otras Barbaras Naciones del Mundo aian incurrido, en tan grande inhumanidad; y nombremos por primeras à los de Atenas, que mientras les durò las que Draco (Antiguo, y Sabio Filosofo) les diò, morian por qualquiera pequeño delito, el que lo cometia; y la misma pena tenia el que hurtaba una sola Aceituna, como se le averiguase el hurto. De esta indiscreta constitucion de Leies no se escaparon los Delvices, moradores, y vecinos del Monte Caucaso, que por qualquier delito, y hurto pequeño cortaban las cabeças à los que las cometian. Otros sus vecinos de estos dichos, tenian su contrario extremo, que por delito, ni causa grave que fuese, no los mataban, sino que los desterraban de su Patria à los delinquentes; asi lo dice de ambas Gentes, Estrabon.

Era Lei, y con rigor guardada, que si alguno vendia por esclavo algun Niño perdido, fuese esclavo el que lo vendiò, y su hacienda se partiese en dos partes, la una para el Niño vendido, y la otra para el que lo havia comprado; y si eran muchos los que havian hecho la dicha venta, eran todos vendidos, y hechos esclavos por ella. Vendian por esclavo al que tenia alguna Tierra en deposito, ò en terceria, y la vendia sin licencia de la Justicia.

Capitulo VI.

De las Leies tocantes, y pertenecientes à las Guerras, y Soldados.

Una de las condiciones, que en la Guerra se piden, y la principal, es, que sea movida con causa justa, determinada por Raçon, y Justicia, sin la qual no se puede llamar buena, ni raçonable, sino mala, y mui mala; y aunque no en todas las Naciones del Mundo se ha guardado esta condicion, porque entre Infieles los mas se han preciado de Tiranos, ià que no aian sido todos, estos Indios Mexicanos mostraron en su Gentilidad, preciarse de ella, y asi fue Lei establecida, entre ellos; y no sè si alguna vez quebrantada (despues que se introdujeron en el Imperio) por alguno de sus Reies, y Principes, que ninguna Guerra se movia, que no fuese justa. Para cumplir con esta condicion, y no faltar en ninguna de las que eran necesarias para la justificacion de los que la movian, se ordenaba por este modo. Si algun Pueblo se rebelaba, ò causaba motin, luego embiaban los Señores de los tres Reinos

* This is an exaggeration: the laws of the Romans were not extremely severe; and if the sentence 'Let him die the death' had been inscribed amongst the laws of the Twelve Tables, it would not have been interpreted by them to mean 'Let him be crucified;' a very usual mode of capital punishment amongst the Jews; which totally overthrows the argument of a writer in a late number of the Quarterly Review, who contends that revealed religion dispensed with the necessity of severe penal enactments;—since how did it happen that stoning to death, burning to death, and crucifying, were common punishments amongst God's chosen people? Perhaps it will be foolishly replied, that because of the hardness of their hearts it was so.

Principales, que eran Mexico, Tetzcuco, y Tlacupa, Gente, para que, de secreto, supiesen si aquella Rebelion era movida de todo el Pueblo, ò por sola voluntad del Señor, que lo tenia à cargo, y governaba; si se averiguaba ser por el Señor, luego proveìan Capitanes, y Jueces, para que con numero de Gente, fuesen à prender al amotinador, y rebelde, y mandaban hacer de èl publica Justicia, y de aquellos, que se hallasen comprehendidos, y culpados, en la conjuracion; pero si el alçamiento, y rebeldia nacia de todo el Pueblo, en comun, embiabanles à requerir diversas veces, que se sujetasen à la obediencia de los Reies, que los tenian à su cargo, por Vasallos, pagando los tributos, y pechos, que tenian de obligacion; si venian en ello, y se humillaban, eran perdonados; pero si menospreciaban las amonestaciones, y ruegos de los Reies, y Legados, ò Embaxadores, que iban con la Embaxada; embiabanles ciertas Armas, y Rodelas, en señal de amenaça, y desafio; y luego pregonaban la Guerra contra ellos à Fuego, y Sangre; pero de tal manera, y con tal condicion, que en qualquiera tiempo, y hora, que se bolviesen de Paz, y se rindiesen à la obediencia, cesaba luego la Guerra; porque no pretendian nombre de crueles Tiranos, sino de Reies humanos, y solo querian sujetar voluntades, y no matar, y quitar vidas: condicion por cierto digna de consideracion, y nota. De las Naciones Antiguas se me ofrece la Romana, de quien dice Tito Livio, haver tenido esta costumbre, los quales no hacian Guerra à ningun Pueblo, ni Republica, por agravios que les hiciesen, ni por traiciones, que les armasen, sin que primero los amonestasen, y procurasen atraer de Paz; y quando por este modo no querian, procedian en la causa por amenaças, y desafio; para lo qual era nombrado el Sacerdote maior, de los que tenian por nombre Feciales (como ià hemos dicho, en otra parte) al qual llamaban por excelencia, *Pater patratus*, y vestido de Sacerdotales Ornamentos iba à la Ciudad, de quien se havia recibido el agravio, ò injuria; y antes de entrar en ella, llamaba algun Portero, ò persona (la primera que encontraba) y le decia ciertas deprecaciones, ruegos, y protestaciones, ò requerimientos, persuadiendo à la Ciudad, à que se bolviese à la obediencia Romana, ò que le satisficiese, en lo que era deudora. Hecho esto, ibase de alli à la Plaça, y embiaba à decir à los Governadores, y Magistrados de la Ciudad su llegada; los quales presentes, dabales cuenta de su venida, y rogabales, que acudiesen à sus obligaciones, y que satisficiesen el daño hecho à la Republica Romana, señalandoles para la respuesta diez dias de plaço; y si pedian mas termino, para deliberar, se le concedia, por otros diez, y luego otro, hasta treinta, y al cumplimiento de cada diez dias, bolvia à saber lo determinado, y resuelto; y si pasados no se rendian, ni sujetaban, sino que permanecian en su rebeldia, desafiabalos, diciendo de esta manera: Oie Jupiter, y tu Juno, y Quirino, y todos los Dioses Celestiales, y Vosotros tambien los Terrenales, y los de el Infierno, oìd: Delante de Vosotros testifico ser aqueste Pueblo injusto, que no quiere satisfacer lo que debe, y por tanto Io, y el Pueblo Romano (cuio Legado soi) le determinamos hacer Guerra. Luego tomaba una Lança un poco quemada, ò ensangrentada, que para este efecto llevaba, y arrojabala dentro de los terminos de aquella Ciudad, y Provincia; y otros dicen, que tiraba una Saeta; y sease lo que se fuere, esta era la ceremonia principal, dejando otras muchas, que tambien hacian. Hecho esto, se bolvia à Roma, y acompañandose de los otros Sacerdotes, sus Colegas, y Feciales, entraba en el Senado, à dàr raçon de lo acaecido, y certificaba ser justa la Guerra, y que licitamente podian darla. De esto dice mucho Servio Grammatico, en los Comentos de Virgilio; de manera, que jamas movieron Guerra los Romanos, que no fuese justificandola, con las moniciones, y requerimientos dichos, lo qual vemos haver acostumbrado estas Gentes Occidentales, y ser ordenadas por los Sacerdotes, sin cuio parecer (como hemos dicho en otra ocasion) no se movian à hacer Guerra à ningun Pueblo, y guardabase esta costumbre, y Lei inviolablemente; y aun en el modo del desafio parece, que convinieron, porque los Romanos arrojaban Lança, ò Saeta, à los desafiados, y estos Indios ofrecian la Saeta, con una Rodela, là qual era la señal cierta del desafio, y con esto se bolvian à dàr raçon de lo hecho, y puede ser que fuese à este acto algun Sacerdote, como iba en Roma; porque es mucha raçon, que el que dà el consejo, intervenga en la cosa aconsejada, maiormente si es Persona de autoridad, como lo han sido siempre entre todas las Naciones de el Mundo los Sacerdotes, y en especial entre estos Indios, que los han tenido en grandisima veneracion.

Era Lei, que degollasen à los que en la Guerra hacian algun daño à los enemigos, sin licencia del Capitan, ò si acometian antes de tiempo, ò si se apartaban de la Vandera, ò Compañia, ò si quebrantaban, y traspasaban algun bando hechado, por el Capitan. Esta es Lei mui ordinaria, en las Guerras, para que las cosas de ella sucedan, como se pretende; porque à no ser asi, y querer cada uno seguirla de sus antojos, seria ir errado todo, è incurrir en el peligro de la muerte, que à los ojos tienen: Verdad sea, que algunas veces se tolèra esta ultima condicion, por otros maiores bienes, que hiço la Persona, que la quebrantó; de lo qual se me ofrecen dos exemplos: el primero pone Tito Livio, en un Mancebo Romano, de grande esfuerço, y valentia, por el qual fue vencido el Exercito

contrario de los Albanos, y metiendole en Roma triunfando, llevaba por trofeo la vestidura de un cuñado suioi casado con su Hermana, al qual havia muerto en la Guerra; y como lo saliese à recibir su Hermana, y conociese por el vestido, con que Horacio entraba triunfando ser muerto su esposo, començò à llorar, y hacer extremos, en medio de tanto regocijo, con que los demàs festejaban la Gloria de el vencimiento; y movido Horacio à saña de las lagrimas, y consideradas las de su Hermana, sacò la espada, y diola de estocadas, de que luego muriò, sin ser poderosos à defenderla de la muerte los que se hallaron presentes al caso; y quando la vido espirar, dijole Horacio: Vaia con los muertos, la que llora al enemigo del Pueblo Romano, difunto, y muerto, sintiendo mas la muerte del esposo, enemigo de la Patria, que la de dos Hermanos, muertos en defensa de ella, y el Triunfo, que el tercero gana con la Victoria del muerto. Quedaron todos asombrados del hecho, y Horacio en manos de la Justicia, para degollarle, lloraba el Padre, y decia, quando lo vido al pie del suplicio, y horca, hablando con los Jueces: Como es posible, que aquel, que poco ha librò al Pueblo Romano, en su afliccion, y conflicto, estè aora preso en la Paz, y que las manos, que desataron las ataduras de la muerte de los Romanos, estèn atadas para recibirla? Fue tanto lo que se moviò el Pueblo, acordandose del maior bien recibido por el valeroso Mancebo, que olvidado del mal presente, lo defendiò, oponiendose à la Justicia, tolerando un yerro hecho, por gratificar otro maior bien recibido.

El segundo es aquel bando, que hechò el Rei Saul, mandando por èl, que nadie fuese osado à comer bocado, hasta que consiguiese la Victoria, que iba siguiendo de los Palestinos Filisteos, el qual bando, y pregon fue debajo de juramento, y pena de muerte, al que lo quebrantase: pero no sabiendolo el Principe Jonatàs, su Hijo, por estàr en lo fuerte de la Batalla, y pelèa, quando su Padre lo mandò, comiò de un poco de Panal, que hallò en el camino, iendo en el alcance de los enemigos, y mui cansado; y siendo comprehendido en este quebrantamiento de precepto, quiso el Padre matarlo; pero no lo consintiò el Pueblo, y multitud de Soldados, diciendo, que nunca Dios permitiese, que Jonatàs muriese, haviendo sido el principio, è instrumento de haverles dado Dios à sus manos los enemigos, de cuia Victoria era suia la Gloria; y añade Josefo, en las Antiguedades Judaicas, que lo libraron del juramento de el Rei, y manos de su Padre, queriendo antes quedar agradecidos del bien recibido, que admirados del Animo de un Hombre, que por no quebrantar una Lei, se mostraba severo, homicida de su proprio Hijo.

Tenia Pena de muerte, el que quitaba à otro la presa, y cautivo, que por su persona havia havido en la Guerra; la misma pena se daba, juntamente con perdimiento de bienes, al Señor, ò Principal, que en algun Baile, ò Fiesta, ò en acto de Guerra sacaba las Insignias, ò alguna Divisa, ò señal, que fuese como las Armas, ò Divisas de los Reies de Mexico, Tetzcuco, y Tlacupan, sobre lo qual solia haver entre los Señores, y Potentados grandes disensiones, y Guerras.

Al traidor, que descubria à los enemigos los secretos de la Guerra, ò las cosas comunicadas, para el conseguimiento de ella, hacian pedaços, cuios bienes eran confiscados para el Fisco Real, y todos sus Hijos, Deudos, y Parientes quedaban hechos perpetuos esclavos, y manchados, para siempre, *como lo quedan entre nosotros los que han traìdo Sambenito, ò decienden de ellos.*

Capitulo VII.

De otras Leies extravagantes, y diversas, que no siguen orden, ni especie.

Los Jueces de qualquier Consejo, que fuesen, tenian pena de muerte, si hacian alguna Relacion falsa al Rei, o Señor Superior, acerca de algun pleito, y causa, que en su Tribunal, y Juzgado pasase, y la misma, los que sentenciaban las causas injustamente, cuia execucion, vimos en uno de los Capitulos pasados; y ciertamente que es Lei, que se debia guardar inviolablemente, asi para la seguridad de las conciencias de esos mismos Jueces, pues que en hacer contra Justicia, hacen contra raçon, y se condenan, como para el bien, y provecho de la Republica, la qual es bien regida, y govèrnada, quando la Justicia corre por parejo, entre los Litigantes, y no ai quien se amotine, quando se conoce, que se dà al que se debe.

A los Hijos, que heredaban Hacienda de sus Padres, y la gastaban mal, y la desperdiciaban, ahorcaban; y castigaban à los que por alguna raçon no daban muerte, con penas, y castigos graves; porque decian, que eran dignos de gran reprehension los que no estimaban, y tenian en mucho el sudor ageno, sin el qual, el que lo desestimaba padeceria hambre, y trabajo, y como à indigno de la vida, era raçon, que la perdiese. La Pena, con que los Romanos castigaban esta culpa, era, no permitir que le fuese entregada la Herencia, como lo dicen Ciceron,

y Ulpiano; y en el mismo grado ponian al prodigo, y despreciador de su legitima, que al furioso, y loco, y corrian ambos por una pena. Consideren las Republicas Christianas, si por ventura corrieran por ellas estas Leies, los que huvieran muerto por esta culpa, y adviertan, que quando esta Lei Humana falte, que està ai la de Dios, y su estrecho juicio, y el que le ha de ser hecho acerca de esta tan grande perdicion; y quan grande confusion es no mirar, que los bienes heredados es grande afrenta perderlos, en especial quando se gastan en vanidades, y solturas de moços, y gente loca, que no atiende à mas que triunfar, el Tiempo que dura, y serà posible (lo qual Dios no quiera) que el que los dejò lo estè padeciendo en la otra vida.

La misma Pena tenian los que quedaban por Tutores, si no daban buena cuenta à los Menores, de su Tutoria, de los bienes, que dejaban à su cargo, los Padres difuntos. Esta fue una de las Leies de las Doce Tablas, de que tanto se preciaron los Romanos, como lo dice Ciceron; y serà tambien raçon, que aprendiesen de Indios, que tampoco estiman los Españoles esta Lei, y que no corriese por ellos un abuso tan malo de entregar las Tutelas con muchos papeles de gasto, y poco dinero de recibo.

Y para maior confusion, digo, que cierto Cavallero muriò en estas Indias, que dejò à dos Hijos, que tenia, grandisimas Herencias, y tanto, que iendose à casar el maior de ellos, algunas leguas de la Ciudad, donde moraba, me certificaron, que todo el repostero era de sedas, y los garrotillos con que apretaban las cargas, y las herraduras de las mulas, que las llevaban, eran de Plata; y hecho el casamiento, y gasto de èl, queriendo el Tutor (que los havia tenido à cargo desde Niños) darle su hacienda, como Hombre casado, y que tenia casa, entremetiò un vale (entre otros papeles) de quarenta mil pesos de solas colaciones, que se havian gastado en el casamiento, y Fiestas; y por este vale se hecharà mui bien de vèr la cantidad, que llevarian los otros, de cosas mas quantiosas. Esto he dicho por dos cosas; la una, para persuadir, que quien no lo suda, y trabaja, no siente perderlo; y la otra, para dàr à entender, que al que no tiene conciencia, no le duele, ni le remuerde añadir vales, porque todo và à costa del vecino, no advirtiendo, que todos estos vales quedan sentados en los libros de las cuentas de Dios.

Tenia pena de muerte, el que quitaba, ò apartaba los Mojones, y Terminos, ò señales de las Tierras, y Heredades.

Los Mancebos no tenian licencia de beber Vino, hasta llegar à tanta Edad, y Años, los quales estaban ià sabidos por Lei; y asi, era cosa ignominiosa emborracharse, lo qual castigaban con graves penas; porque si era Mancebo, llevabanlo à una casa, que llamaban Telpuchcalli, y alli lo mataban à garrotaços; y si era Principal, y tenia oficio en la Republica, ò en la Guerra, quitandole el oficio, le dejaban afrentado, y sin èl.

El esclavo que estaba preso, y podia soltarse de la prision, y se entraba en Palacio, sin sabiduria de las Guardas, y Porteros, quedaba libre de su esclavitud, y de las penas en que pudiera ser condenado; que segun esto, las casas de los Reies Indios, eran como los Asilos, y Lugares de Refugio antiguos, para los condenados, que no es poco de notar.

Era Lei, que muriese sacrificado, y abierto por los pechos, el que hacia Hechiços, y Maleficios, para que viniese alguna ruina, ò mal sobre la Ciudad. Esta Lei era del Pueblo de Dios, donde mandò esto por expresas palabras: No sufriràs, que vivan los maleficos, que son los que hechan suertes, y hacen encantos. Al que mataba con bebediços, era Lei, que muriese ahorcado por ello.

Capitulo VIII.

De los Establecimientos, y Leies de los Indios, de los Reinos de Guatemala, y otras Provincias sus Convecinas.

Aunque estos Indios Guatimaltecos, convenian con los otros referidos arriba, de estos Reinos de la Nueva-España, en muchas de sus Leies, si no en todas, no eran los castigos, y penas iguales; porque parece encontrarse en ellas, siendo en unas, mas remisos, y en otras, mas graves sus castigos: por lo qual me ha parecido ser necesario, tratar del buen Govierno de esta Republica, como de Reino diviso, y apartado de los ià dichos, de esta Nueva-España, y decir sus Leies, y castigos determinados en ellas. Pero hemos de notar primero, que los Reies, que suelen ser, y son los que ordenan Leies; y las mandan promulgar en sus Reinos, y Republicas, no estaban libres en esta de Guatemala, quando el que lo era se preciaba mas de Tirano, que de Rei, y tenia su castigo, y paga,

como el que por tirania la tenia merecida. Para lo qual era costumbre mui usada, entre ellos, que quando el Señor, y Rei era tirano, y cruel, los que eran Cabeças de Familias, ò Casas Solariegas, como solemos decir nosotros los Españoles, los quales se sentian agraviados de èl, comunicaban sus quejas, y agravios à la Gente Principal de el Reino, mui en secreto; y si hallaban en ellos animo de acometer aquella empresa, juntabanse los conjurados, y mataban al Rei, y daban por esclavos, y cautivos à todas sus Mugeres, y Hijos, y confiscaban todos sus bienes, y repartianlos entre sì; pero si todo el Reino, ò Pueblo, no convenia en la conspiracion de los querellantes, y agraviados, acudian con su demanda al Señor, que entendian ser mas poderoso de los vecinos, y comarcanos à su Reino, y ofrecianle (para moverle) todos los despojos, y hacienda de el Rei, y que le darian sus Mugeres y Hijos por esclavos. Si el Rei vecino lo aceptaba, embiaba su Gente de Guerra, para que matasen al Tirano, por el mejor y mas seguro modo que pudiesen; y muerto, levantaban otro Rei en su lugar, y no por esto eran condenados, ni juzgados los conjurados en esta conspiracion, y muerte, ni se les daba pena alguna.

Qualquiera Cavallero, ò Cacique que impedia, que los Macehuales, y Vasallos pagasen los Tributos, y Rentas debidos al Rei, moria con la pena del conspirador, y la misma tenia el que los amotinaba, y los movia à ser inobedientes; y ponian luego otro en su lugar, y dabanle la autoridad, que el conspirador, ò amotinador tenia.

El que mataba à otro, moria por ello, como ha sido usado en las mas Republicas del Mundo.

Si la Muger del Rei cometia adulterio, notabase la Persona, con quien le havia cometido; y si era Principal, y Noble, dabanle garrote, y de esta manera morian ambos; pero si era plebeio, y del comun, era despeñado.

Si alguno tenia copula con alguna esclava, era castigado con pena pecuniaria, y algunas veces daba el fornicario, otro tanto dinero por la culpa cometida, como valia la esclava, con quien la cometiò, ò compraba otra de igual valor, y quantia; pero si la culpa havia sido cometida contra algun Señor, de quien se supiese haver tenido este trato, con la dicha esclava, doblabase la pena, por raçon de haver sido maior la ofensa.

Al Ladron castigaban con pena pecuniaria, y todo aquello, en que era condenado, por raçon del hurto, se aplicaba al Rei, y à su Fisco, de mas de que pagaba à su dueño todo lo que parecia haver hurtado: esto se entiende, si no era notado de Ladron frequente, y ordinario; pero si lo tenia por costumbre, y era incorregible, lo ahorcaban; pero primero precedia requerir à todos sus Parientes, si los tenia, para que redimiesen su vida, pagando por èl, las condenaciones en que estaba comprehendido; y si ellos se escusaban, y respondian estàr ià hartos de traerle en hombros, y de pagar por èl, los hurtos que hacia, y pedian, que lo castigasen, entonces le ahorcaban, y con la muerte satisfacia, lo que no podia restituir en vida.

A todos los que sentenciaban à muerte, era mui ordinario, y comun confiscarles los Bienes, y hacer esclavas à sus Mugeres, y Hijos, que no es poco tiranica esta Lei; porque dado caso, que en algunas cosas *sea licito castigar à los Hijos, en las culpas de los Padres, como lo vemos en los Herejes, y Judios, mandando los Sacros Canones, que sean comprehendidos en los castigos de sus Padres;* porque como dice una Glosa, las mas veces acontece seguir los Hijos las malas costumbres è inclinaciones de sus Padres: no en todos los casos es licito, porque el homicida, que mata repentinamente à otro, no hiço pecado, en que pudiese incurrir culpa en su Hijo, y asi, no serà raçon, que lleve parte en el castigo, que por Lei se debe dàr al Padre, y esta no es culpa de infamia, aunque es agravio del proximo; y donde no ai traicion contra Dios, negando su Nombre, ni contra el Rei, usurpandole su Real Estado y Corona; no es raçon, que la culpa sea de participantes, no siendo complices en el delito; y asi, decimos, que si ai culpas, que merezcan este castigo, como es en los traidores, que corre su traicion, en confiscacion de sus bienes, y derribamiento de Casas, sembrandolas de sal, y en infamia de sus Hijos. Ai otras, que no incluien en sì tanto rigor, aunque no escusan, ni libran de la muerte al que pecò, y quedan sus Mugeres, y Hijos libres de infamia, por raçon de la culpa; y se verifica ser maior la tirania de esta Lei de lo que parece; porque aun entre las que tanto vàn miradas, y remiradas, como son las dichas, de que nuestro Christianismo usa, no ai ninguno que haga esclavo al Hijo libre, y à la Muger, que lo es tambien, por culpas agenas; porque ai diferencia à quedar manchados en una culpa de participantes à quedar hechos esclavos por ella; porque los manchados, y amancillados, que son comprehendidos en la culpa de sus Padres, aunque lo quedan, no à lo menos esclavos, que es perdida la Libertad en que Dios los criò, lo qual no es licito que pierda, por quanto es la cosa mas preciosa de quantas ai en la Vida, fuera de la misma vida, que se goça, y no qualquiera culpa los ha de condenar à tanta pena, si no son aquellas dichas, que por su atrocidad deben castigarse en las Generaciones futuras de los que las cometieron.

A los fornicarios, conviene à saber, soltero, y soltera, que eran comprehendidos en la fornicacion, castigaban con pena pecuniaria, lo qual se acostumbra en los amancebados, que siendo convencidos de su delito, son conde-

nados en el Marco de Plata, ò en otra quantia, conforme son las Tierras; y absueltos de esta culpa, en lo temporal; aunque no de la espiritual, para lo qual tienen que hacer penitencia para satisfacer à Dios, que no pide Marcos, ni onças de Plata, sino coraçones arrepentidos de pecar, y obras buenas de satisfacion. Pero si havia parte que representase injuria, como es Padre, y Madre, por Hijo; ò Hermano, por Hermana, y reclamaba sobre ello, le daban pena de muerte; y quando menos, le hacian Esclavo, que es lo mismo que nosotros usamos: si ià no es, que perdona la parte, por alguna causa de las que legitimamente se conceden.

Al que hacia fuerça à alguna Muger, si la culpa llegaba à tener execucion, moria por ello; pero sino llegaba à acto, hacianlo esclavo, por la violencia, y fuerça, que pretendiò, acometiendo à cumplirla. El que hurtaba alguna cosa de los Templos, si era de valìa, y precio, moria despeñado, por el grande atrevimiento que tuvo, en llegar à las cosas que decian ser sagradas, y dedicadas à su Dios; y si eran leves, lo hacian esclavo.

Capitulo IX.

Donde se prosigue la materia de el pasado.

Era Lei inviolable entre estas Gentes Guatemaltecas, que à todos los Nobles, y Señores, que en la Guerra prendiesen, los matasen, y sacrificasen à sus Idolos, y sus carnes fuesen despues comidas de los Reies, y Señores vencedores. La raçon que daban para no perdonarlos, y sacrificarlos, y comerselos, era, querer poner terror, y espanto en los enemigos, para que los estimasen, y entendiesen, que los que à los Reies mataban, y comian, tambien matarian, y comerian à los Vasallos, pues eran en estimacion menos. Esto mismo (aunque disimuladamente) parece haver hecho Ptolomeo, Hijo de Cleopatra, Reina de Egipto, como lo cuenta Josepho, el qual despues de haver vencido una Batalla, en Judea; y haviendo puesto en huìda à los moradores de ella, llegò la tarde de este dia, en que venciò à ciertos Pueblos, donde hallò muchas Mugeres, y Niños que se havian recogido alli, con el temor de la muerte, y las mandò matar à todas, sin dejar ninguno de todos ellos, y hacerlos pedaços, y hechar en muchos calderos, y poner à cocer, fingiendo comer carne humana, y que ellos eran la comida de aquel dia, para poner espanto, y miedo à los contrarios, creiendo de ellos ser verdad, que comian carne humana; y que la suia, si venia à sus manos, havia de tener por sepulcro sus crueles, y obscuras entrañas, porque se le diesen de paz, sin venir à las manos.

El Vasallo, que huìa de su Señor, cuia fuga, si se sabia con tiempo, y podian haverle à las manos, lo mataban, y le confiscaban todos sus Bienes, y à sus Hijos, y Muger (si los tenia) hacian esclavos. Esta Lei, como la otra dicha, en el Capitulo pasado, era tiranica, y cruel.

Al que cometia crimen de traicion contra su Rei, y Republica, ò descubria los secretos de la Guerra, ò se pasaba à los enemigos, mataban, y confiscaban sus bienes, y su Muger, y Hijos quedaban esclavos.

Era Lei, que nadie caçase en Montes agenos, ni pescase en Aguas, fuera de sus terminos, y linderos, y à los que lo quebrantaban, si eran amigos, no los daban por incurridos en la condenacion de la pragmatica, pero quitabanles la caça, ò pesca; y si eran enemigos, eran llevados ante el Rei, ò sus Jueces, por cuia sentencia eran condenados à muerte, y executada la pena; aunque algunas veces se comutaba esta muerte en esclavitud, segun al Rei le parecia.

El que servia en Palacio, y quebraba algo, ò perdia alguna cosa del servicio de su Señor, pagabalo, segun el valor tenia la cosa perdida, ò quebrada, aunque fuese de mui poca quantìa.

Si por ventura algun Padre havia mandado su Hija, en casamiento à algun Mancebo, y para obligarle el que se la havia pedido por Muger, le havia dado algo: si despues el dicho Padre se hacia afuera, y negaba su Hija, y no la daba, hacianle pagar lo que en orden de esto havia recibido, en qualquier quantia que fuese, y castigabanlo: porque no consentian, que ninguno burlase à otro, en semejantes casos, por ser caso que acaecia mui pocas veces.

La Muger, que una vez era dotada, ò la havian comprado, como ellos decian, no bolvia jamàs à casa de sus Padres, ni entre sus Parientes, sino que *en muriendo el Marido, la casaban, con otro de la Parentela, y muchas veces con el Hermano de el Marido difunto,* y esto era mui comun casarse con los cuñados, como hemos visto en las Leies Mexicanas, y se acostumbrò, en otras mas Antiguas Republicas.

La Muger, que por alguna causa, se ausentaba de su Marido, ò se iba con otro, ò à casa de sus Padres, no

tenia pena ninguna por Lei establecida; pero si requerida del Marido, no queria bolver, se casaba con otra; porque en este caso las Mugeres eran poderosas à no seguir à sus Maridos, si no querian hacer vida con ellos, y ellos se tornaban à casar, por no poder vivir sin Muger, por raçon de la comida, y otras cosas necesarias para la vida.

Capitulo X.

De las Leies, que tenian los Indios de la Vera-Paz, y sus Provincias.

Las Gentes de la Vera-Paz, y sus Provincias, asi como tenian Señorìos que poseìan, tenian Leies, con que regirlos; porque como dejamos probado, no puede haver Republica sin Leies, con que se rijan, y conserven, por ser lo contrario de esto, behetria, y confusion. Y para no errar en las del govierno del Pueblo, començaban de Dios, y de su servicio, las que estos ordenaron, aunque en unas, y en otras fueron erradas, pues no conocieron à Dios, como debian conocerle, ni las que en orden de la Republica hicieron fueron de todo punto limpias de Tirania; pero ià que iban errados, en el conocimiento, no lo fueron en la intencion, pues en orden de ella las ordenaron. Y començaron del Culto Divino, pareciendoles, que de su acierto nace la Policia del Pueblo: La primera de las quales era, honrar, y servir à Dios, para cuio servicio tenian ordenadas sus Fiestas, y Sacrificios.

Este fue hecho Romano, cuio Pueblo y Gente, la primera Lei, que promulgò de todas las contenidas en las doce Tablas, fue el Culto Divino, y Honra de los Dioses, como lo dice Modestino en su primera Lei, y de esta Ordenança, y Lei fueron derivando las demàs, para el buen govierno de su Republica. Y no porque iban errados, en esta primera Lei, diciendo, que acariciasen à los Dioses, y se llegasen à ellos con sumision, y humildad, era mala la intencion, pues iba guiada à lo que era raçon que la Divinidad fuese conocida, por merecedora de perpetuo servicio al qual acudian con Oraciones, y Sacrificios; y lo mismo se dice de estos Indios de la Vera-Paz, acerca de esta primera Lei, con que començaban las de su Republica, porque quando hacian oracion, invocaban aquel, que les havia dado el sèr de vida que tenian, y havia sembrado en sus coraçones, è impreso en sus Almas la lumbre con que lo buscaban.

No tenian pena ninguna ordenada acerca de esta Lei; y serà la raçon, porque como eran Idolatras, no conocian ningun quebrantamiento de ella, y tambien porque en los actos interiores (como en otra parte hemos dicho) no tiene que hacer la Lei Humana: y amar, ò no amar à Dios, cae debajo de actos interiores, para cuio quebrantamiento està ordenada la Divina. Tampoco los Romanos ordenaron castigo, ni pena acerca de este mandamiento, remitiendolo à Dios, diciendolo por estas palabras formales: *Qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex sit:* El que lo contrario hiciere, quiera Dios ser el mismo que lo vengue; como si dijese: Al que no guardare esta Lei, castigue Dios, como el que puede en los actos interiores del Alma, y actos exteriores del cuerpo; por esto no tenian puesta pena, y tambien, porque teniendo por cierta su Religion, que profesaban tan antigua, y entre ellos aprobada, por sus Profetas falsos, y theologos, y adivinos, y por los mismos predicada, y por sus Sacerdotes exercitada, con grande y admirable devocion, penitencia, y exemplos de honestidad, y por los Reies, y Señores mandada guardar, tenian por caso de gran crimen quebrantarla, temiendo à los Dioses contenidos en ella, de los quales esperaban el castigo.

Era Lei, que los Hechiceros, que con pacto del Demonio hacian mal à la Republica, muriesen por ello, dandoles garrote, ò ahorcandolos; y muchos de estos mataban à muchos, fingiendo darles salud con sus Hechiços; de donde tomò ocasion cierto Señor mui Principal, y de Vasallos, para consultar à uno de estos, que en su lengua llamaban Aheque, y fingiendose malo, y haciendo movimientos de estàr agoniçando, pidiòle remedio à su mal; el Hechicero, que no conociò la astucia, ni tampoco sabia como curarle, le dijo: Señor, tu has hecho pecado con una Muger Viuda, por eso te quieres morir. Viendo el Señor la mentira tan clara, y manifiesta, porque recorriendo su memoria no hallò en ella haver cometido jamàs tal culpa, conociò su engaño, y mandòle ahorcar, y desengañò à los suios de aquel manifiesto embuste.

Si alguno mataba à otro, el que lo sabia luego lo denunciaba al Rei, ò à su Justicia, la qual preguntaba con diligencia, quien era el muerto, y quien el matador, y la causa porque havia sido la contienda, ò quien se lo havia mandado, y si tuvo complices, y compañeros, en el hecho; y todo esto averiguado, despachabanse Ministros de Justicia, que mataban al matador, y à los comprehendidos en el delito. Esta muerte era darles garrote; y todo se hacia sin

dilacion, y gastos de Letrados, y Procuradores ; los quales tienen de maña, y costumbre, antes de sacarle del riesgo, tenerle consumida la bolsa al pobre reo.

Cosa era mui comun entre estos Indios de la Vera-Paz, venderse los unos, à los otros ; esto era, el que primero vencia al otro con astucia, y cautelas, como hallase quien se lo comprase ; y por ser caso enorme, havia Lei contra el que lo prohibia ; y averiguandose, que algunos de estos plagiarios havia delinquido en esto, sin dilacion lo mataban, dandole garrote ; y demàs de quitarle la vida, le vendian los Hijos, si los tenia, y la Muger, y del precio, que por ellos se daba, llevaba el Fisco Real cierta parte, y todo lo demàs se gastaba en comidas, y bebidas, para todo el Pueblo, que para esta justicia y regocijo se combidaba, y juntaba en un Lugar publico.

Quando riñendo unos con otros, se herian (que pocas veces acaecia) era avisado el Señor, por los Parientes del herido ; el qual luego que lo sabia, embiaba un hueso, ò una hacha, ò otra cosa à estas semejante, al heridor, como declarando por esto, que ià sabia su culpa ; el heridor, ò reo, que estaba cierto, de que ià el Rei, ò Señor sabia, lo que havia pasado, embiabale gente, que en su nombre confesase su culpa, y le rogase se la perdonase, poniendole delante la ocasion, y causas motivas, que havia tenido, para haverse demasiado ; y aunque el dicho Señor mostraba de presente mucho enojo, y dificultaba la misericordia, acriminando el delito, al fin lo sentenciaba, y mandaba, que pagase ciertas plumas ricas, que corrian en toda aquella tierra, por moneda, y con esto se quedaba libre, y el herido satisfecho en su querella. Esta condenacion se aplicaba al Fisco Real, y de ello no se daba nada à la parte.

No tenia pena ninguna el que heria, ò mataba esclavo suio ; *porque decian era su hacienda*, y que hacian en ellos como en cosa propria, de la qual no havia que dàr cuenta à nadie. Entre *nosotros* es pagar otro al Rei, *y con esto queda satisfecha la muerte del esclavo.*

Al que mataba esclavo ageno, comunmente se lo mandaban pagar, y los Parientes del matador hechaban entre sì, por cabeças la paga, y con esto quedaba la Lei cumplida ; aunque no entre Españoles, que manda, que se dè el valor de otro, al Rei ; pero no sè, què fundamento pudieron tener estos Indios, para hacer esta diferencia entre la muerte del libre, y esclavo, si ià no es, que fue la misma, que tienen los Españoles, y esta se quede para los Juristas, que profesan esta Facultad, porque aun para citar sus nombres faltaria papel, quanto, y mas los Textos, que ellos citan.

El que mataba à Hombre libre, moria por ello, sin remision, por ser esta Lei inviolable ; su muerte era darle garrote, ò ahorcarle, que una de estas dos muertes era la ordinaria entre aquellas Gentes.

Si el Marido mataba à la Muger, ò la Muger al Marido, eran ahorcados por ello, ò dados garrote ; y entre nosotros encubados ; aunque ià consiente esta Lei, que se les dè garrote primero, por ser caso horrendo encubarlos, como solian, entre animales, enemigos del hombre, el qual con la rabia de la muerte, tenia cierta su desesperacion, lo qual se escusa muriendo antes de llegar à vèr los animales crueles, que le dan por compañeros ; y pienso, que esto ultimo, està tambien derogado.

Capitulo XI.

De las Leies tocantes à la sensualidad, y gente fornicaria, y se declara, con què castigos, y penas eran castigados, y corregidos.

Era Lei, que el Mancebo, que tenia acceso à alguna Doncella, se casase con ella, y à esto era compelido, quando no queria ; y si la dicha Doncella estaba desposada con otro, quando cometiò esta culpa, *no la recibia* ; antes pedia, que le restituiese la Dote, ò Arras, ò otra qualquier cosa, que huviese dado ; lo qual pagaba el Mancebo violador à sus Padres de la Doncella violada, y con esto quedaba satisfecha esta causa.

Al que cometia fornicacion con Viuda, ò Esclava, condenabanle en sesenta plumas de las ricas, y preciadas, y otras veces en ciento, conforme era la culpa cometida ; tambien se estendia esta condenacion à otras cosas, como era Cacao, y Mantas.

El que adulteraba con Muger casada, era condenado en la pena de cien plumas ; pero si la culpa era frequente, y muchas veces cometida, dabanles garrote à entrambos.

El Mancebo libre, ò esclavo, que era comprehendido, en haver adulterado, con la Muger del Señor, ò Principal, era luego muerto, con la muerte comun que acostumbraban, aunque algunas veces era entregado para ser sacrificado el Dia de sus Fiestas.

Si algun esclavo, soltero, ò casado, tenia aiuntamiento con Muger esclava, dentro de la casa de su Señor, era Lei, que fuesen sacados *ambos fuera del Pueblo,* y muertos à pedradas, como en la Lei Antigua de los Judios, aunque algunas veces la hincaban un palo, por la garganta, à ella, ò la daban garrote, y de esta manera moria, y èl era entregado para el ordinario Sacrificio.

Quando algun casado cometia esta culpa, con Doncella, tenianlo por grande afrenta sus Deudos, y Parientes; y disimulabanlo, encubriendo el pecado, por la infamia que de saberse se les seguia, y porque la moça no perdiese casamiento; (que no era poca discrecion) pero si alguna vez no se guardaba este secreto, y se ponia la causa en tela de Justicia, condenaban al adultero, en cien plumas, que era la pena.

Si el casado pecaba con Viuda, ò con casada, castigabanle una, y dos veces; y si los bolvian à coger en la misma culpa, atabanles las manos, por las espaldas, y suspendianlos en el Aire, como quando estropean, y asi suspendidos, y levantados del suelo, ponianles debajo cierta Ierba ofensiva, y de mal olor, à la qual ponian fuego, y dabanle humaço con el humo que de sì hechaba, por un grande rato, y con este castigo quedaba pagada la culpa, y amonestandolos à la enmienda, los embiaban libres, y si no se enmendaban, pagaban con pena de muerte.

A esta pena havia de preceder la acusacion del Marido, y dicese havia muchos, de estos Indios, que eran buenos hombres, y pacientes, que no decian al Rei, ò à su Justicia el pecado cometido de su Muger; *pero para compurgarla del delito,* le daban un *Pajaro* de los que ellos sacrificaban, y les decian, al adultero, y à ella, que sacrificasen por aquel delito, y que lo confesasen al modo, que acostumbraban, y con este Sacrificio, y Confesion quedaban contentos, y satisfechos los ofendidos, y no querian, ni pedian de su injuria otra vengança; y à todos los que con esta satisfacion disimulaban su afrenta, los tenian por hombres virtuosos, y Humanos. Quien duda, que no es virtud perdonar injurias, y mas si es acto hecho por amor de Dios, en el qual se incluie grandisimo merecimiento? Pero de estos casos pocos ai de los nuestros, que los perdonen.

Un mal abuso tenian estas Gentes acerca de esta materia, y era, que tenian de costumbre, quando llegaban à estar malos, de confesar todas sus culpas, ò al Medico, que los curaba, ò al Sacerdote, ò Hechicero, que contaba los Dias de su enfermedad, para sus supersticiones, ò los Hijos à los Padres, y la Muger al Marido, y el Marido à la Muger, donde se decian los pecados, que en salud havian hecho; y era fuerça, que si la Muger havia adulterado, y decia verdad en su Confesion (como era cierto, que la decia) lo havia de saber su Marido, à quien se confesaba. De aqui naciò una Lei, que diciendo la Muger casada haver quebrantado la Fè conjugal, y haver adulterado con tal, ò tal Hombre, ora fuese soltero, ora casado, la dicha Muger fuese acusada del crimen, y declarado el complice juntamente, y sin mas testigos, ni probança, sino por la confesion simple de la Muger, era el complice condenado, y castigado (aunque negase) con las penas en las Leies (de mas, ò menos culpas) contenidas, y muchas veces con muerte, segun lo demandaba el caso.

Esto dicho acaeciò aun despues del Christianismo, y estando ià Religiosos de Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo en la Tierra, aunque no en el mismo Pueblo, donde se efectuò; y fue, que estando la Muger de un Cacique, ò Principal de cierto Pueblo, enferma, y à la muerte, se confesò de haver tenido amistad, y trato ilicito, con cierto Mancebo, y pecado con èl, y por sola esta confesion fue preso el acusado, y ahorcado por la culpa. Caso es grave, y de Gente tirana, pero mui usado en aquellas Gentes; y la raçon, que daban para hacer estos castigos, sin mas informacion, ni probança, que la confesion simple del enfermo, era decir, que en aquel paso no era licito mentir; y que pues confesaba aquellas cosas, que era fuerça creer, que eran verdades, y que como tales havian de ser castigadas, para exemplo, en otros; pero gente apartada de Dios, y engañada del Demonio, tambien podia mentir en aquel paso, y moverse por pasion, por solo hacer mal à alguno, con quien la tuviese, para solo vengarse en su castigo; pero sease lo que se fuere, este mal abuso corria por aquellas Naciones, y de èl tuvo origen esta Lei dicha.

Algunos de aquellas Provincias fueron notados del pecado nefando, y asi havia Lei, que lo prohibia; porque aunque es verdad, que no siempre usaron de este bestial vicio, al fin se introdujo esta corruptela, como suelen introducirse otras, en las Republicas, lo qual acaeciò de esta manera. Aparecioles un Demonio en figura de Mancebo, el qual se llamaba Chin, aunque, segun la variedad de las lenguas, tenia varios, y diferentes Nombres, y los indujo à que lo cometiesen, como èl lo cometiò con otro Demonio en su presencia; y de aqui vino, que muchos de ellos no lo tuvieron, por pecado, diciendo, que pues aquel Dios (y por hablar mas propriamente, sucio, y vil Demonio) lo cometia, y persuadia, que no debia de ser pecado; pero no quedan escusados de haver cometido, el mas grave de todos los que se pueden llamar bestiales; porque si este acto es en orden de la generacion, ià se vè,

que la misma Lei Natural incita, y enseña, no ser licito, pues de èl no se sigue el fin, que la Naturaleça pretende.

Persuadidos, pues, à que no era pecado, vino de aqui à nacer costumbre de dàr los Padres à sus Hijos Mancebos un Niño, para que lo tuviesen, por Muger, y usasen de èl, como podian usar de ella; y de aqui tambien naciò la Lei, de que si alguno otro llegaba al muchacho, se lo mandaban pagar, condenandolo en las penas, en que incurria el que violaba el estado de el Matrimonio conjugal.

No se maraville el Prudente, y Sabio Lector de oìr Lei semejante, que quien està sin Dios, facilmente cae, y se despeña, porque es, como el que camina à obscuras, por lugares barrancosos, y sin candela, que cada paso que dà es de despeñadero; y no han sido estos los primeros, antes harto el Demonio de haver tenido esta usança, con otras Naciones primero, quiso traer esta mala mercaderia à venderla entre estos, preciandose, no solo de malo, y perverso perseguidor de los Hombres, sino tambien de sucio pervertidor de costumbres. Y el que condenare à estos por Gente indigna de la vida, que vivia, no se olvide del Emperador Adriano, que no solo fue notado de este vicio, pero al mancebo, que le servia de bardaje, despues de muerto, lo hiço adorar como Dios, y le constituiò Altar, y Templo, y ordenò Sacrificios; asi lo dicen Dion, y Helio Esparciano, como mas largamente queda visto en el Libro de la Verdadera, y Falsa Religion, tratando del Dios Antinoo, que fue este mancebo, asi llamado, y adorado del dicho Emperador Adriano; y tambien Pausanias lo refiere, en muchas partes de sus Libros, y Eusebio Cesariense, San Geronimo, San Atanasio, y Theodoreto, Origines, Prudencio, y Tertuliano. Y de aquella Gente Sabia de Grecia, dice el mismo Eusebio, que cada uno tenia su moço, por manceba, y de esta culpa, y vicio fue notado Aristoteles (Padre de la Filosofia Natural) como quiere Juan Ravisio en su Oficina. Y de los Franceses dice el mismo Eusebio, en el lugar citado, que se casaban los moços, unos con otros, sin verguença, haciendo licito el vicio, y pecado nefando. Pues esta maldad, y vicio tan nefando, y sucio era el pecado, que tan à rienda suelta, y sin freno cometian los de Sodoma, que por esto se llaman Sodomitas los que estropieçan, y caen en èl, y por èl, enojado Dios, los destruiò, y asolò, y dejò tan señalada memoria de su corrupcion, y rotura, y llegò à tanto este detestable vicio en estos sucios, y cenagosos Puercos, que ià no le cometian en secreto, pero mui en publico lo solicitaban, y no solo no apetecian tan enorme culpa en los Hombres, pero aun en los dos Angeles de Dios, que venian en forma de Hombres, y trage de Mancebos, dispuestos, y hermosos, la desearon, y apetecieron, y aun quisieron quebrantar, con violencia, y fuerça, las puertas de la casa del Santo Loth, donde los havia recogido, si Dios, con su poder, no los deslumbràra, y cegàra, trocandoles el sentido, con deslumbramiento, que segun Lira, se llama Acrisia, que es una especie de ceguera, que el que la padece, aunque tiene los ojos claros, no vè aquello, que quiere, que es à manera de embeleco, y desatino, con que el que busca anda atontado, y desatinado, sin hallar remedio à su deseo.

Por esto (como digo) los destruiò à todos, haciendo en este castigo muchas maravillas, para que con maior cuidado quedase estampado en los coraçones, y memoria de los Hombres; la primera de las quales fue tratarlo con su amigo Abraham, para que rogandole, por ellos, se hechase de vèr quan merecido lo tenia, pues sacado Loth, y su casa, no quedaba ninguno, que no estuviese comprehendido en aquel pecado. Otra fue sacar à Loth, con su Muger, y dos Hijas, y luego començar à llover Fuego del Cielo, con que fueron abrasados. La Muger de Loth, porque bolviò la cabeça atràs, buelta en Estatua de Sal; el lugar de las Ciudades, y sus situaciones hecho estanque de Aguas, tan prodigiosas, y de admiracion, como lo nota Josefo, y otras cosas; de manera, que esto fue lo que sucediò, y este pecado el que cometieron, el qual vino corriendo à otras Naciones, y discurriendo por esta, como hemos visto. Y no es maravilla (como hemos dicho) que los que estàn sin lo principal, que es Dios, estèn sin actos de Vida racional, y de Hombres, y estèn hechos de la condicion de los Cavallos, como dice David, en quien no ai raçon, ni juicio.

Diximos no quedar ninguno de los de aquella Ciudad, que no estuviese comprehendido en este pecado, y asi lo dice con expresas palabras el Texto Sagrado, desde el menor, hasta el maior cercaron la casa de Loth, y todo el Pueblo junto, y dijeron à Loth: Donde estàn los Varones, que se hospedaron esta noche en tu casa? Sacalos acà fuerá, que queremos conocerlos; este conocimiento era de acto carnal, y bestial contra natura; de donde se infieren las dos cosas dichas: la una, que este pecado ià lo cometian publicamente, pues à voces lo solicitaban: y la otra, que era comun en todos, pues todos lo voceaban.

De manera, que tras de estos nombrados, vinieron dando de ojos estos Indios de la Vera-Paz; pero no corriò tan en general, que los comprehendiese à todos; antes havia Gentes en las mismas Provincias, que se

cometia, que lo reprobaban, y los viejos, y viejas, que lo sabian, reñian fuertemente à los muchachos, que lo consentian, y usaban, y les amonestaban à que se apartasen de èl, porque perseverando en tan enorme culpa, moririan de ello.

Capitulo XII.

Que prosigue las Leies de los Indios de la Vera-Paz, y se notan las que tenian ordenadas, en raçon de hurtos.

Acerca de los hurtos tenian estas Gentes Leies diversas, porque de diferente manera castigaban los hurtos pequeños, que los maiores, y de cosas gruesas; y asi era Lei, que el que hurtase una Gallina, ò algun poco de Maiz, ò cosas semejantes, los bolviese à sus dueños, y mandabanle al ladron pagar algunas plumas, en maior satisfaccion del hurto, ò alguna Manta, ò Cacao, conforme le parecia al Juez, que lo sentenciaba; de manera, que esta condenacion era un precio equivalente, al de la cosa hurtada, y todo el hurto, y condenacion, en que el ladron era condenado, se aplicaba al Rei, ò Señor del Pueblo; porque el que lo havia perdido no queria parte de la dicha restitucion, aunque el dicho Señor se lo daba todo, teniendo aquella restitucion por inficionada, y no digna de tornarse à recibir de manos tan malas, como las del ladron, que lo havia hurtado.

Al ladron, que hurtaba alguna cosa de valor, y estima, asi como una Corona de Oro, que ellos usaban, ò cosa semejante, hacianle bolver lo que havia tomado, si acaso lo tenia, y otro tanto precio mas, de lo que era el valor del hurto, y con esto quedaba libre; pero si lo havia disipado, y desparecido, vendianlo por esclavo, y del precio en que era vendido, se pagaba la cantidad, de lo que montaba la cosa hurtada.

Esta Lei era del Pueblo Antiguo de Dios, aunque diferentemente usada, la qual dice de esta manera: El que hurtare Vaca, ù Oveja, y la matare, ò vendiere, pagarà por una Vaca cinco, y por una Oveja quatro; pero si no tuviere, con que restituìr esta cantidad, en que quedaba condenado, sea vendido. Ofrecese dudar, por què mandaba Dios, que de estas cosas fuese la restitucion, con el quatro, y cinco, tanto, siendo mui comun, que la que se hacia de otras caseras, y de mas valor, y precio, no pasaba de otro tanto de lo que valia. A esto respondiò Estrabon en su Glosa, diciendo, que se mandaban pagar por el Buei, y Vaca otras cinco, por cinco provechos, que se sacan de ellas; el primero, porque eran necesarias para el Sacrificio, que à Dios se hacia; el segundo, porque aran la Tierra, y cultivan lo sembrado; el tercero, porque se comen sus carnes; el quarto, porque dàn leche; y el quinto, porque sus cueros son provechosos para muchas cosas. Y de la Oveja dice, que se pagaban quatro, por otras quatro propriedades (conviene à saber) porque eran del Sacrificio, dàn Lana, para vestirse los Hombres; dàn leche, y carne para el sustento de la Vida Humana; pero aunque estas condiciones son verdaderas, y que se conocen, en estos dos Animales, no son necesarias, para que obliguen à tanta restitucion, y asi lo contradice Lira, diciendo, que lo mismo corre de el Oro, por quanto es mui provechoso, para algunos Medicamentos, y Monedas, que de èl se hacen, y para vasos, asi del Servicio Divino, como del Humano, y otras cosas muchas à que se aplica, y en que se gasta.

Por lo qual responde de otra manera, diciendo, que algunos pecados se castigan mas gravemente, que otros, no solo por la maior gravedad del pecado, sino tambien, por reprimir en los Hombres la continua, y mala inclinacion de cometerle. Las cosas caseras, y que se guardan en los cofres, y arcas (como es el Oro, y la Plata, ropas, y vestidos) no son tan faciles de hurtar, ni estàn tan dispuestas al hurto, como las Ovejas, y Vacas, que se apacientan, y pastorean en los Campos; y como la facilidad de poder tomar lo ageno, induce al hurto, y en estos Animales era mui facil cometerlo; por esto mandaba Dios, que el que hurtase Oveja la restituiese, con el quatro tanto, y de la Vaca, ò Novillo el cinco tanto; porque es mas dificultoso de guardar este Ganado, que las Ovejas, asi como tambien son las Ovejas mas dificultosas de guardar, que las alhajas, y cosas de casa, y como podia haver mas ocasion de hurtar Novillo, ò Vaca, por su menos guarda, asi mandaba Dios, que fuesen cinco los que por el hurtado se restituiesen, y por la Oveja quatro, por quanto tenia, y podia tener mas guarda, que el Novillo, y la ocasion era menos para ser hurtada. Y añade Josefo, que esta Lei se entendia tambien de los otros Animales, que son del servicio del Hombre, y se apacientan en los campos, de los quàles, segun su mas dificultosa, ò facil guarda, se reducia su pena, y restitucion à la del de la Vaca, ù Oveja; pero si en poder del ladron se hallaba la Vaca, ù Oveja, que havia hurtado, no pagaba por ella mas de otro tanto, por quanto se presumia, que era inclinado à

bolverla, y restituirla, pues no la havia muerto, ò vendido; pero si la havia muerto, ò vendido, y no tenia caudal, para pagarla, con el quatro, ò cinco tanto, en que por la Lei era condenado, era vendido, y de el precio de su venta se pagaba: Y en esto concierta la Lei Indiana, con esta del Pueblo de Israèl, *que era vendido, para la satisfacion del hurto hecho.*

El que mataba Pajaro de las Plumas ricas, que se crian en estas Provincias, tenia pena de muerte, por estimarlas en mucho, y no haverlas en otra ninguna parte de estas Indias, y por usar de ellas, como usan otras Naciones de Moneda, para los tratos, y contratos.

El que en Monte ageno hurtaba de estas Plumas, se las hacian pagar, con otras tantas mas de las que contenia el hurto; lo mismo del Cacao, y otras semillas.

El que tomaba fiado alguna cosa, à pagarlo à tanto tiempo, y pasado el plaço no pagaba, era llevado ante la Justicia, y le hacian pagar por fuerça.

Si alguno tomaba muchas cosas fiadas de unos, y de otros, y despues no podia pagar, vendian la Persona, y lo procedido de ello dabanselo al Rei, ò Señor del Pueblo; pero si eran las deudas de mucha cantidad, le daban garrote, como à quien robaba en poblado.

Esto es lo mismo, que acontece entre nosotros, quando alguno quiebra, con mucha suma de Hacienda, llevandose, à las bueltas, las de muchos particulares, *y acontece las mas veces ser de malicia estas quiebras, por quedarse con el sudor, y trabajo ageno, que ià tiene escondido, y puesto en cobro, para poder vivir despues, con mejor, y mas segura pasadia, para los quales son mui justas las penas, que por Leies tienen impuestas; y aun se vieron executadas este Año pasado de* 1605, *en cierta Persona de esta Ciudad de Mexico, que en menos de un Año hiço baratas de mas de quarenta mil pesos, de cosas, llevando à todos lo que podia, para la malicia, que tenia determinada;* luego diò en decir, que estaba perdido, y quebrado, aunque no le valiò para el castigo, al qual sacaron à la verguença, y embiaron à Galeras; porque es cosa mui santa, que al ladron, que de esta manera quiere robar, en poblado, no solo no le sea consentido, *pero que juntamente sea mui bien castigado.* Y esto hacian estos Indios de la Vera-Paz, con los que asi se avergonçaban, à tomar fiado, y no pagaban.

Capitulo XIII.

En el qual se continùan las Leies de los de la Vera-Paz, y declaran las que tenian acerca del no mentir, ni levantar Testimonios.

Como el mentir, y levantar falso Testimonio, es cosa tan nociva, y perjudicial à los Hombres, asi no ai ninguno de todos los Mortales, que no conozca ser malo, por lo qual es fuerça, que en las Republicas bien concertadas sean estas dos cosas prohibidas, como nocivas, y perniciosas al bien comun de ellas; y por esto estos Indios, no solo no aprobaban la mentira, pero castigaban, y reprehendian asperamente al mentiroso; y era Lei, que esta reprehension fuese hecha por el Rei, ò Señor, que governaba, para que se entendiese, que pues era la reprehension hecha por la Persona Suprema, que no era la culpa leve, y ligera, sino mui grave, y pesada, y asimismo mui justa cosa, que fuese aborrecida, como mala, y pesima.

El que mentia en perjuicio de su proximo, era tambien asperamente reprehendido, y condenabanle mas, en quince, ò veinte plumas, conforme era la culpa, al albedrio del Juez, que lo sentenciaba.

La Muger que acusaba, à algun Hombre, de alguna culpa, que con ella huviese cometido, ò pretendiese cometer, con violencia, y fuerça, no era creìda, ni por su sola, y simple palabra condenaban al acusado; pero para conocer de esta causa, havia de haver testigos, los quales las mas veces faltan, por quanto el que pretende cometerla, no aguarda, que los haia, sino que procura, que todo estè en mudez, y silencio.

Si no havia testigos, ni los podia presentar la querellante, pedianle señas, estas no havian de ser qualesquiera (por raçon de que el caso era de muerte) sino mui conocidas, y averiguadas prendas, estas havian de ser del vestuario del reo, y acusado, asi como el Maxtlatl, que les servia de çaraguelles, ò calçones, algun paño de manos, ò la manta, que traìa vestida, que le servia de capa, para que conocida qualquiera de estas cosas, en particular, ò todas en comun, ser real, y verdaderamente del dicho acusado, fuese executada en èl la pena de muerte, à que la Lei le condenaba.

Dos Leies vemos aqui encontradas, una en favor, y otra en disfavor de las Mugeres: La primera era, la que

tenemos referida, acerca de la confesion, que hacian en sus enfermedades, en las quales declaraban los complices de sus flaqueças, y por sola su confesion morian; de manera, que en este caso su sola, y simple palabra la tenian por verdad averiguada, y valia tanto, como qualquiera mui bastante Probança.

La segunda es, no darles credito en salud, aunque el caso fuese cierto, si no havia testigos, ò prendas, que condenasen al acusado; porque asi como creìan, que en la confesion de la muerte no mentian, asi presumian, que en salud, no dirian verdad, sino que con pasion, ò mala voluntad, que tuviesen, podian acusar à uno, y quererse vengar por este modo del que les huviese injuriado.

Si havia alguno, que à los adulteros acusase, y no con bastante, y plenaria informacion, y ellos lo negaban, dabanles tormento de cuerda, atandoles recia, y fuertemente los braços atras, por los molledos, y asi les daban el garrote, por las espaldas; y si no confesaban, añadian à este tormento, otro, y era darles humo à narices, y quemabanlos, ò chamuscabanlos algun tanto, teniendolos suspendidos de la Tierra en el Aire; si confesaban, quedaban condenados à pena; pero si negaban, ibanse libres. Este mismo tormento daban à los ladrones mal convencidos, y notados de vehemente sospecha.

Este genero de tormento leemos haverse dado por un Emperador Romano, à un quitapelillos, que era el apoiador, y solemniçador de sus dichos, y gracias, de los que suele haver, y mui ordinarios, en las Cortes de los Reies, que solo atienden al gusto de la vida, y no al daño, que à sì mismos, y à los que lisonjean hacen, aunque este Emperador gustaba ser celebrado en su Govierno, conociò en el pecho de este adulador, el fuego que ardia, con que le queria atiçar su vanagloria, alabandolo en todas las cosas; y como vido el humo, que reventaba por la chimenea de la vanagloria, y conociò el daño, que de ello à entrambos se les seguia, mandòlo colgar de los pies, la cabeça inclinada, y buelta à la Tierra, y darle humo à narices, diciendo: Perezca con humo, el que de humo se sustenta, y hiçole rendir el Alma, en este tormento, que no lo es pequeño, ni por pequeño lo tenian estos Indios, pues seguia al de cuerda, quando el reo estaba tan rebelde, y negante, que no le podian hacer confesar la verdad del delito, de que era acusado, y con semiplena probança atormentado.

Capitulo XIV.

De algunas de las Leies, de que usaban las Gentes del Pirù, con que se regian, y governaban aquellos grandes y poderosos Reynos.

Havia Lei universal, en todos los Reinos del Pirù, sujetos à los Reies Ingas, de que ninguno casase, ni pudiese casar, con Hermana, Prima-Hermana, Tia, ni Sobrina, por tener estos grados de consanguinidad, por prohibidos, y por mui grave delito lo contrario; pero como el que hace la Lei, asi como le queda Autoridad de derogarla, asi, ni mas, ni menos la tiene de dispensarla: estos Señores, y Reies, aunque la hacian guardar inviolablemente, en todos los otros, en sì mismos la toleraban, casandose, con las que les parecia convenir, de las de su Linage, comprehendidas en los grados referidos; la raçon que daban era, à su parecer, bastante, porque decian, que los Reies havian de contraher con sus semejantes, para que la Sangre Real no descaeciese de su Alteza, y Dignidad, en que estaba subida, y que no la havia, que lo fuese tanto, como la misma repartida en los Hermanos, pues era de unos mismos Padres, y que era nobleça heredada por igual, sin diminucion de Nobleça, y tenian por mas legitimo heredero el que nacia de Hermana, que de Hermano, por la maior certeça, que les parecia haver en la legitimacion, aunque esta raçon no es buena; porque aunque es verdad, que corre la certidumbre de ser Hijo de la Muger, que lo pare; pero no por eso se ha de negar la que de parte del Padre tiene; porque de lo contrario se seguiria, no haver Fè Humana, acerca de los Padres, y cada uno se presumiria Hijo del vecino (que es caso indigno de pensarse) y tambien el Inga pudiera entrar en esta cuenta, sospechando, que no era suio, y que la fuerça de la Herencia, y Sucesion en el Reino, no le venia legitimamente por èl, sino por ella.

Otra raçon ai, por la qual pudieran estos Reies casarse, con estas Personas inclusas en estos grados, y es la que ia en otra parte dejamos dicho, de que no contradice à la Lei Natural, pues sabemos haverse principiado en ella; y como no sabian la de Dios, escrita al Pueblo de los Judios, ni la Evangelica, en este Estado de Gracia, no atendian à la justificacion, que es escusarlo, pues ai otras Mugeres, que pueden entrar en este lugar, y cuenta, por el respeto que se debe à la propinquidad de la sangre.

Era Lei, que los adulteros muriesen por el delito, que cometian, si era de voluntad de entrambos; y si no, del que se probaba haver inducido, ò hecho fuerça al otro.

Al ladron, que hurtaba alguna cosa quantiosa, mataban à la primera vez, que cometia este delito, y crimen; la raçon era, porque el Rei tenia dispuestas las cosas de sus Reinos de tal manera, que ninguno, por pobre que fuese, tuviese ocasion de hambrear, que para los semejantes (como en otra parte se ha visto) tenia rentas, y despensas, de donde fuesen sustentados, y asi no tenian ocasion de hurtar por necesidad; y por esto qualquiera hurto que se hacia lo atribuìan à vicio, y por esto los ahorcaban; pero hurtos de menor quantìa, y de poco precio, las Justicias ordinarias los castigaban, y componian.

En las rencillas, y litigios, nacidos de disensiones, y otras cosillas semejantes, tenian autoridad los Governadores, y Justicias Maiores de los Pueblos de oirlas, y dàr sentencia en favor del agraviado.

Los castigos, que daban por estas culpas leves, era uno (entre otros) darles con unas piedras en las espaldas algunos pocos golpes moderados.

Los homicidas, que violentamente mataban, eran castigados, con pena de muerte irremisiblemente.

Los que mentian eran castigados, segun la calidad, y demasia de la mentira; en especial las Mugeres, en las quales se executaban las Leies, aunque fuesen mui livianas, y leves sus mentiras, el qual rigor no se guardaba con los Hombres.

A los Hechiceros, y Brujos, que con sus hechiços, y encantos causaban en las Mugeres esterilidad, ò ligaban à los Maridos, ò que con Hechiços mataban (cosa, que muchas veces se usaba entre ellos) daban pena de muerte, haciendolos morir à tormentos mui crueles; y esta pena no se executaba, en todas las Ciudades del Reino, sino solamente en la del Cuzco, donde presidia el Rei, para que el castigo fuese conocido, y divulgado, por todo èl, y los Encantadores, y Hechiceros atemoriçados.

Los delitos, que se cometian en perjuicio de una Comunidad, y Republica, tenian autoridad los Jueces, y Governadores de ella, de castigarlos conforme al rigor de sus Leies; pero si merecia muerte, nunca se la daban al delinquente, sin consultarlo con el Rei, porque tenia reservado para sì todo lo criminal, en especial la pena de muerte.

Los Contadores maiores, y menores, tenian en las cuentas gran fidelidad; pero si en algo faltaban, y no daban las cuentas mui limpias, y sin marañas, luego los mataban. Si algun Señor, deudo del Rei, ò que venia de Sangre Real, cometia algun crimen, por el qual merecia muerte, y por alguna Raçon, ò Privilegio no era condenado à ella, quedaba condenado à carcel perpetua, la qual era cruelisima, y estaba apartada de la Ciudad, y poblado media legua, y con ella acababa triste, y miserablemente su vida.

Tenia Lei puesta, *que huviese por todos sus Reinos peso, y medida,* porque ninguno fuese agraviado, ni engañado.

Era tambien Lei, que puesto el Sol, nadie entrase en la Ciudad del Cuzco, ni saliese, y lo mismo se mandaba, antes de salir el Sol, por la mañana; y era la raçon, porque se supiese de todos los que entraban, y salian en ella, y de donde venian, ò què querian.

Capitulo XV.

De algunos casos de permision, que se toleraban en las Leies de estos Gentiles Indianos, y de otros, que con rigor castigaron, siguiendo la pena de ellas.

Como la carne no respeta à nadie, y la voluntad del Hombre (en qual mas, ò en qual menos) se abalance à cosas de su gusto, no siendo regida por Dios, ni reprimida de su Gracia, es cosa cierta, que se inclina à las cosas deleitosas, y gustos sensuales, en especial en los Mancebos, que, ò no quieren tomar estado, ò para tomarle primero, se pican de enamorados, y de pasear calles locà, è impertinentemente. De aqui resulta, que aunque sea con intencion de casarse, aia muchos, que demàs de ser enamorados, anden celosos, y aun sin juicio, amenaçando al contrario, y aun sentenciandolo à sus solas, à muerte, y entre los confusos pasos de sus paseos, pensar, que lo ha hecho tajadas; y como son celos los que hacen esta guerra, que son resabio de locura, quando llega à la puerta de su Dama halla vivo al enemigo, de donde le nacen nuevos rencores; y si no puede meter mano à la espada por entonces, à

las veces lo desafia, y cita para otra parte, y con esto cree quedar vengado ; al fin son cosas de locos, y desconciertos de Mugeres, y casos comunes en el Mundo.

De este genero de Gente havia alguna, entre estos Indios ; porque acontecia enamorarse dos Mancebos de una Muger, para casarse con ella, y como de semejantes casos es mui ordinario resultar otros peores, y deseaban la vengança, y como no podian tomarla el uno del otro, por quanto si llegaban à las manos, tenian cierto el riguroso castigo, el qual fuera en ellos irremisiblemente executado, lo qual temian ; por esto para desahogar el pecho, y dàr soltura à su colera, tenian permiso de desafiarse los dos, no para matarse luego, sino para reñir entre sì, en la primera ocasion de Guerra, que sucediese, y ordenase. Hecho este desafio, y puestos en la ocasion, buscabase el uno, al otro, y como si fueran de los del Vando enemigo, asi se herian, y golpeaban, buscando cada qual modo de vencer al otro. Los que de el Exercito veìan lo que entre los dos pasaba, que luego advertian la causa porque reñian, dejabanlos herir, y golpear, hasta que conocian flaqueça en el uno de ellos, ò en entrambos, si eran de igual coraçon, y corage, y llegaban à despartirlos, para que no se matasen, y con esto quedaban en paz, y se iban, sin que de alli adelante les consintiese la Lei, que se encontrasen en celos.

Lo mismo acontecia quando alguno tenia una Manceba, si otro se enamoraba de ella, ò se la llevaba de casa, el agraviado desafiaba al otro, para la primera Guerra, y el que de los dos se mostraba mas aventajado, segun el Juicio, y parecer de Jueces, para este desafio señalados, se quedaba con la moça, y se la llevaba à su casa. Estos son los casos de permision, que estos Indios tenian, con otros algunos, que dejo, por pasar à los que con rigor executaban en favor de la Justicia. Pero quiero, que se note este paso, como quisieron estos Naturales dàr à entender, que no todos los ierros hechos por amores se han de castigar, y que los celos de los solteros se vengaban, por este modo.

Aunque (como hemos dicho) permitian algunas cosas, por tener por necesario este permiso, en raçon de Govierno, en las Republicas, otras castigaban con sumo rigor, por pedirlo asi las circunstancias, que los acriminaban ; y eran tan severos, y rigurosos en hacer Justicia, en las cosas, que pedian este rigor, que no solo no lo disimulaban en la Gente comun, y popular, pero ni aun en los proprios Hijos, y Hermanos lo perdonaban, como en diversos casos se vido.

Uno de estos aconteciò en la Ciudad de Tlaxcalla, de la qual, y de toda su Provincia era Señor Maxixcatzin, en la parte que le cabia, con los otros tres Señores, que parcialmente la señoreaban : Este tenia un Hermano de mucha estimacion, y valentìa, y era juntamente Señor de Vasallos, el qual cometiò adulterio, con una Muger casada, en el qual fue comprehendido ; pero por ser tan Gran Señor, y Hermano de tan valeroso Capitan, aunque la Lei le condenaba à muerte, no luego se la dieron, por guardar el decoro à su Hermano, y tomar su parecer ; fuele propuesto el caso, y aunque sintiò el riesgo, no temiò los fines ; y para llegar à la conclusion, juntòse con los otros tres Señores, el lugar de sus consultas, y determinaciones ; y hecha la acusacion, y conocida por verdadera, fue el reo condenado à muerte, en el qual se executò con el rigor, que pudiera en un otro particular, y plebeio, sin valerle ser quien era, ni ser Hermano del Gran Maxixcatzin, que por su mucho valor era de presente el Capitan General de aquella Señorìa, y el que governaba los Exercitos. En este caso fue este valerosisimo Capitan el primero, que lo condenò, pareciendole ser mejor, que su Hermano muriese, que no que sus Leies fuesen quebrantadas, por no dàr à los menores animo de pecar, con esperança de que su culpa tendria remedio. Caso fue este por cierto de grande admiracion, y exemplo notable para muchas otras Naciones.

No fue otra la intencion de Seleuco, Rei de los Acenos (como cuenta Valerio Maximo) sino mostrarse justo, y recto executor de las Leies, que ordenò para su Pueblo, entre las quales fue una, que al adultero le fuesen sacados los ojos, por ello, la qual el Principe, Hijo suio, Heredero de su Reino, quebrantò, y mandò, que pagase la culpa, con la pena, que la Lei mandaba ; pero contradijo este rigor toda la Ciudad, y Pueblo, pareciendole mas leve caso tolerar el quebrantamiento de una Lei, que tener un Rei sin ojos, y ciego, despues de los dias de su Padre ; pero como el Legislador instase, y el Pueblo contradijese, fue por el severo Rei determinado, que le sacasen un ojo à èl, y otro à su Hijo, para que la Lei no se violase, y asi se cumpliò, siendo el Padre el que pagò primero. De aqui toman algunos argumento de engrandecer la severidad de este Principe, que quiso antes quebrarse los ojos, que quebrantar las Leies de su Republica, y no es caso poco de notar ; pero maior espanto causan los hechos de aquestos Indios, que no solo quebraban los ojos à Hermanos, y Hijos, sino que les quitaban la vida, por solo guardar las Leies ; en especial es mucho de notar, en Nezahualpiltzintli el castigo de sus proprios Hijos, por culpas cometidas con sus Madrastras.

De la Gente del Testamento Viejo sabemos haver cometido este delito; pero no que con este rigor se castigase; el primero de los quales, segun parece por las Sagradas Escrituras, fue Rubèn, Hijo del Patriarca Jacob, que con poco temor de Dios, y respeto de su Padre, tuvo acceso con su Madrastra, Muger del Patriarca, y Madre de sus proprios Hermanos, y no por esto el Santo Jacob lo matò, solo sabemos, que aunque lo sintiò sumamente, como lo notan Lira, y el Abulense, no le quitò la vida, ni aun se dice haverle hecho castigo alguno por ello por entonces; pero lo que tenemos por cierto es, que le negò la Primogenitura, y el Imperio en las ultimas bendiciones, que les hechò à la hora de su muerte, y quedò desposèido de estas Honras, y Dignidades.

Absalon tambien fue comprehendido en esta maldad, però castigòlo Dios de su mano, pagando este delito, con el pretenderle à su Padre David la muerte, y alçarse con el Reino; que lo que la Sagrada Escritura dice, no es sino que lloraba el desastre, y mal fin de su Hijo, y no la ofensa, que de èl havia recibido en esto, y en otras cosas. Y con lo dicho concluio, diciendo, que si estos Indios tuvieron Leies, que quisieron que se guardasen en otros, no permitieron que se quebrantasen en sì mismos, ni en sus Hermanos, ni Hijos.

Otro caso cuenta el Padre Frai Toribio en su Memorial, haver acontecido en el Mercado de la Ciudad de Tetzcuco, y fue, que un dia de Feria, concurriendo en ella grandisimo gentìo, se asieron en palabras dos Mugeres (cosa mui comun entre ellas, por ser sus mas ordinarias armas) y encendidas con ira, llegò su enojo à prueba de manos, cosa, que raras veces havia acaecido, y la que pudo mas de ellas, lastimò à la otra, en una oreja, de que le corriò alguna sangre. A los moxicones, que jamàs se havian visto, en el Mercado, ocurriò casi toda la Gente de èl, como à fruta nueva, aunque no para llevarla ninguno à su casa; y como jamàs se havia visto caso semejante en el Tianquiztli (que asi llaman al Mercado) quedaron los mas (si no fueron todos) espantados, y escandaliçados, y con el miedo del delito, fueron à dàr parte del caso al Rei Nezahualpiltzintli, en cuio tiempo sucediò, el qual mui corrido de vèr el desacato, que en aquel lugar publico, las dos atrevidas Mugeres havian tenido, mandòlas castigar, mandando en el castigo, que la mas culpada, y que havia herido à la otra, muriese; y asi muriò por ello, siendo à ella castigo de su culpa, y à los demàs exemplo, para que en semejantes lugares no se atreviesen à injuriar à nadie, ni à escandaliçar al Pueblo; y aunque es barbaro el hecho, à lo menos se notarà haver sido, para poner temor en la observancia de las Leies, que quando se executan con rigor, alguna vez en algun reo, y delinquente, es freno aquel castigo, para que no con tanta facilidad los otros pequen*.

* In the eleventh and twelfth verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of Deuteronomy a curious Mosaic ordinance occurs, to which it is sufficient in this place merely to allude. The object of the Hebrew legislator in framing this law was not to forbid pugilism among the Jews, but merely to preserve decorum in the camp of Israel. At this distance of time only two inferences can be drawn from the ordinance in question, viz. First, That the costume of the children of Israel must nearly have resembled that of the Mexicans, of which an old poet has unintentionally given no bad description in the following verses,—

"A painted vest Prince Vortigern had on,
Which from a naked Pict his grandsire won;"

and, Secondly, That they were absolute barbarians when they quitted Egypt. For whilst many persons idly contend that the Jews who were contemporary with Moses, and instructed by him, who had been taught by the Deity, were a mighty refined and cultivated race of people; the fact cannot be too often *insisted upon*, that the laws of the Pentateuch, adapted no doubt to the moral condition of the Israelites for whom they were made, and not enacted where unnecessary, furnish the most solid grounds for supposing that they were scarcely advanced beyond the savage state.

SERMAM DO AUTO DA FÉ*.

QUE SE CELEBROU NA PRAÇA DO ROCIO DESTA CIDADE DE LISBOA, JUNTO DOS PASSOS DA INQUISIÇAM, EM 6 DE SETEMBRO DE 1705, EM PRESENÇA DE SUAS ALTEZAS.

Pregado pelo Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Diogo da Annunciaçam Justiniano, do Conselho de Sua Magestade, que Deos guarde, e Arcebispo que foy de Cranganor.—Lisboa: Na officina de Antonio Pedro Ozogalrão. Com todas as licenças necessarias, 6 Setembro, 1705.

"*Ipse autem populus direptus, et vastatus: laqueus juvenum omnes, et in domibus carcerum absconditi sunt: facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat, Redde.*"—Isai. cap. 42, vers. 22.

§ 1.

Muyto alto, e muyto poderoso Principe, e Senhores nossos.

DESGRAÇADAS reliquias do Judaismo! Infelices fragmentos da synagoga! Ultimo despojo da Judéa! Escandalo dos Catholicos, e atè dos mesmos Judeos riso detestavel! Com-vosco fallo, oh mal aconselhada gente! A vós declamo, oh povo mal aconselhado! Vós sois o riso detestavel dos Judeos, porque sois tão ignorantes que não sabeis observar a mesma ley em que viveis. Vós sois o escandalo dos Catholicos, porque nascendo no gremio da sua igreja a vossa apostasia vos desterra do seu gremio. Vós sois o ultimo despojo de Judéa, porque para a nossa afronta cá vos lançou a sorte em o nosso Portugal, para nos infamar com o mundo o ter sido no nosso orizonte o vosso oriente. Vós sois os infelices fragmentos da synagoga, porque toda a sua grandeza veyo a acabar na vossa miseria. Vós sois finalmente as desgraçadas reliquias do Judaismo, porque sois os lamentaveis avanços de Israel, que depois de destruido o vosso Reyno, vos espalhastes pela Europa para inficionar nações inteyras com a vossa companhia;

* The following pages will be read with interest by those who may wish to be better acquainted with the history of the Jews and the tenets of their religion. Under the impression that they contain much curious information, we are induced to lengthen the Appendix with insertion of matter, which more nearly concerns them than the Mexicans. It has been elsewhere observed, that exactly about the period of Columbus's alleged discovery of America, the Jews suffered a till then unheard-of persecution in Spain, which ended in their all being obliged to quit that territory; when Portugal offered an asylum to some of the exiles, whilst the greater part sought refuge in Constantinople and other cities of the Turkish empire. Whatever might have been the sentiments which the Government of Portugal in the first instance entertained towards the Jews, and whether humanity or policy prescribed the particular line of conduct adopted; it is matter of history that the favour shown to them was of short duration, and that they were afterwards treated with as much cruelty in Portugal as they had before been in Spain. The persecutions which they experienced in the latter country for many years were unremitting: and the annexed Sermon, which must carry with it all the weight of evidence usually attached to an official document, proves that at a period so late as 1705, when the archbishop of Cranganor preached before the Royal Family on the occasion of the Auto da Fé which at that time took place at Lisbon, the Jews were dragged to the flames by the Inquisition. The perusal indeed of a discourse so full of rancour and of invective against them, might well lead one to suppose that a much more recent although a secret page of history, and not the recollection of events nearly two thousand years old, had excited the feelings of the archbishop, and dictated to him the language to which he then gave utterance. The Sermon itself was printed at Lisbon, as the title-page professes, in 1705. But the Answer to it, which is a very remarkable defence of the Jewish religion by a Jew, (to which, as regards a main argument brought forward, viz. That it is customary with the Rabbis always to interpret literally the texts of Scripture, whilst Christians on the contrary give to it, as it may suit their purpose, a literal, a metaphorical, a typical, or an allegorical sense;—a reply not likely to be pleasing to the Jews might easily be made,) has never been printed, since neither in Spain nor Portugal would the necessary license have been granted: and the declaration in the title-page, "Impresso en Villa-Franca, por Carlos Vero, a la Insignia de la Verdad," is merely ironical.

e transplantados em qual quer canto da terra, assim he fecunda de abominações essa vossa miseravel planta, quc della renascem Judeos todas as horas.

2. Vós sois aquelles, a quem a esperança sendo tão larga, não cansou a paciencia. Vós sois aquelles, a quem a evidencia sendo tão clara, não bastou a vos convencer o genio. E vós sois aquelles, a quem o castigo sendo tão grande, vos obstinou a vontade, para persistir na teyma. O castigo, que abranda brutos, vos fez obstinados. A evidencia, que convence loucos, vos fez teymosos. E a esperança, que cansa o animo, vos fez sofridos. Principiastes enganados por conselho de quatro tontos, a esperar o Messias depois que Christo Jesus veyo ao mundo; e em lugar de ter fim com a sua vinda a vossa esperança, a sua vinda vos fez esperar pelo Messias como homens desespegados, para desesperadamente serdes Judeos.

3. Quanto me compadeço da vossa disgraça, oh filhos de Israel! Com quantas lagrimas de sangue deve a nossa piedade chorar o vosso infortunio, considerando o que hoje sois, e antigamente fostes! Antigamente herdeyros do amor, que não mereçia a vossa continua obstinação: hoje arrazoadamente emprego da ira, que em vós tem a sua justa vingança. Hoje o theatro he cadafalso da vossa afronta: antigamente os tabernaculos erão timbre da vossa crença. Antigamente fostes respeitados da agua e mais do fogo, hoje o fogo tem em vós o seu pasto; e as vossas cinzas afogadas no mar tem na agua o seu tumulo. Hoje todos vos lanção da sua companhia: antigamente todos procuravão a vossa amizade. Antigamente as trombetas acclamavão a vossa gloria na observancia da vossa ley; hoje as trombetas publicão a vossa infamia na supresticiosa observancia de hua ley não sò amortecida, mas já de todo morta. Hoje o ser Judeo he descredito em toda a parte: antigamente o ser Judeo era credito em todo o mundo. Antigamente as vossas cabanas no deserto erão choupanas aonde o Ceo vos recreava com favores: hoje as vossas cabanas no povoado são choupanas aonde o fogo por justiça vos reduz a cinzas. Hoje, que a caso succedeo ser o dia do vosso Purim, o dia desta vossa abjuração, que vem a ser o mesmo, que o dia da expiação dos vossos peccados, a cor amarela e encarnada dos vossos sanbenitos, e as insignias de fogo das vossas çamarras, já se não trocão em outra cor, antes ficão no mesmo accidente. Antigamente no dia da expiação das vossas culpas, o fio encarnado, que pendia das pontas do cabrito, aquem sacrificaveis neste dia, se trocava em branco, porque assim mostrava Deos que vos perdoava os vossos peccados. Antigamcnte as vossas heranças erão posse inseparavel da vossa familia: hoje em lugar da vossa familia succedeo o fisco na vossa herança. Hoje tendes hum Deos tão justamente irado, porque o agravais injustamente, que ha jà mais de 1632 annos, (que tanto tem durado esta vossa ultima dispersão, desde que Tito vos destruio) que ha jà mais de 1632 annos, que Deos vos castiga com hua escravidão tão comprida, e sò elle sabe quando terà fim este vosso cativeyro. Antigamcnte tinheis hum Deos tão inclinado a misericordia para os vossos castigos, que os vossos trabalhos não passarão do numero de breves annos. Porque no Egipto pelo peccado da venda de Joseph, que foy o peccado primeyro em que conspirarão juntos os vossos pays, durou noventa e hum anno a vossa peregrinação, que padecestes por este peccado. No tempo dos Juizes, pelas vossas idolatrias, que forão a vossa segunda culpa, para que concorrerão todos os vossos avós, acabou-se em cento e onze annos a escravidão que padecestes porque fostes idolatras. Em Babylonia, aonde estivestes desterrados pela morte dos profetas, acabou-se em setenta annos o vosso desterro. Estes fostes, quando mataveis prophetas, adoraveis idolos, e vendieis innocentes; mas jà agora não sois estes, quando não vendeis innocentes, ainda que por innocentes vos vendais todos. Já não sois estes agora, que não matais a prophetas; estes fostes, quando tinheis peccados tão grandes; e agora já não sois estes, quando não tendes tão grandes peccados?

4. Verdadeyramente (oh filhos do meu coração!) que esta differença em que hoje estais, do que antigamente fostes, bastava para causar lastima a peytos mais duros, quanto mais a nòs, que supposto não temos o vosso sangue, somos todos vossos irmãos pelo sangue de Jesu Christo, que vos redemio, e pelo santo Baptismo, que vos lavou. Na verdade, (oh desgraçada gente!) que esta mudança podia per si sò fazer pendor a loucos, quanto mais a vòs, que vos prezais de entendidos. Porque considerando o que fostes, e o que sois, bastava esta consideração para vos trocar do que sois, para o que deveis ser; e se quizesse hoje o Deos de Israel, nosso e jà vosso Deos: se quizesse hoje o Deos de Israel que vos arrependesseis de todo o coração, já que hoje de vos arrependeres com toda a sinceridade, nesta vossa abjuração, days hum authentico testemunho do vosso arrependimento. Sem vos afrontar, porque só vos pretendo convencer, vos-hey-de mostrar o vosso erro, e desenganar a vossa teyma, que se fordes racionaes vos hey-de fazer Catholicos. Desejára que não fosseis vòs hoje sómente os meus ouvintes, porque sois quatro miseraveis, que como ignorantes da mesma ley que professais, fazeis cousas ridiculas por actos de religião. Desejára pois que todos os vossos mestres, que tendeis espalhados pelo mundo, fossem hoje os que me ouvissem; porque tão

demostrativamente hey-de hoje destruir os fundamentos da vossa esperança, que hey-de necessitar ao seu e ao vosso juizo para serdes fieis, ainda que vòs e elles ostenteis a vontade para serdes Judeos. Bem sey, que sem pia affeição na vontade não pode haver assenso para crer no juizo; mas taes hão-de ser hoje as premissas, que hey-de propor ao vosso entendimento, que necessariamente hey-de tirar do vosso juizo a concluzão contra a mentira da vossa seita, a favor da verdade da nossa fé.

5. E para que a presente demonstração tenha toda a efficacia para convencer ao vosso engano, não vos hey-de allegar razoens theologicas, porque estas dependem de principios, que ou a vossa ignorancia não sabe, ou a vossa apostasia porfiadamente nega. Não me valerey do Testamento Novo, porque o não admitte a vossa teyma, supposto que pelo baptismo estais obrigados a crer a sua verdade. Não vos persuadirey com os nossos Padres, porque os tem por suspeitos a vossa incredulidade. O Testamento Velho, não na nossa Vulgata, porque a não admittis por Canonica, mas na vossa mesma raiz Hebraica ou Caldaica, que para vós tem authoridade sagrada, e como tal he para vòs texto authentico, sem duvida nem controversia, serà o texto de todo este meu arrazoado. As exposições dos vossos Rabinos, em cuja doutrina vos fundais para serdes Judeos, serão de todo este meu discurso huma confirmação evidente. Ora ouvi-me desapayxonados, que eu vos prometto de vos deyxar convencidos, porque vereis como o juizo se rende á força da evidencia.

6. Vio o profeta Isaias no capitulo 42 dos seus vaticinios, em espirito, o miseravel estado a que os Judeos pelos seus peccados havião de chegar depois da vinda de Christo, que foy e he o verdadeiro Messias, que Deos prometteo ao mundo em as suas Escrituras, e querendo desenganar a esperança dos Judeos, lhes deu hum evidente sinal para os Judeos conhecerem o seu engano: "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastàtus: laqueus juvenum omnes, et in domibus carcerum absconditi sunt: facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat, Redde." Sabe, povo desgraçado! diz o profeta, sabe, que depois de vir o Messias, has-de ser hum povo espalhado por todo o mundo, hum povo escravo em toda a terra. Porque has-de ser hum povo destruido, e hum disperso povo; "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastatus." As poucas reliquias, que ficarão da tua grandeza, para authentico testemunho do castigo do teu peccado Isai. c. 42, v. 22. serão huma meada, que com fio tam direyto te levarà a huma tão horrenda prisão, que cada hum dos Judeos estarà preso em seu carcere separado, em sua casinha escondido, com tal segredo, e posto na prisão com tal cautela, que nem o que là està saberà o que hontem foy, nem o que hoje vay, saberà, o que irà à manhãa, "In domibus carcerum absconditi sunt," seràs tam desgraçado, ó povo infelice! que compondo-se de velhos e moços o teu povo, todos os Judeos se enredarão huns com os outros como se forão meninos; porque todos são hum laço em que se prendem todos, e em que todos cahem: ou cada hum dos Judeos he hum laço, porque cada hum dos Judeos he huma meada: "Laqueus juvenum universitas ipsorum, vel omnes ipsi," diz o vosso texto Hebraico, assim te confundirás, e embaraçaràs assim, oh miseravel Judea! porque não advertes que te espera hum carcere duro, pois não pode haver industria que te livre do carcere, porque fazendo-te culpado o Judaismo, he o enredo tam grande, que nam pode haver resgate que te livre da prisam tam estreita: "Facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat, Redde."

7. Que este texto de Isaias se entenda do castigo que hoje padecem os Judeos, bastava a vossa experiencia para o convencer assim; porque vós mesmos vos estais vendo no estado em que o profeta diz que vos haveis de ver depois do Messias vir; vós mesmos vos vedes espalhados por todo o mundo, dispersos por toda a terra; e ou por industria, ou por verdade andais apartando-vos huns dos outros; e se ocultamente vos unis para judaizar, publicamente vos separais para contraditar aquem vos accusa por Judeos. Vós mesmos chorando a vossa desgraça, vos lamentais, a nòs os Catholicos, que os vossos inimigos vos enredão, e que em huma meada de nós cegos, vos levão com hum fio tam direito aos carceres do Santo Officio, que a rede varredoura das vossas embrulhadas vos mete em huma prisão tão estreita, com generalidade tam grande, que todos os que tem o vosso sangue estão sujeitos a este infortunio, aquem commumente chamais os vossos trabalhos, sem haver quem vos possa resgatar desta desgraça. Tudo isto junto á vossa experiencia bem prova que com vosco falla o Profeta neste texto. Quando porem isto nam bastasse para concluir esta verdade, o testemunho do vosso Rabbi Samuel o concluiria, pois ha mil annos que confessa este Rabino naquella sua celebre epistola, que ha 705 annos escreveo a Rabbi Isac, que pelo peccado de matares a Christo he que vos succedeu este cativeiro: "Apertè dicit Deus, quòd erit desolatio post occisionem Christi, sicut est nostra desolatio postquam Jesus fuit occisus."

8. Meus irmãos: vedes já satisfeitos todos estes sinaes do que vos havia de succeder depois de ter vindo o

Messias, segundo vos diz o vosso profeta? Ou vedes ou não vedes? Se o não vedes estais cegos, porque cada hum de vòs está jà posto neste estado; se o vedes porque vos não desenganais, que a vossa esperança he hum erro manifesto, e que o Messias que esperais não pode vir, porque os sinaes provão que já veyo o Messias? Depois do Messias vir haveis de ser povo espalhado e povo destruido: "Populus direptus et vastatus." Haveis de ser todos hum enredo, ou hum enredo cada hum de vós: "Laqueus universitas ipsorum vel omnes ipsi." Haveis de ser presos, não em carcere commum, mas em particular carcere, porque para cada hum de vós havia de haver hua casinha para vossa prizão: "In domibus carcerum absconditi sunt." A prizão ha-de ser tão forte, o carcere tam duro, que não pode haver braço que vos livre do carcere: "Facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat, Redde." Pois se tudo isto exprimentais já hoje, e vossos avòs o tem experimentado ha já tantos annos, como esperais ainda a vinda futura se tudo isto vos havia de succeder de pois da vinda? Que loucura he a vossa para esperar futuro o que já foy no passado? Vedes os effeitos da vinda, e ainda esperais a vinda depois de ver os effeitos? O cativeyro continua, a prizão não acaba, o enredo reforça-se, o desterro estende-se, a destruição prolonga-se, e o Messias nam chega, quando depois de chegar o Messias, vos havia de succeder tudo isto. O successo prova a vinda que ja foy, e vós á vista deste successo esperais que ainda á vinda haja de ser? Sim; porque esse he o castigo grande que Deos vos deu pelo horrendo sacrilegio de lhe matareis a seu filho. Esperareis ao Messias contra as mesmas razões de o esperareis, e assim não vindes a esperar ao Messias que ainda ha-de vir, mas desesperastes porque já veyo o Messias; e como huns homens desesperados desteis em esperar por desesperação. Deos prometteo-vos o Messias que havia de vir, e como tal jà veyo; vos desesperados porque veyo o Messias ateimastes a esperar por desesperação ao Messias, que não pode vir, e que por consequencia se não pode esperar, porque he impossivel o Messias que esperais: e por isso mesmo porque he impossivel, vos resolveis a esperar hum Messias que não pode vir, porque não quereis acabar com a vossa esperança do Messias. Tendes hoje, segundo as mais ajustadas chronologias, desde o tempo de Abraham, em que Deos vos prometeu mais expressamente ao Messias, 3615 annos de esperança, e inda não estais cançados de esperar; porque ainda hides esperando, e ainda até o fim do mundo haveis de esperar. Valente esperar sem cançar com tanta esperança o animo dos Judeos! Cruel Messias, que tanto tarda; e ainda ha-de tardar tanto! Soffrida gente, que tanto se resolve a esperar pelo seu Messias! Mas esperay quanto quizeres, porem desenganay-vos, que em quanto não acabar a vossa esperança, e não confessares que fora da pessoa de Christo Jesus, não he possivel outro Messias, a vossa redempção não chega, o vosso cativeyro dura, e durará o vosso castigo: "Nec est qui eruat; nec est qui dicat, Redde."

9. Mas isto mesmo parece que implica para que dos Judeos se entenda este lugar de Isaias, do castigo que padecem nesta sua ultima dispersão. Porque o profeta affirma que não hão-de ter redemptor os Judeos, para se verem livres do cativeyro presente, e se vos preguntarmos a cada hum de vós, até quando ha-de durar esta vossa escravidão; nos haveis de responder todos que em quanto não vier o Messias por quem esperais haveis de experimentar este castigo. Pois se os Judeos no Messias futuro esperão a sua redempção, e ainda hoje esperão ao Messias, como diz o profeta que não hão-de ter redempção os Judeos? Por isso mesmo, porque os Judeos no Messias futuro esperão o seu remedio, por isso hão-de ficar sem remedio os Judeos, porque nunca para os Judeos ha-de chegar o Messias. E como o Messias he impossivel, por isso tambem he impossivel o remedio que no Messias esperão os Judeos.

10. O Messias, que os Judeos esperão, he impossivel, pelos predicados intrinsecos de que se persuadem que se ha-de compor o Messias. He impossivel pelo tempo em que ha-de vir, até he impossivel pelos sinaes que ha-de ter quando vier. He impossivel pelos sinaes, porque todos jà estão verificados em Christo, e he impossivel que fora de Christo se possam verificar estes sinaes. He impossivel pelo tempo em que ha-de vir, porque o tempo jà passou quando Christo veyo, e he impossivel que o tempo que jà passou esteja ainda por vir. He impossivel finalmente pelos predicados intrinsecos de que os Judeos supõem que se ha-de compor o Messias, porque esses mesmos provão que não he possivel o Messias, aquem os Judeos esperão, porque sò Christo teve os predicados que são proprios do Messias, e como nesta impossibilidade o Messias que esperão os Judeos não he outra cousa mais que huma quimera que fingio a sua teyma; para o profeta desenganar aos Judeos que a sua esperança era huma fabula, o objecto dos seus suspiros hum sonho, lhes diz que por mais que esperem, já mais ham-de conseguir o fim da sua esperança e o termo do seu desejo: "Nec est qui eruat; nec est qui dicat, Redde.

11. Esta serà a materia desta minha demonstração: a esperança dos Judeos destructiva da sua mesma esperança; porque esperão os Judeos hum Messias que senão pode esperar, porque he impossivel por todas as

razões o Méssias que esperão os Judeos. Evidente he esta demostração para quem sinceramente quizer abraçar a verdade, porque não poderá resistir á força da evidencia; desconsola-me porem, e quasi me desanima, para não esperar fructo deste meu trabalho, o ver que mal poderey eu com razões destruir a vossa porfia, quando Christo com milagres não curou em vossos antepassados a sua teyma. O entendimento não pode resistir á verdade, bem que o vosso genio se aposte a resistir à força de toda a razão. Disputo com o vosso juizo, e não com a vossa vontade; não com a vontade, porque palavras não vencem obstinações. Com o vosso juizo sim, porque o entendimento dà assenso á verdade. Ouvi-me com pia affeyçam na vontade, sem querer de preposito obstinar o coraçam, e logo vereis como o vosso juizo se convence para abjurar verdadeiramente o vosso erro, e depor a vossa porfia. Entremos em o discurso, e principiemos a convencer a vossa teyma, pelos predicados intrinsecos do Messias.

§ II.

12. Para vos demostrar que o Messias que esperais he impossivel pelos predicados intrinsecos, de que supondes que se ha-de compor o Messias quando vier, e fazer-vos evidente que não ha-de ter execuçam a falsidade da vossa esperança, he necessario preguntar-vos se vòs esperais ao Messias, como Deos vos prometeu pelos seus profetas que o Messias havia de ser; ou se esperais ao Messias, governados pela cabeça de quatro ignorantes, que para se enganar a si, e a vòs fingirão hum Messias ridiculo, e como tal o propuzerão à vossa credulidade. Se o esperais do primeiro modo; esperaveis bem, se ainda o Messias não tivera santificado ao mundo com a sua presença. Se o esperais do segundo modo sois loucos, porque antepondes à verdade de Deos a tontices de quatro parvos, que vos quizerão entreter com esta esperança. Como homens de juizo, jà sey que me haveis de responder que esperais ao Messias segundo Deos revelou pelos seus prophetas que o Messias havia de ser quando viesse. Dizey-me agora, e quem ha-de ser o Messias por quem esperais? Ha-de ser puro homem como Moyses, que vos libertou do cativeyro do Egipto, ou como Zorobabel, que vos redemio da escravidão de Babilonia? Bem vejo que me respondereis, ou os vossos Mestres por vòs, que o Messias ha-de ter muyto mayores excellencias, porque vos ha-de libertar da prezente oppressão com liberdade mais gloriosa. Assim o confessão todos os vossos Rabinos no seu Talmud, no livro *Sanchedrin*, no capitulo *Helech*.

13. Torno a preguntar-vos, esse Messias, que ainda esperais, supposto que ha-de ser mais poderoso que Zorobabel, e que Moyses, ha-de ser sò homem como estes dous forão; ou ha-de ser homem e Deos como nenhum destes dous foy? Desta resposta depende a verdade da nossa fé, e a falsidade da vossa crença. A seyta moderna dos vossos Rabinos vos aconselha que não respondais a esta pregunta; porque infalivelmente vos havemos de convencer em o vosso erro. E para isso vos persuadem que quando não puderdes escusar-vos à reposta, negueis o artigo do Messias, dizendo que não veyo, nem ha-de vir; porque a vinda do Messias não he artigo de fè: e que o ser Judeo não consiste nesta esperança, mas bem sim na observancia da ley de Moyses, que he sò o que obriga aos Judeos.

14. Para total intelligencia deste ponto he necessario saber, que ácerca do Messias estão hoje os Judeos divididos em duas opiniões totalmente oppostas e diversas totalmente. Huns dizem, e este he o parecer commum desta miseravel gente; huns dizem, que ainda não veyo o Messias, outros affirmão, que já veyo ha 1632 annos, porque nasceu na occasiam em que Tito Vespasiano destruio a Jerusalem. Assim está escrito no Talmud no livro *Bereschit Rabba*, que he a glosa mayor do Genesis no capitulo *Echa*. E no livro *Sanchedrin* no capitulo "Cum similiter." E porque tendo o Messias jà vindo, segundo esta opinião ha mais de 1632 annos, ainda em tantos annos nenhum Judeo vio ao seu Messias: dizem huns, que anda desconhecido peregrinando pelo mundo, outros que está ás portas de Roma na companhia de muytos pobres pedindo esmola: outros que está escondido nos montes Caspios, e com tal cautela que se algum Judeo o quizer hir lá buscar o rio Sabatino lh'o impede, porque chegando algum Judeo ás suas margens, converte as suas agoas em pedras, lançando hum tal chuveyro de pedradas sobre os pobres Judeos que ou hão-de ficar alli mortos ou se hão-de retirar deyxando ao seu Messias lá dentro no seu encanto.

15. Outros considerando que os montes Caspios estão muyto perto, e esta fabula do rio Sabatino se convencia de ridicula, appellaram para o Paraiso, dizendo que lá está o Messias entretido na companhia de Moyses e Elias, para que quando for tempo Deos o mande libertar aos Judeos. A estas duas opiniões acrescentarão terceyra os Rabinos modernos, affirmando que o Messias não viera, nem havia de vir, porque Deos não o promettera nas Escrituras,

nem a sua vinda era artigo de fé para os Judeos. Esta opinião de novo inventada teve tão pouco sequito que ainda não encontrey outrem que a seguisse mais que a Francisco Antonio de Olivares, Castelhano de nacimento, o qual nesta cidade foy relaxado em 14 de Julho de 1686, e morreo profitente deste artigo ou deste disparate, que por tal o estimão todos os Judeos sem controversia, como consta do Talmud no tratado *Sanchedrin* no capitulo *Chelech*, aonde expressamente confessão os Rabinos que não ouve propheta que não tratasse da vinda do Messias ; " Omnes prophetæ aliquid de Messia prædixerunt." O mesmo se afirma no Jalcut na exposição do capitulo 66 de Isaias, sinal 368. Na mesma verdade contestão todos os Judeos, quando no Sabbado em todas as suas synagogas cantão aquelle seu celebre motete em Hebraico, *Igdal Elohim chay*, que he o mesmo que pedirem a Deos que lhes apresente a vinda do seu Messias. E para não nos determos em hum artigo que he commum a toda a synagoga, bastará para estabelecer a sua verdade o testemunho de Rabbi Moyses Egipcio, que he hum dos mais antigos Mestres que tem os Judeos. Diz pois este Rabino no seu Deuteronomio, aonde escreve os artigos da ley, que o undecimo artigo della he a confissão do Messias, a quem os Judeos devem crêr com firme fé, sob pena de que fazendo o contrario serão reputados por hereges da synagoga : " Undecimus articulus est Messias, et hunc tenentur Hebræi firma fide credere et venturum sperare, prout omnes prophetæ prædixerunt. Et qui hanc veritatem negaverit, à lege discedere, et hæreticum reputari deberet."

16. Suppostas estas duas opiniões, que são aquellas que ácerca do Messias tem os Judeos, dizey-me agora, filhos de Israel, este Messias, que já veyo no tempo em que se destruio a vossa cidade, ou que ainda ha-de vir como vós esperais, ha-de ser ou foy puro homem ; ou ha-de ser juntamente homem e Deos ? Apertados com essa pregunta respondereis todos que ha-de ser ou foy puro homem. Pois se assim foy o vosso Messias, que já veyo, ou ha-de ser o vosso Messias, que ainda ha-de vir, sabey de certo que nem ha-de vir, nem ainda veyo : porque esse Messias como vós dizeis que ha-de ser ou já tem sido, Rabbi Moyses Egipcio em seu Deuteronomio, he totalmente impossivel ; e o impossivel nem pode ter sido pelo passado, nem pode ter sido pelo futuro. O Messias ha-de ser Deos e homem, porque Deos revelou pelos seus prophetas que no Messias havia de haver o constado destas duas naturezas, humana e divina, e como he impossivel que Deos minta, e que Deos engane ; tambem he impossivel poder haver Messias verdadeiro com outros predicados, que não sejão aquelles que Deos revelou, que havia de ter o verdadeiro Messias. Logo o Messias, que vossa esperança finge futuro, porque ainda não veyo ; ou o Messias, aquem não obstante ter vindo ainda esperais para conseguir a vossa liberdade, he impossivel em si se he impossivel, nem pode ter vindo, nem pode vir : logo a vossa esperança he destructiva de si mesma, porque nunca pode ter fim esta vossa esperança. Esperay quanto quizeres os que vos determinais a ser Judeos, mas desenganay-vos que se o vosso Messias foy ou ha-de ser como esperais, nem ha-de ser, nem tem sido, porque he impossivel tal Messias. Ora ouvi aos vossos profetas.

§ III.

17. A dous profetas entre outros muitos revelou Deos quem havia de ser o Messias que tinha determinado mandar ao mundo ; a Isaias, e a Jeremias, Isaias assim o descreve no capitulo nono dos seus Vaticinios, conforme ao vosso texto Hebraico : " Infans natus est nobis, et Filius datus est nobis, et erit principatus super humerum ejus : et vocabitur nomen ejus Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus Fortis, Pater Sempiternus," ou " Pater Sempiternitatis, Princeps Pax : ad multiplicandum principatum, et pacis non erit finis, super solium David et super regnum ejus sedebit ; ut confirmet illud, et corroboret in judicio et justitia, a modo, et usque in sempiternum." Nasceu-nos hum menino, deu-se-nos hum filho, que terá sobre o seu hombro o seu imperio : chamar-se-ha Admiravel, Conselheiro, Deos Forte, Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade, Principe da Paz, ou Principe Paz, que ha-de multiplicar o seu imperio : sentar-se-ha sobre o throno de David, e sobre o seu reyno, para o confirmar, e corroborar em juizo e justiça, desde agora para sempre até toda a eternidade.

18. A mesma, ou quasi a mesma, revelação com pouca differença fez Deos ao profeta Jeremias nos capitulos 23 e 33, segundo o vosso mesmo Hebraico texto : " Ecce dies venient, dicit Dominus, et suscitabo David germen justum. Et regnabit Rex, et intelliget, et faciet judicium et justitiam in terra. In diebus illis salvabitur Juda, et Israel habitabit ad fiduciam. Et hoc est nomen, quod vocabunt eum ·A·" inefavel, seu outro nome inefavel ·A· " justus noster." Virá o tempo, disse Deos, em que eu produzirey para David hum garfo da sua geração. Reynará Rey, será sabio, fará juizo e justiça na terra. E nesse tempo se salvará Judas, e Israel estará na sua companhia com toda a confiança. O nome que ha-de ter he o de Deos ·A· ·A· dous nomes inefaveis, justo nosso.

19. Dous sinaes vos dão aqui estes dous profetas em cada hum dos seus vaticinios, para que vós os Judeos pudesseis conhecer ao Messias que vos promettia nestas duas profecias; Isaias diz, que o Messias ha-de nascer pequeno, "Infans natus est;" que se ha-de dar em tempo, "Filius datus est;" que ha-de ter hombro, "super humerum ejus;" que ha-de ter imperio, que se ha-de multiplicar, e que ha-de crescer, "ad multiplicandum imperium;" que se ha-de sentar no throno e reyno de David, "super solium David, et super regnum ejus sedebit." Este he o primeyro sinal que o profeta dá para se conhecer ao Messias. Diz mais, que além de todos estes predicados, que ao Messias verdadeyro hão-de competir, terá outro sinal por onde se possa conhecer. Porque será o seu proprio nome Admiravel, "Admirabilis;" Conselheyro, "Consiliarius;" Deos Forte, "Deus Fortis;" Pay Eterno "Pater Sempiternus," ou Pay da Eternidade "Pater Sempiternitatis;" Principe da Paz "Princeps Pacis," ou Principe Paz "Princeps Pax." Que a paz não terá fim, "et pacis non erit finis." Que o seu imperio duraria desde agora até toda a eternidade, "a modo, et usque in sempiternum." Este he o segundo sinal do Messias; o primeyro sinal evidentemente prova que o Messias ha-de ser homem, porque se o Messias ha-de nascer pequeno, ser dado em tempo, ter hombro, imperio que cresca, e se multiplique, sentar-se no throno de David, e sobre o seu reyno, necessariamente havia-de ser homem o Messias, porque só a quem he homem podem competir estes predicados.

20. O segundo sinal demonstrativamente conclue a divindade do Messias, porque se o Messias havia-de ter os nomes que o profeta diz, e ser chamado Admiravel, Conselheyro, Deos Forte, Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade, havia-de ter imperio perpetuo, reyno sem fim, paz sem termo: como nenhum homem precisamente homem pode ter paz sem termo, reyno sem fim, imperio perpetuo, nem ser Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade; chamar-se Deos, ou competir-lhe de Deos o nome; necessariamente havia-de ser Deos o Messias; porque estes predicados só podem competir aquem he Deos; logo por estes predicados, que só a Deos podem ser proprios, havia-de ser Deos o Messias, pelos primeiros havia-de ser homem, e havia-de ser Deos pelos segundos; logo o Messias havia-de ser Deos e homem.

21. Jeremias prova o mesmo argumento, e tambem para se conhecer o Messias dá dous sinaes, porque diz que o Messias ha-de ser futuro, "Ecce dies venient;" que se ha-de produzir em tempo, "suscitabo;" que ha-de ser geração de David, ou que para David ha-de ser a sua geração, "germen David;" que ha-de fazer justiça, "faciet justitiam;" e que esta justiça ha-de ser na terra, "in terra;" que no futuro ha-de ser rey, "et regnabit Rex;" que ha-de salvar em tempo os Judeos, "salvabitur Juda;" e que os Judeos hão-de morar com elle com toda a confiança, "Israel habitabit ad fiduciam." Todas estas circunstancias provão que o Messias ha-de ser homem, porque só a quem he homem podem competir estas circunstancias todas.

22. O Messias além do que já tem dito o profeta havia-de chamar-se por seu proprio nome Deos, e não havia de ser este nome Deos; qual quer nome dos que Deos tem; mas o nome santissimo ·A· o inefavel, que significa a omnimoda asseidade de Deos, e ser eterno por essencia (como logo provarey com os Rabbinos) cujo attributo só a Deos pode competir, ou cujo nome só em Deos se pode verificar. Porque assim como só a Deos pertence o ser omnimodamente de si e não de outrem; assim só a quem fôr Deos pode pertencer aquelle nome, que nega a baleidade, e firma a asseidade. Logo se Deos diz que este he o nome que o Messias ha-de ter, ou o Messias havia-de ser Deos, ou Deos nos pôs em perigo de adorarmos por Deos ao Messias, não sendo o Messias Deos: porque veriamos no Messias, como proprio aquelle nome, que não pode ter senão quem fôr Deos. Deos não pode ser cauza de erro nem de engano. Logo necessariamente havia-de ser Deos o Messias, pelos primeyros predicados que Deos revelou que o Messias havia-de ter he o Messias homem; pelos segundos he Deos, logo era Deos e homem o Messias. Logo se esperais a hum Messias homem somente e não Deos, esperais hum Messias impossivel; porque sendo Messias como vós dizeis não ha-de ter aquelles predicados que Deos disse que havia de ter o Messias. Dizem-vos os profetas que o Messias ha-de ser Deos e homem? E vós contra o que vos dizem os profetas, por cuja boca fallou Deos, esperais a hum Messias homem somente. Logo esperais a hum Messias que não pode ter vindo, nem pode vir; logo a vossa esperança he destructiva de si mesma, porque não podendo a esperança cahir senão em o objecto possivel, não he só impossivel o objecto que esperais, mas tambem a esperança com que esperais o objecto. E assim como o impossivel nem no passado nem no futuro ou no presente pode ter execução, assim a vossa esperança de hum Messias somente homem, no presente he sonho, no passado foy sombra, e no futuro ha-de ser fabula.

§ IV.

23. Que solução dais a estas duas profecias, que são tão claras contra a vossa esperança? Que resposta dais a huma demonstração tão evidente contra o vosso engano? Ou credes o que vos dizem estes dous profetas, ou não o credes? Se o credes, como esperais a hum Messias contra o mesmo que os profetas vos dizem? Se o não credes, para que enganais ao mundo, e porque vos enganais a vós dizendo que sois Judeos? Bem sey que me respondereis não vos convencem estas duas profecias, porque como sois ignorantes não lhes sabeis a resposta. Mas que os vossos Mestres sabem muito bem soltar estas duvidas. Que se estivesseis em Olanda, em Veneza, em Liorne, ou em Turim, que vos não haviamos de apertar tanto, porque lá tinheis Rabbinos, que como letrados sabem explicar estes textos; e que como Mestres doutos sabem responder a estes argumentos. Ora eu estou pelo partido, mas seguray-me vós que haveis de estar pelas respostas dos vossos Mestres, e pela explicação dos vossos Rabbinos, que eu vos repitirey tudo o que elles vos dizem, e ensinão para escurecer a nossa verdade, porque evidentemente vos hey de mostrar a falsidade da sua doutrina: e a Deos, que nos ha-de julgar a todos, tomo por testemunha de vos referir tudo o que sey que os vossos Mestres vos ensinão para soltar a este argumento: ou para dizer melhor com o vosso Rabbi Samuel tudo o que os vossos Mestres dizem para vos enganarem a vós, e para se enganarem a sy, "Domine," diz este Rabbino escrevendo a Rabbi Isac, "Domine mi, videtur quod decipimus alios, et nos ipsos."

24. Rabbi Avenazra, de pois de se ver convencido com o texto de Isaias para confessar que o Messias havia-de ser Deos, vendo que o lançavão da synagoga, para se conservar com os Judeos, negou que do Messias fallasse neste lugar o profeta, dizendo que del rey Ezechias falla o texto. E Rabbi Salamão, que para vos enganar foy entre todos os Judeos o vosso Salamão, seguio o mesmo parecer; mas vendo que do texto facilmente se convencia esta interpretação para poder sustentar o seu erro, se atreveo a viciar o original Hebraico, commettendo neste particular hum gravissimo peccado, pois tinha hum expresso preceito no Deuteronomio, por onde Deos lhe prohibia commetter tão grande maldade: "Non addetis super verbo, quod ego præcipio vobis, nec minuetis ex eo;" assim se le no vosso texto Hebraico. O mesmo fizerão os Rabbinos modernos ao texto de Jeremias, porque tambem negão que do Messias falle o profeta; porque huns affirmão que o texto se entende de David, de Zorobabel outros, e viciando tambem o mesmo original em Jeremias, todos contestão que o nome de Deos não prova a divinidade do Messias, Deuteron. cap. 4. ver. 2, porque no texto não se dá ao Messias o nome de Deos; porque ainda que se lhe dê, da Escritura consta, que o nome de Deos se apropria aquem não he Deos.

25. Estas são as respostas que os vossos Mestres dão ás nossas demonstrações; mas logo parecem suas estas repostas, porque se convencem de falsas todas, duas falsidades dizem nesta resposta os vossos Rabbinos. A primeira que estes textos de Isaias e Jeremias se não entendem do Messias. A segunda que no texto de Isaias falla del rey Ezechias o profeta, e que no texto de Jeremias o profeta falla de David, ou de Zorobabel. Que o nome de Deos applicado neste dous textos ao Messias não prova que fosse Deos o Messias, ainda que do Messias se entendão estes dous textos; ou porque ao Messias se não attribue de Deos o nome; ou porque ainda que se lhe attribua, desta attribuição se não prova a divindade do Messias. E para que vejais com evidencia como tudo isto que os vossos Rabbinos vos ensinão he huma mentira crassa, e hum fatal desproposito, reparay na facilidade com que se convence esta sua doutrina, e vamos a provar que estes dous textos se entendem do Messias.

26. O *Targum* ou parafrazi Caldea de Rabbi Jonathas Bem Vzielis, que he o mesmo que do Rabbino Jonathas, filho de Vziel, a quem alguns auctores por razão da pouca noticia que tem dos livros Hebraicos, confundem com o *Targum* de Rabbi Ankelos, pois trasladou em Caldeo este lugar de Isaias, Rabbi Jonathas, segundo achou em o vosso original Hebreo: "Infans natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, et vocabitur," digo "suscipiet legem super se ad conservandum eam, et vocabitur nomen ejus *Min Kodam*, Deus Fortis, permanens in sæcula sæculorum Messiach." He este livro tão sagrado para vós os que sois Judeos, que até hoje não ouve na synagoga quem se atrevesse a nega-lo, nem a controverte-lo, não só pela sua veneranda antiguidade, pois foy escrito ha 1747 annos, 42 antes de Christo vir; mas tambem que em todas as vossas escolas, aquem impropriamente chamam synagogas, o ledes todos os sabbados igualmente com a *Tohra*, que vem a ser o Pentateucho de Moyses. Vós porém, ou os vossos Rabbinos, que tudo fizerão ridiculo até a vossa crença para este livro fizestes celebre, porque vos meterão na cabeça os vossos Mestres hum famoso disparate, dizendo que quando Jonathas escrevia este livro se alguma mosca se punha no papel aonde escrevia, que logo vinha fogo do Ceo que queymava a mosca, e deyxava o papel intacto. Valente desproposito que crém homens que tem juizo! Logo se o *Targum*, aquem os Hebreos admittem por

livro de authoridade infalivel, e como livro canonico, por cuja verdade sempre estiverão sem controversia, (Sixtus Sen. Bibliot. 5. Lib. 4. f. mihi 315. Jacob de Val. in Prol. Psalm. Tract. 6,) do Messias explica a este lugar de Isaias profeta infalivelmente deve ser falso para quem fôr Judeo, negar que o profeta não falla neste lugar do Messias.

27. A mesma intelligencia do *Targum* se lê no livro *Bereschit Rabba*, que he a glosa mayor do Genesis, no capitulo 4, aonde se diz assim: "Non est autem nomen Domini hic nisi Rex Messias, ut dictum est, Principatus super humerum ejus:" A estes livros, que para vós são tão sagrados que são infaliveis, acrescentemos a authoridade dos Rabbinos que do Messias explicarão este texto. Rabbi Joseph Galileo no prologo das Lamentaçoens, que em Hebraico se chama *Echa Rabbathi*, perguntando qual he o nome do Messias, assim respondeo: "Nomen Messia" Paz, "scriptum est enim, Princeps Pacis." Moyses Egypcio, que he o Rabbino a quem vós por excellencia chamais o grande pregador, diz assim na sua epistola chamada *Igerens Teman*, escrita aos Rabbinos da Africa. "Omnia nomina hic posita ab Isaia in cap. 9. cum epithetis suis dicuntur de puero nato, qui est Rex Messias." He logo falsa a intelligencia de Rabbi Abenazra, e dos mais Rabbinos que negão fallar o texto do Messias, porque além de ser contra o que tantos Rabbinos antigos confessarão, he contra o *Targum*, aquem vós admittis por livro authentico, e aquem vós reconheceis por livro sagrado.

28. Com a mesma evidencia se prova que do Messias se entende o lugar de Jeremias, que acima ponderamos; não só porque assim o confessão os mais doutos e antigos Rabbinos que florecerão na synagoga; mas porque assim se lê no mesmo *Targum* de Jonathas: "In tempore illo statuam Messiam justum, et hoc est nomen, quod ipsi dicent ei ·T· (nome grande,) Justus Noster." O mesmo consta do livro *Midras Tellim*, que he a glosa dos Psalmos; aonde expondo-se aquelle texto: "Domine in virtute tua lætabitur rex," assim se escreve neste livro, "Quod est Messiæ nomen? est illud quod dicitur in cap. 23 Jeremiæ, Dominus Justus Noster." O mesmo consta do livro *Echa Rabbati* aonde expondo-se aquelle lugar dos Threnos, "Longe factus est a me consolator," fallando Rabbi Abba do Messias assim escreve: "Quia elongatus est a me consolator convertens animam meam. Quod est nomen Messiæ? (Deos, o nome inefavel,) est nomen ejus, sicut dictum est Jeremia, cap. 23, et hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum, Dominus Justus Noster." Consta finalmente de infinitos Rabbinos e livros admittidos, pelos Judeos, que por não gastar tempo deyxo de vos referir. Eis aqui as respostas dos vossos Mestres, que se comvencem de falsas e mentirosas, negando que nestes dous lugares fallassem do Messias estes dous profetas, não souberão responder á evidencia da demonstraçam que fazemos destas duas profecias, e para ficarem Judeos, negarão aos livros canonicos, e aos mais antigos Rabbinos, para se concervarem no seu erro.

§ V.

29. Convencidos por falsos os Rabbinos em dizer que do Messias não fallão estes dous profetas, vamos a convencer a segunda falsidade de Rabbi Abenazra e de Rabbi Salamão, em que dizem que o texto de Isaias se entende del rey Ezechias; e a falsidade de outros Rabbinos, que affirmão que o lugar de Jeremias se entende de David, ou de Zorobabel. E que o nome de Deos applicado nestes dous lugares ao Messias, não prova a sua divindade, dado que do Messias fallem estes dous textos: ou porque ao Messias se não applica o nome de Deos; porque ainda que se applique não prova a sua divindade esta applicação.

30. Primeiramente, se a profecia de Isaias se entende del rey Ezechias, como pretendem estes Rabbinos, estão elles obrigados a nos mostrarem como em Ezechias se comprio o que diz o profeta. Mas isto não poderão elles mostrar sem que primeyro neguem ao capitulo 18 do quarto livro dos Reyes, ou dizerem que a Escritura mênte neste lugar, ou que he falso aquelle capitulo. Porque se o profeta falla de Ezechias neste texto, necessariamente Ezechias se não chamou Ezechias, mas Ezechias se chamou Deos; e só este foy o seu nome, necessariamente Ezechias foy Principe da Paz, e a paz do seu tempo foy perpetua. Necessariamente foy Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade. Necessariamente o seu reyno ainda hoje dura, e nunca ha-de ter fim, porque tudo isto consta do lugar de Isaias referido, que havia-de ser o filho nascido de quem falla o profeta no capitulo nono. Nada disto se verificou, nem podia verificar em Ezechias: antes o contrario consta claramente do texto sagrado. Logo he falso dizer-se que de Ezechias falla o profeta.

31. Que nimguem chamasse a Ezechias Deos, nem Deos fosse o nome com que se chamou este principe he certo: porque da Escritura não consta que se lhe désse tal nome, antes o seu nome consta que foy Ezechias, que não fosse nem pudesse ser Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade, além de que a razão natural assim o convence, porque notoriamente foy só homem Ezechias; devião estes vossos Mestres mostrar-nos donde, ou como competião a

este principe estes predicados, que são proprios de Deos : porque nimguem pode ser Pay Eterno, ou Pay da Eternidade se estenda a sua duração, o que não pode estar se não com a divindade. Devião mostrar-nos como ainda hoje existia este rey, e a sua geração. Devião mostrar-nos como o seu reyno foy multiplicado, e que se não contentára com o receber como recebeo de seu pay dividido. Devião mostrar-nos ainda hoje, corroborado e firmado o reyno de David, e não manchado e perdido em seu filho Manasses. Mas para que este ponto não fique só em palavras, vamos estabelecer com as Escrituras este ponto.

32. O texto sagrado do capitulo 18 do quarto livro dos Reys destróe totalmente a exposição deste Rabbino. Ezechias tão fóra esteve de ter reyno multiplicado, que só dividido recebeo de seu pay o reyno. Tomado o governo, Senacherib lhe tomou as cidades mais fortificados do seu reyno, e para se livrar de huma oppressão, que inundou a todo o seu reyno, lhe deu trezentos talentos de prata e trinta de ouro, sendo obrigado para pagar este tributo, não só a esgotar todo o seu thesouro, mas a tirar do Templo a prata e ouro que havia nelle. A paz que então se lhe concedeo, foy tão curta em a sua duração, que todo o seu governo foy huma perpetua guerra, e seu filho perdeo todo o seu imperio. A confirmação do throno de David foy perde-lo seu filho. Hoje está destruida e extinta a sua descendencia, porque não ha hoje geração de Ezechias, nem reyno deste principe que dure hoje. Tudo isto succedeo a Ezechias, como consta dos capitulos 18, 19, e 20, do quarto livro dos Reys, que para vós he artigo de fé tudo o que consta destes capitulos. Nada disto havia-de succeder ao profetizado de Isaias. Logo ou he falsa a profecia, ou o texto dos Reys, ou a interpretação dos Rabbinos. Porque se o profeta diz que o profetizado havia de chamar-se Deos, ser Principe da Paz, e que não havia-de ter a sua paz fim, ser Pay Eterno ou da Eternidade, que havia de ter imperio multiplicado, e que não havia-de ter fim o seu reyno, que perpetuamente havia-de corroborar, e estabelecer para sempre o throno de David : dizendo o texto dos Reys, que a Ezechias succedeo tudo pelo contrario do que Isaias prometêra ; necessariamente se a exposição deste Rabbino he verdadeira, ou o profeta mintio em o que disse, ou o texto do livro dos Reys he falso em o que conta. O profeta não pode mentir, o texto dos Reys não pode ser falso, logo os falsos e os mentirosos são os vossos Rabbinos, em quererem verificar em Ezechias hum lugar que a Ezechias não pode competir. E em huma falsidade tam grande fundais vós a vossa esperança ?

§ VI.

33. Nem Rabbi Salamam pode seguir a esta difficuldade atrevendo-se elle e os vossos Rabbinos a viciarem o texto de Isaias e Jeremias, para negarem que havia-de ser Deos o Messias ; não obstante que os profetas digão que o nome do Messias havia-de ser Deos. Virão os vossos Rabbinos, porque mais que trabalhassem em expôrem a estes dous lugares não podiam negar a divindade no Messias, e para se conservarem a si e a vós no Judaismo, vos aconselhão que não leais nestes textos que o Messias se ha-de chamar Deos Forte, Conselheyro, Principe da Paz. Nem que o nome de Deos he o nome com que se ha-de chamar ao Messias. Mas que o texto de Isaias se ha-de ler : "Deus fortis, qui est Admirabilis, Consiliarius, et Pater futuri sæculi, vocabit Regem Messiach Principem Pacis." De tal maneyra que o Messias tenha por nome Principe da Paz, e que Deos não seja o Messias, mas que Deos imporà ao Messias o nome de Principe da Paz. Como tambem que no texto de Jeremias não leàis, "Hoc est nomen quod vocabunt eum, Dominus Justus Noster," mas que deveis ler, "vocabit eum Deus Justus Noster ;" de tal maneyra que Deos seja o que chama ao Messias, e o Messias sejá o chamado. Persudirão-se estes barbaros que com o viciarem ao texto sagrado, e em lugar de "vocabitur" em Isaias, pondo "vocabit ;" e o mesmo em Jeremias em lugar de "vocabunt" tinhão concluido, que ao Messias senão dava o nome de Deos : mas enganàrão-se, porque todo este seu trabalho não servio de outra cousa mais que de provar a sua falsidade e o seu atrevimento. Ora vêde o atrevimento e falsidade dos vossos Rabbinos.

34. No lugar de Isaias em que estava escrito em Hebraico *vehichre* que quer dizer "vocabitur," atrevidamente Rabbi Salamam, que foy insigne corruptor dos textos sagrados, escreveo *vahycra*, que quer dizer "vocabit." E em Jeremias estando no mesmo original Hebraico escrito *icreù*, que quer dizer "vocabunt," escreverão *icreo*, que quer dizer "vocabit." Facilissima he de fazer esta corrupção na lingoa Hebraica. Todos deveis saber que os sagrados textos se lerão sempre sem pontuação, e ainda hoje não tem pontos nem virgulas a Biblia que conservais em cada huma das vossas escolas. A pontuação só se começou a pôr nas Biblias 476 annos depois da vinda de Christo, sendo os seus primeyros inventores Rabbi Jacob Ben Naphtali, e Rabbi Aaron Ben Aser, lendo-se antes destes Rabbinos os livros sagrados sem pontos. Vindo Christo, querendo os Judeos negar a divindade do

Messias, com a pontuação começarão a viciar as Escrituras. *Veichare,* que quer dizer "vocabitur," e *vahycra,* que significa "vocabit," se escrevem com as mesmas letras, e só a pontuação as diversifica; como tambem *icreo,* que significa "vocabit," se escreve com as mesmas letras com que se escreve *icreu,* que quer dizer "vocabunt." Para corromperem o texto de Jeremias tomarão a letra Vau, que he a nossa vogal V, e tirando-lhe hum ponto que tem no meyo a letra Vau, e faz *icreu,* puzerão o ponto sobre outra letra, e fica a vogal V mudada em O, que quer dizer *icreo:* e com mudar hum ponto de hua letra n'outra, ficou viciado o texto de Jeremias.

35. O de Isaias se viciou desta maneira *vehicare,* que quer dizer "vocabitur" ou "vocabunt," e *vahycra,* que significa "vocabit;" se escrevem com as mesmas letras. A letra Cametz, que estava debaixo do Coph, transposeram-na, e o que era *vehicare* ficou *vahicra.* (Zech. Boverio in demens. simb. vere, et fal. Relo tom. i. l. 2. f. mihi 41.) Todo este trabalho, e esta fadiga toda dos vossos Rabbinos, e entre todos elles do vosso Salamam, que só veyo ao mundo para vos enganar este Rabbino, aproveytou-lhe bem! Mas foy para nós na sua cara lhe mostrarmos a sua falsidade, e o convencermos de hum insigne mentiroso. Porque se corremos aos Setenta Interpretes, que escreverão ha 1989 annos, 284 annos antes de Christo vir, e ao Targum, escrito ha 1742 annos, 42 annos antes da vinda de Christo, tanto o Targum como os Setenta Interpretes tem "vocabitur," ou *vahycare,* e não *vahycra,* no texto de Isaias. E *icreu,* que significa "vocabunt," e não *icreo,* que quer dizer "vocabit," no texto de Jeremias, logo se Jonathas quando escreveo em Caldeo, e os Setenta Interpretes em Grego, concordemente poserão "vocabitur" no primeyro lugar, e "vocabunt" no segundo, he infallivel que assim estava então o original que trasladarão. Não quereis que esteja hoje assim? Logo está viciado hoje: isto supposto.

§ VII.

36. Dizey-me agora sem paixão: A quem havemos de seguir, e a quem havemos de crer? A Rabbi Salamam, que depois de vir Christo tantos annos diz que nestes textos está "vocabit," *vahycra, icreo,* para sustentar a sua teyma; ou aos Setenta Interpretes, que não só forão escolhidos pelos Judeos para verterem o texto Hebraico em Grego, como os homens mais sabios que havia na synagoga, e apartados huns dos outros contestarão 284 annos antes da vinda de Christo, que nos textos estava *vehicare* e *icreu,* porque trasladarão "vocabitur" e "vocabunt"? A quem havemos de crer, e a quem havemos de seguir? A Rabbi Salamam, conhecidamente falsario pelas infinitas corrupções dos textos sagrados que andão nas suas obras, e que escreveo hontem; ou o Targum, 42 annos escrito antes de Christo vir, que em Caldeo trasladou "vocabitur" e "vocabunt," porque no original achou *icreu* e *vehycare?* Tantos annos primeyro deste Rabbino estavam os textos de hum modo, e depois que elle escreveo quer que estejam de outro, e credes que este Rabbino vos falla verdade? Tantos annos primeyro de vir Rabbi Salamam ao mundo estavão os textos allegados differentemente do que hoje quer elle que estejam: logo haveis de confessar que estão assim porque elle os corrompeu. Ora crede á vista desta demonstração a quem quizerdes. Mas se antepondes Rabbi Salamam ao Targum e aos Setenta, contradizeis a reverencia com que a synagoga respeytou sempre aos Setenta e ao Targum.

37. Que o nome de Deos applicado ao Messias em ambos estes lugares prova a sua divindade, que he o que os vossos Mestres assi negarão, dizendo que a divindade do Messias se não provava por se lhe applicar o nome de Deos, porque a muytas creaturas se applica na Escritura este nome; he huma fatuidade, nascida ou da vossa ignorancia, ou da vossa apostasia. Não vos negamos que os nomes de Deos se appliquem na Escritura a infinitas creaturas racionaes e irracionaes, sem que nos convençamos que são Deos essas creaturas. O ponto está se nos podeis vós mostrar que o nome ineffavel, que he especialissimo nome de Deos, e explica o ser Eterno por essencia, he delegavel a quem não fôr Deos; que nós vos mostramos que sendo delegavel ao Messias este nome necessariamente havia-de ser Deos o Messias.

38. Quereis ouvir esta verdade? Ora revolvey comigo as vossas e as nossas Escrituras. Dés nomes tem Deos nos Livros sagrados. *El,* que significa "Fortem;" *Sabaoth,* que quer dizer Senhor "Virtutum," ou "Exercituum;" e *Sericie,* que quer dizer, "misit me ad vos;" *Elion, Elion,* que quer dizer "Excelsum;" *Elohim, Eloe, Ya, Adonai,* que todos querem dizer o mesmo; *Ya,* que significa "Deum;" *Sadai,* que quer dizer "Omnipotentem;" e fora destes tem outro especialissimo nome, que he ·T· ineffavel segundo lhe chamão os Gregos, ou o nome ineffavel de Deos, a quem os Hebreos chamão o nome das quatro letras, Joth, He, Vau, He. De todas estas quatro letras ou nomes se integra o santissimo nome de ineffavel, que he tão sagrado para vós os Hebreos, que invocando a Deos com todos os seus nomes, só vos não atreveis a tomar o ineffavel na boca; e só delle usava o summo sacerdote na

occasião do sacrificio; e ouvindo-lhe vós a pronuncia o reverenciaveis com o peito por terra. D'aqui vém que se vedes este santissimo nome escrito, nem o ledes, nem o pronunciais, e em seu lugar substituistes o nome de *Adonai*. Nem vós, nem os Gregos, nem os Latinos até agora lhe acharão o verdadeyro significado: os Latinos explicão por "Deus vel Dominus;" os Gregos por ·T· ineffavel; e por *Adonai*, os Hebreos. E o que mais he, que para o saberes pronunciar, esperais que venha o Messias, porque dizeis que só elle ha-de saber qual he a sua verdadeyra pronuncia. Isto assim estabelecido, dizey-me agora, o nome ineffavel he especialissimo de Deos, e significa a omnimoda asseidade, e como tal não se pode communicar senão a quem fôr Deos, porque só a quem o fôr pode competir o predicado de ser omnimodamente de si mesmo: logo havia-de ser Deos o Messias, porque lhe competia este nome: os de mais nomes repetidos com que se invoca Deos são delegaveis ás creaturas, como achareis a cada passo na Escritura. Mas o nome ineffavel, que ao Messias se applica, não nos mostrareis na Escritura que se aproprie a outrem mais que ao Messias e a Deos; e para que concluamos este ponto, ouvi o vosso Rabbi Moyses no seu livro chamado *More*, cap. 6, "Cuncta nomina Dei Excelsi quæ inveniuntur in Scripturis, ab aliqua certa operatione derivantur. Et nomen istud, quod quatuor litteris constat, nomen est particulare et unicum Dei Excelsi, significatque Essentiam Divinam cum manifesta determinatione ad solum Deum absque aliqua æquivocatione et communicatione ad alterum qui Deus non sit." E mais abaixo acrescenta no mesmo capitulo: "Certè alia nomina Dei sunt nomina quæ declarant aliquam operationem, a qua derivantur. At verò hoc nomen quatuor litterarum non est cognitum ab aliqua derivatione, et alteri non communicatur nisi soli Deo." Logo se este nome, e não os outros, conforme as Escrituras e Rabbinos só he proprio de Deos, com tal especialidade que he incommunicavel a quem não fôr Deos; deste nome de Deos dado ao Messias bem se prova no Messias a divindade. E os vossos Mestres, que sabem muyto bem o que digo, de proposito confundem os nomes de Deos, porque querem de proposito errar no artigo da divindade do Messias.

39. Para concluirmos este discurso nos falta somente provar a falsidade com que os vossos Rabbinos querem attribuir a David ou a Zorobabel o texto de Jeremias. Olhay, meus irmãos, Jeremias profetizou 386 annos depois de morto David. Depois de morto David não podia tornar a vir este principe; nem podia ser no futuro, porque já tinha sido no passado. Logo se David foy o profetizado, não havia de dizer o profeta que David se produziria, "suscitabo;" mas que já estava produzido. Não havia-de dizer que se havia-de chamar, "vocabunt;" mas que já se tinha chamado. Não havia-de dizer que se sentaria sobre o seu reyno, "sedebit;" mas que já se tinha sentado. Não havia-de dizer que seria sabio, "sapiens erit;" mas que fora hum sabio grande. Não havia dizer que seria Rey, "regnabit Rex;" mas que rey já o tinha sido. Não havia-de dizer que faria justiça na terra, "faciet justitiam in terra;" mas que na terra ja tinha feyto justiça. Logo a David, que já foy, implica a profecia que ainda será. Logo não se pode entender de David a profecia. Menos se pode entender de Zorobabel, não como digo pelas razões com que a refutamos de David, mas por outras razões igualmente convincentes. Seja a primeyra, porque o nome ineffavel não competio, nem podia competir, como mostramos dos vossos Rabbinos, a Zorobabel. A segunda, o profetizado havia-de ser Rey, "regnabit Rex;" Zorobabel não foy rey, ou o considereis em Babylonia cativo, ou jà restituido á Judea. No tempo deste principe o povo não esteve com toda a confiança debaixo do seu governo, que era outra circunstancia que havia-de ter o profetizado, "et Israel habitabit ad fiduciam:" porque tudo pelo contrario consta da Escritura; porque restituido o povo foy tal a oppressão que padecerão os Judeos no governo de Zorobabel, que consta do Livro de Esdras, que se com huma mão juntavão as pedras para o Templo, com outra apertavão a espada para defender a sua fabrica; e em pouco tempo deyxando o governo dos Judeos, Zorobabel trocou outra vez Judea por Babylonia. Logo não se verifica em Zorobabel esta profecia. Assim se convencem as respostas dos vossos Rabbinos, e o peyor he que á vista da evidencia com que convencemos as suas soluções, sereis vós taes, que por não confessar o vosso erro ainda creais a humas respostas tão falsas.

§ VIII.

40. Ora acabay, meus irmãos, acabay de crer o que vos dizem os vossos profetas, e não sejais tão credulos para disparates que vos metem na cabeça dous Rabbinos ignorantes; mas ainda mal, que crereis todos estes despropositos só para teymares a vos conservar no Judaismo! Resolvey-vos a abrir os olhos, e deyxai-vos convencer da verdade, jà que vos persuadis com a mentira. Confessay que não haveis-de ter liberdade em quanto não mudares de esperança, porque he impossivel o libertador aquem esperais, pois sem ser Deos e homem não he possivel haver Messias.

Isto vos dizem, como até agora tendes ouvido, os profetas; e isto mesmo vos dizem os vossos Rabbinos, que agora ouvireis; porque nesta verdade contestárão os mais doutos homens que ouve em a vossa synagoga.

41. Rabbi Oseas na opinião de huns, ou Rabbi Semiam Bem Jochay no parecer de outros, que floreceu antes de Christo vir ao mundo muytos annos, sendo dos mais antigos Rabbinos (Boverio, ubi sub. l. 2. fol. mihi 52) da Synagoga, expondo ao profeta Oseas, diz assim: Ay dos Judeos impios e homicidas, que hão-de matar o Messias Filho de Deos! Porque hão-de ser taes, que mandando Deos ao mundo seu Filho, o Messias, para lhes perdoar os seus peccados elles hão-de ser taes, que hão-de resistir ao Messias, e o hão-de matar quando elle vier: "Deus sanctus et benedictus mittet Filium sanctum suum, et carne humana se induet. Væ illis impiis homicidis Israel, ob quorum amorem mittet Deus Filium suum ut eis peccata dimittat, quia propter pravas suas opiniones erunt rebelles huic Messiæ, et ingenti iracundia perciti eum occident!" Isto vos diz este Rabbino que vós haveis de fazer ao Messias, que era Filho de Deos. E que mais vos dizemos nós? Se era Filho de Deos o Messias, e este Filho de Deos se vestio de carne humana, segundo confessa este Rabbino tanto tempo antes de vir o Messias, era logo o Messias Deos e homem? Não o podieis matar em quanto Deos; logo em quanto homem o matastes. Logo era homem e Deos o Messias.

42. Rabbi Haccados, aquem por excellencia chamais o vosso Mestre santo, e floreceo antes de Christo vir ao mundo 128 annos, porque viveo no tempo dos Machabeos, n'aquelle seu celebre livro chamado *Galarazeya* em Hebraico, que he o mesmo que revellação dos segredos, fallando do Messias na exposição do capitulo (Boverio, ubi sub. fol. mihi 51 in fine) nono de Isaias profeta, que acima acabamos de explicar, diz assim; "Quia Messias Deus et homo futurus est, ideo vocatus est Emmanuel, quod interpretatur nobiscum Deus." Porque o Messias ha-de ser Deos e homem, por isso ha-de ser chamado Manoel, que quer dizer Deos em a nossa companhia. E com muyto mayor clareza nos repete no mesmo lugar esta verdade, como se refere em hum livro Hebraico aquem chamais 'Porta da Luz:' "Rex Messias componitur ex divinitate et humanitate, et in substantia regis Messiæ inveniuntur duæ filiationes, quarum una est divinitatis, qua Dei Filius est; altera erit humanitatis, qua erit filius prophetissæ. In Messia, substantia divinitatis distincta erit a substantia humanitatis, et e contra, quæ duo simul juncta sunt in Messia." O rey Messias, diz este Rabbino, compõe-se da humanidade e divindade, porque no Messias ha duas filiações; huma que toca á divindade, e por esta he Filho de Deos; a outra filiação diz ordem á humanidade, e por esta será filho da profetiza. No Messias ha duas substancias, ambas distintas huma da outra; huma he a divindade, e a humanidade a outra. Mas estas duas substancias, que em si são distintas, estão ambas no Messias juntas. Que mais vos dizemos nós os Catholicos, que adorando em Christo estas duas naturezas, cremos a este artigo, do que vos diz este Rabbino que só vio a Christo com os olhos do espirito? Dizem-vos os profetas e os Rabbinos que existirão antes de vir Christo, que ha-de ser Deos e homem o Messias: e só de pois que ateimastes a ser Judeos, negando que o Messias fora Christo, vos rezolveis á esperar hum Messias contra o que vos dizem os vossos Rabbinos e os vossos profetas? Não he logo possivel a vinda do vosso Messias; as Escrituras não podem faltar, nem os Rabbinos alumiados por Deos, que antes de Christo vir vos disserão estas verdades, podem ser mentirozos. Logo Messias somente homem não pode vir. He logo impossivel o Messias por quem suspira a vossa esperança; porque lhe faltão os predicados intrinsecos que Deos revelou que o Messias havia-de ter. Por isso a vossa redempção não chega, porque he impossivel o Messias que vos ha-de redemir segundo vós esperais. Por isso as vossas lagrimas são sem fruto, porque a vossa esperança não se termina a quem pode acabar o vosso cativeiro. Por isso estais, e haveis-de estar até o fim do mundo, no estado em que vos vedes, que he o mesmo que vos profetizou Isaias, sem ter quem vos redima, e sem ter quem vos resgate: "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastatus: laqueus juvenum omnes, et in domibus carcerum absconditi sunt: facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat Redde."

§ IX.

43. Se o vosso Messias, a quem ainda espera futuro a vossa teyma, implica pelos predicados intrinsecos de que se ha-de compor, e como tal he impossivel; tambem he impossivel e implicatorio pelo tempo em que ha-de vir esse Messias. Os predicados intrinsecos o fizerão impossivel em si; o tempo em que o esperais o fez impossivel para a execução dos vossos suspiros; porque o tempo que já passou he impossivel que torne a vir. E como o tempo da vinda do Messias se satisfez, e cumprio quando Christo veyo, he impossivel estar por cumprir, e por satisfazer o que já se satisfez, e cumprio jà. Desgraçada gente em quem não só o objecto fez impossivel a esperança, mas ainda o

tempo fez a esperança impossivel! Sois desgraçados não só no Messias que esperais, porque não pode vir; mas até sois desgraçados pelo tempo em que esperais a sua vinda, porque pelo tempo he impossivel poder já vir o Messias que ainda esperais.

44. Para vos persuadir esta verdade, evidente prova era a profecia de Jacob, no capitulo 49 de Gen. aonde querendo Jacob assinar a seus filhos o tempo em que havia-de vir o Messias, lhes disse que a sua vinda havia-de ser quando faltasse o sceptro no vosso povo; e de facto faltou quando Christo veyo, porque já então tinha Herodes Ascalonita o vosso sceptro. E supposto que já aqui o anno passado ouvistes nas culpas de hum Judeo atrevido e ignorante, que este texto o não convencia, porque muyto tempo antes de Christo tinha faltado o sceptro Judaico em Jeconias; isto só o pode dizer hum barbaro totalmente idiota da historia sagrada, porque depois de Jeconias reynou Josias, e se depois deste principe se perdeu no povo o titulo de Rey, até Herodes, o governo dos Judeos se conservou com a mesma authoridade no titulo de Capitães, o que he mais claro que a mesma luz, porque da Escritura consta com toda a clareza. Tambem para vos convencer este mesmo artigo, era evidente demonstração a profecia de Daniel, no capitulo 9, mostrando que as suas semanas, ainda que lhe queirais confundir o seu computo, já estão compridas. Porem como estes dous textos não ha sermão de semelhante argumento em que senão ponderem, para que não digais que nós os Catholicos para vos convencer somos tam faltos de provas, que estamos obrigados a vos repetir as mesmas demonstrações; por isso não pondéro estes dous lugares, porque com outros de igual evidencia quero hoje mostrar-vos a impossibilidade da vossa esperança, e convencer-vos de que he já passado o tempo que ainda supondes futuro, crendo que ainda o Messias não veyo, mas que ainda ha-de vir o Messias.

45. Sonhou Nabuco de Nozor, conforme consta do profeta Daniel, no capitulo 2 dos seus Vaticinios, que vira huma estatua, cuja cabeça era de ouro, os braços de prata, o ventre de bronze, os pès de ferro e barro. Viu que de hum monte se despedio huma pequena pedra, que tocando nos pès da estatua, reduzio todos os seus metaes a cinzas. Na cabeça da estatua se significava o imperio dos Caldeos: nos braços o dos Persas e Medos: no ventre o dos Gregos: e nos pés de ferro os Romanos. Tudo isto he interpretação do vosso profeta, e dos vossos Rabbinos. Este ultimo imperio, que foy o dos Romanos (continua Daniel) serà misturado, porque por huma parte ha-de ser de ferro, e de barro por outra; por cuja razão ainda que o barro se misture com o ferro, ficarão misturados o ferro e o barro; mas não ficarão unidos antes, por mais que se apertem, não hão-de fazer liga entre si, porque se não hão-de pegar o barro e o ferro, nem o ferro ao barro: "Commiscebuntur, sed non adhærebunt sibi." E assim foy na verdade, porque o imperio Romano, que no ferro se figurava; e o barro, que era o reyno dos Judeos (diz o vosso Rabbino João Baptista Deste, que depois de reconhecer ao vosso erro se fez Catholico) ainda que se misturarão, não se unirão; porque se não compoz do barro, que era o vosso reyno, e do ferro, que era o imperio Romano, a mesma potencia. A mesma exposição seguiu o vosso Rabbino Tabiano de Roght, que tambem se converteu a Christo depois de o ter negado na synagoga, no seu livro chamado 'Diologo de la Fede,' por isso o profeta diz que nestas duas potencias havia-de haver mistura, "commiscebuntur," mas não havia-de haver liga, "sed non adhærebunt sibi;" porque supposto que Judeos e Romanos se confederárão como amigos, Dan. cap. 2. ver. 43. (Dial. entre Discip. e Mestre Catechizante, cap. 83. fol. mihi 297. Dial. de la Fede. fol. mihi. Troghi 454, cap. 83.) sempre tiveram dominios distinctos, porque até Herodes Ascalonita, em cujo tempo veyo Christo, foy dos Judeos o governo temporal de Judea. Os Romanos ficarão vossos irmãos para vos defenderem, e vós unidos aos Romanos para os ajudares; mas sempre na religião totalmente differentes, porque em vós ficou o culto do verdadeyro Deos, e nos Romanos a cegueyra da sua idolatria. Tudo isto he certo sem duvida nem controversia, porque além de o sabermos nós todos, e todo o mundo o saber, consta esta verdade do livro dos Machabeos, aonde consta a confederação que fizestes com os Romanos, conservando vos sempre na observancia da vossa ley, e no governo do vosso reyno, até que faltando a amizade vos mandárão os Romanos governar por Herodes, e por outras pessoas de toda a sua confiança; depois querendo os Romanos acabar com vosco, vos mandárão destruir a vossa cidade.

46. No tempo pois em que o ferro do imperio Romano estava misturado com o barro do reyno dos Judeos, huma piquena pedra, diz o profeta, destruiu ao barro e ao ferro, e em seu lugar se levantou hum reyno, que senão ha-de destruir, nem entregar a outra potencia, porque o seu imperio ha-de ser em todo o mundo, e o seu dominio em toda a terra, e permanecer por toda a eternidade: "In diebus regnorum illorum suscitabit Deus cœli regnum, quod in æternum non dissipabitur, et alteri populo non tradetur. Comminuet autem et consumet universa regna hæc, et ipsum stabit in æternum." Dan. cap. 2, ver. 11. Esta he a profecia, e della vimos a colher, que destruido o imperio dos Caldeos, dos Persas, dos Gregos, e que durando ainda o imperio Romano, isto he o ferro misturado com o reyno

dos Judeos, isto he, com o barro se havia-de levantar outro reyno ou imperio, que havia-de destruir a estas duas potencias. E que este imperio, que se seguia aos dous destruidos, havia-de ter dominio eterno, sem successão de tempo, nem passar a outrem o seu governo; porque a pedra que destruio aos demais imperios para fundar este, que se havia-de levantar das suas ruinas, o acrescentaria com tal excesso que a sua grandeza encheria a toda a terra: "Consumet universa regna hæc, et ipsum stabit in æternum: secundum quod vidisti, quod de monte abscissus est lapis sine manibus, et comminuit testam, et ferrum, et æs, et argentum, et aurum."

47. Que esta profecia de Daniel se entenda do Messias he cousa assentada entre os vossos Rabbinos. Assim o confessão no livro *Midras Thellim*, que he o commentario dos Psalmos, expondo o titulo do Psalmo 17: "Quando Messias veniet, non erunt dicentes canticum, donec cadat coram ipso habens digitos, id est, regnum (verss. 44. 45. Apud Zech. Bover. l. 2. fol. mihi 116.) Romanorum, de quo dictum est Daniel secundo, Et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte testei; ex parte regnum solidum, et ex parte frivolum. In diebus regnorum illorum statuet Deus cœli regnum, quod in æternum non dissipabitur, conteret omnia regna ista, et ipsum stabit in æternum. Iste est Rex Messias, sicut dictum est in *Bereschit Rabba*." O mesmo se lê no livro *Bereschit Rabba* no commento do capitulo 42 do Genesis: "Rex verò nonus est ipse Cæsar Augustus, qui universo orbe imperavit, sicut dictum est Daniel secundo, Et regnum quartum erit forte sicut ferrum. Rex decimus est Messias, qui regnabit à fine mundi, usque ad finem ejus, sicut dictum est: Lapis qui percussit statuam replevit universam terram." O mesmo affirmão Rabbi Naham, Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan, e Rabbi Saadias, neste mesmo lugar: "Lapis qui percussit statuam est regnum Messiæ filii David." Supposta esta intelligencia escrita nos vossos livros, e confessada pelos vossos Rabbinos, entremos agora a fazer-vos huma demonstração evidente desta vossa profecia.

§ X.

48. O Messias, segundo diz o profeta, havia-de vir quando ainda o imperio Romano estava misturado com os Judeos. E a vinda do Messias igualmente havia-de destruir nos Judeos o barro de seu reyno, que nos Romanos o ferro do seu imperio; porque das ruinas destes dous dominios se havia-de levantar o reyno do Messias, o qual havia de ser eterno, e estendido por todo o mundo. Logo ou esta profecia he falsa, o que não podeis dizer, porque Daniel foy profeta verdadeyro; ou o tempo destinado para a vinda do Messias já passou? O imperio Romano já hoje não está misturado com o reyno dos Judeos, nem o reyno dos Judeos misturado com aquelle imperio, porque ambas estas duas potencias estão já destruidas. O reyno de Christo está dilatado por todo o mundo: logo implica que o Messias haja de vir depois desta destruição, que a destruição se havia-de seguir á vinda, ou isto he verdade, ou huma de duas consequencias he infallivel? Ou haveis de conceder que inda durão estas duas potencias misturadas, ou que o Messias não havia-de vir durando ainda a mistura dos Romanos e Judeos? Se concedeis que o Messias não havia-de vir neste tempo, mentio o vosso profeta, o que não admittireis. Enganarão-vos os vossos Rabbinos, o que não haveis de confessar. Se concedeis que ainda estas duas potencias se conservão florentes, e misturadas ambas de duas ainda com dominio, estais obrigados a nos mostrar aonde está o vosso reyno, e em que parte da Judea ou do mundo tendes hoje o vosso governo. E haveis de desmentir a todo o mundo e a vós mesmos, porque vós o confessais, e todo o mundo sabe, que ha 1632 annos, que o vosso reyno se destruio, o vosso governo em Judea se acabou, e em todo o mundo não ha lugar algum aonde tenhais dominio, haveis de confessar que sois mentirosos em dizer, que já não tendes reyno, que já não tendes sceptro, e que já a Judea acabou para vós. He evidente que já não tendes nada disto, e tudo isto haveis de ter até o Messias vir: logo como esperais que o Messias venha, se tudo isto prova que já veyo o Messias? O imperio Romano misturado com vosco já lá vay; do vosso reyno já não ha fumo. O reyno que havia-de succeder a estas duas potencias está estabelecido ha tantos annos, e estendido ha já tanto tempo pela Europa, pela Africa, pela Asia, e pela America. He logo já passado o tempo que a profecia assinou ao Messias para a sua vinda. Logo o tempo da vinda do Messias já passou. O tempo que já passou não pode ainda estar por vir. Logo he impossivel ser ainda futuro o tempo que já he preterito. Logo a vossa esperança implica com o tempo em que havia-de vir o Messias.

49. Huma unica difficuldade tem esta demonstração, mas a difficuldade nasce da pouca intelligencia que tendes das Escrituras. Por esta profecia o Messias havia-de fundar ao seu reyno quando viesse, destruindo o reyno dos Judeos e o imperio Romano. Este ainda está dominante, e não destruido. Logo ainda o tempo do Messias vir não chegou. Este argumento, que he commum entre os vossos Rabbinos, vendia por seu o desgraçado Miguel Henriquez, assim

chamado entre nós em quanto se fingio Catholico, e Mizael Henriquez entre vós depois que se declarou Judeo, e como tal foy relaxado nesta cidade em 11 de Mayo de 1682. Mas esta he a vossa cegueyra, quererdes por vossa vontade entender mal todos os textos da Escritura. O Messias não havia-de destruir materialmente ao imperio Romano, porque se fallasse desta destruição o profeta, bem se vê que diria hum grande disparate em affirmar que huma pedra pequena e sem mãos, cahida de hum monte, havia-de destruir materialmente a huma potencia, cujo dominio se estendeo a todo o mundo: e que a pedra que cresceo a hum monte, que encheo a toda a terra. Fallou logo o profeta da destruição espiritual, e da destruição da religião, e da idolatria que observavam os Romanos. Com a de Christo acabou a idolatria em todo o mundo, aonde os Romanos estenderão o seu culto, e assim acabou a religião dos Romanos em todo o mundo. Logo na vinda de Christo se destruio espiritualmente este imperio. Quereis ver esta verdade? Ora, ouvi.

50. O Messias havia-de destruir o imperio Romano, como consta desta profecia, para fundar ao seu imperio. O imperio do Messias havia-de ser espiritual. Logo a destruição do imperio havia-de ser como o imperio que havia de fundar o Messias. Provo a mayor deste syllogismo, que he só a que necessita de prova. O reyno do Messias, segundo diz o profeta, havia-de ser eterno, "stabit in æternum." Nunca havia-de acabar, porque por toda a eternidade se não havia-de destruir, "in æternum non dissipabitur;" não havia-de ter successão, "alteri non tradetur." Nenhuma cousa temporal ou material pode carecer de successão, deyxar de ter fim, e ser eterna. Logo se o reyno do Messias havia-de ser eterno, não havia-de ter fim, nem havia-de ter successão, porque não havia-de passar a outrem; não podia ser temporal este reyno. Logo a destruição, que o Messias havia-de fazer no imperio que havia-de destruir havia-de ser espiritual, porque espiritual havia-de ser o reyno do Messias que se havia-de seguir á destruição dos outros reynos; e de facto, quanto ao espirito, o imperio Romano acabou com a vinda de Christo, porque a idolatria do imperio Romano acabou com a sua vinda em todo o mundo, assim o tinha profetizado Sophonias: "Horribilis Dominus, et attenuabit omnes deos terræ." O mesmo confessais vós no vosso Talmud, no livro chamado *Zohar*. Na mesma verdade contesta Rabbi Moyses Egypcio, affirmando que Jesus de Nazareth foy bom varão, porque destruira a idolatria em todo o mundo; "Jesus Nazarenus fuit vir bonus, et destruxit idolorum adorationem." Logo se conforme aos vossos Rabbinos, ao vosso Talmud, e ao vosso Sophonias profeta, esta era a destruição que o Messias havia-de fazer quando viesse; e no imperio Romano de facto fez o verdadeyro Messias Christo Jesus esta destruição, não pode deyxar de ser esta destruição a que o profeta Daniel diz que o Messias havia-de fazer no imperio Romano, esta foy espiritual: logo de destruição espiritual fallou o profeta.

51. Eu, porem, para vos convencer com toda a evidencia, pelo mesmo caminho que escolheis para vos conservar no vosso erro, quero ser mais liberal do que são os expositores, que explicão a este lugar. E assim vos quero admittir, que materialmente havia o Messias destruir ao imperio Romano; porque vos quero mostrar com mayor clareza que a luz do meyo dia, que de facto este imperio está hoje materialmente destruido. Dizei-me: Está florecente o imperio Romano? Direis todos que sim. Com tantas victorias do Turco, com tantos triunfos dos seus inimigos, quem duvida que está florecente este imperio? Pois enganais-vos, porque materialmente o imperio Romano está destruido já. Primeiramente o imperio Romano em quanto durou tinha dominio em todo o mundo, sujeição em todos os reynos, obediencia em todos os reys, exercicio de jurisdicção em toda a parte. Tudo isto já hoje não he assim, nem vós o podeis negar sem que vos desminta o mundo todo. Logo já materialmente está destruido o imperio Romano. Mais: todo o mundo era tributario a este imperio: já não he asim hoje. Logo materialmente está o imperio Romano acabado. Mais: tudo o que hoje tem o imperio, como imperio, he tam pouco que tiradas as conquistas e heranças (que supposto são da caza do Imperador, que hoje he, não são bens do imperio) o que hoje he do imperio somente, não he por si só capaz de sustentar ao Imperador; não digo eu com o fausto da sua dignidade, mas nem ainda como principe particular. Porque se hoje fizissem Imperador aquem da sua casa não tivesse nada, não se podia sustentar como imperador com todos os bens que são do imperio. Esta he a mesma verdade. Está logo o imperio Romano já hoje destruido materialmente: pois como esperais que o Messias venha, se isto mesmo prova que já veyo o Messias? Quereis continuar na vossa esperança, e por isto arguis com ridicularias as nossas demonstrações. Não canceis o vosso juizo, se nos haveis de responder assim, porque para serdes Judeos, menos vos custará negar aos vossos profetas, que trabalhares tanto para responder aos nossos argumentos. Porem como a vossa cegueyra he tão grande, depois de ouvireis aos vossos profetas, ouvi agora aos vossos Rabbinos, porque vos quero mostrar com a doutrina dos vossos Mestres, que o tempo de vir o Messias não está por vir, mas que já passou.

§ XI.

52. Lede ao vosso Talmud, no livro *Sabbat*, e no livro *Sanhædrin*, e ahi achareis que Rabbi Tanhuma perguntando porque razão o profeta Isaias, no capitulo 9, aonde diz, "multiplicabitur ejus imperium;" que em Hebraico em lugar de "multiplicabitur" está a dicção *Lemerbe:* pergunta pois este Rabbino, porque causa no meyo da dicção *Lemerbe* se pôs a letra ם, Mem, fechada, quando a tal letra se não costuma pôr no meyo de alguma dicção Hebraica, mas bem sim no fim. Não achou na terra esse Rabbino quem lhe respondesse a esta duvida, e assim se diz no vosso Talmud, que ouvira huma voz do Ceo, que assim lhe respondera, *Razili, Razili*, cujas palavras traduzidas de Hebraico em Latim querem dizer, "Secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi:" O meu segredo he para mim, he para mim o meu segredo. Deste facto assentarão muytos dos vossos Mestres, que desde o tempo do vaticinio de Isaias, no capitulo 9, até a vinda do Messias, se havião-de passar 600 annos. Vejamos agora quantos annos tem passado desta profecia até o presente, e quando cabalmente estes 600 annos se satisfazem, ou se satisfizerão, para vermos se tem vindo, ou ha-de ainda vir o vosso Messias, estando pela conta dos vossos Rabbinos. Para vos convencer melhor, (apud Boverio, l. 2. art. 8. f. mihi 135) não seguirey outra chronologia que aquella mesma que seguem os vossos Rabbinos.

53. O tempo desta profecia foy no quarto anno del rey Achaz, deste anno até o undecimo anno del rey Sedecias, segundo o computo do vosso Rabbi Salamam, passarão 150 annos. Neste anno se queymou o primeyro templo, e fostes cativos para Babylonia. Da destruição do primeyro templo até a destruição do segundo, pela conta do mesmo Rabbino, passarão 490 annos, os quaes juntos a 150 fazem 641 annos. Destes devem-se tirar 41 depois em que Christo morreo. Logo pela conta deste Rabbino, no anno da morte de Christo se comprirão os 600 annos desde o tempo que Isaias profetizou. Logo nesse tempo havia-de vir o Messias. Desde que Tito vos destruio são já passados 1632 annos. D'estes até o anno quarto de Achaz correrão 600. Logo desde a profecia até o dia de hoje tem passado 2232 annos: tiray d'estes 600; logo ha já 1632 annos que, conforme ao vosso Talmud, havia-de vir o Messias. E depois de 1632 annos de sua vinda, supposta a vossa conta, ainda o esperais? Logo contradizeis ao vosso Talmud, e todos os que o contradizeis estais incursos em pena de morte, porque este castigo se impõe neste livro aos que negarem o que nelle se diz.

54. Lede ao mesmo Talmud, no livro *Sanhædrin Guazit*, cap. col Israel, e vereis o termo que os vossos Rabbinos, pela sua caballa, assinarão para vir o Messias. Os Hebreos tem vinte duas letras; pelas quaes contão os seus numeros, e quando as põem de maneyra que não fazem sentido, como a do nosso A, B, C, são letras numeraes. A primeyra letra he Aleph, corresponde ao nosso A, quer dizer ou val hum. A segunda he Beth, corresponde ao nosso B, val dous. A tercera Ghimel, corresponde ao nosso C, val tres. Daleth he a quarta, corresponde ao nosso D, val quatro. A quinta He, corresponde ao nosso E, val cinco. Vau he a sexta, corresponde ao nosso F, val seis. A setima Zain, corresponde ao nosso G, val sete. A oitava Chet, corresponde ao nosso H, val oito. Teth he a nona, val nove, corresponde ao nosso I. Iod he a decima, corresponde ao nosso L, val dez. Caph he a letra undecima, corresponde ao nosso M, val vinte. Lamech he a letra duodecima, corresponde ao nosso N, val trinta. Mem, fechado, corresponde ao nosso O, he a letra treze, val quarenta. Num val cincoenta, he a letra quatorze, corresponde ao nosso P. Samech val sessenta, corresponde ao nosso G, he a letra quinze. Hain val setenta, corresponde ao nosso R, he a letra dezaseis. Pe val oitenta, corresponde ao nosso S, he a letra dezasete. Tsadech val noventa, corresponde ao nosso T, he a letra dezoito. Coph val cento, corresponde ao nosso V, he a letra dezanove. Resch val duzentos, he a letra vinte, corresponde ao nosso X. Shin, val trezentos, corresponde ao nosso Z, he a letra vinte e huma. Tau he a ultima letra, corresponde ao nosso Til, val quatrocentos. De todas estas letras usão os Hebreos não só quando escrevem letra commum, mas quando escrevem os numeros arithmeticos, e todas as vezes que querem computar o tempo do Messias futuro. A primeyra letra que põem he a letra Aleph, e a ultima Tau, e todos os nomes intermedios entre a letra Mem e a letra Aleph, juntão a estas tres letras, e fazem 605 annos. A letra ם, Mem, fechada, como já dissemos, contém em si o segredo da vinda do Messias, porque no capitulo 9 de Isaias profeta em o numero 600, que na letra Mem se contém, se enserra o tempo em que o Messias ha-de vir. Estes já passarão: logo o Messias já veyo.

55. Rabbi Moyses Ben Maimon, na sua celebre epistola escrita aos Rabbinos de Africa, refere que por antiquissima tradição dos Hebreos, o Messias havia-de vir no anno da creação do mundo 4474. Hoje estamos, segundo o vosso computo, no anno da creação do mundo 5465. Logo se o Messias havia-de vir no anno de 4474, ha logo hoje

já 991 annos que veyo o Messias, e por consequencia depois do tempo de vir, he que vós o esperais. (Tirio Hadr. l. 4. cap. 12.)

56. No Talmud, no cap. *Coelec*, no livro *Sanhædrin Guazit*, se acha escrito, e tambem no livro *Cederolam*, que o mundo só ha-de durar seis mil annos: "Machina mundi hujus annorum sexies mille, et non plures persistere debet." Assim o dizem os vossos Rabbinos por tradição antiga desde o tempo dos discipulos de Elias. Os primeyros dous mil com a ley natural, e sem a escrita; os segundos dous mil com a ley de Moyses; e os dous mil ultimos com a ley do Messias. Já lá vão os dous mil da ley natural; já passarão os dous mil da ley escrita: logo só faltão os ultimos dous mil da ley do Messias; segundo o computo com que vós os Hebreos contais as idades do mundo, estamos hoje nos ultimos dous mil, que ao Messias pertencem, e delles pela vossa conta já são passados 535, porque pelo vosso computo estamos hoje no anno 5465 da creação do mundo. Logo pela vossa conta ha 535 annos que o Messias havia-de vir, porque então era a tempo da sua vinda. Logo he impossivel vir 535 annos depois quem he já vindo ha 535 annos.

57. Oitenta e sinco Jubileos, diz o vosso Rabbi Elias, filho de Rabbi Judas, Talmudista de summa authoridade para vós, diz assim, "Non minus octoginta quinque Jubilæis mundus stabit, et in ultimo veniet Messias." Oitenta e cinco Jubileos ha-de durar o mundo, e no ultimo ha-de o Messias vir. O vosso Rabbi Salamam, explicando estes oitenta Jubileos da duração do mundo, diz, fundado na Escritura, que cada Jubileo consta de cincoenta annos, e que todo juntos compõem o numero de 4250 annos: "Octoginta Jubilæa faciunt annos quatuor mille ducentos et quinquaginta." Pela conta deste Rabbino o mundo ha-de durar 4250 annos, e no ultimo Jubileo, isto he, nos ultimos cincoenta annos, ha-de vir o Messias. Pela vossa conta estais hoje no anno do mundo 5465. Logo pela vossa conta tem já vindo o Messias ha 1215 annos, porque se havia-de vir no ultimo dos oitenta e cinco Jubileos, isto he, nos ultimos cincoenta annos, que era o Jubileo ultimo; fazendo todos os Jubileos 4250 annos, estando nós já, pela vossa conta, no anno da creação do mundo 5465, he evidente que ha 1215 annos que já veyo o Messias, porque tantos tem passado desde o anno 4250 até o presente. Pois como esperais ainda ao Messias, se pela vossa conta ha já tanto tempo que o Messias veyo? Havia-de vir no ultimo Jubileo quando já o mundo tivesse de duração 4200 annos, e entrassem os ultimos cincoenta com que se cerrasse o numero de 4250 da sua duração. Estais hoje em 5465 e ainda não chegou o tempo de vir o Messias? Se vós considerareis a força desta razão, tomareis sem duvida o conselho do vosso Rabbi Samuel, que convencido com esta razão renunciou a vossa crença, e adorou a Jesus Christo: "Stupeo, ac credo Jesum verum Dei Filium extitisse Messiam, et jam venisse. Revolvendo scripta prophetarum, manifestè intelligo Christum esse Dei Filium nobis in terram missum ad redemptionem nostram." Eu, diz este Rabbino, pasmo, e creyo que Jesus, verdadeyro Filho de Deos, foy o Messias que já veyo. Porque revolvendo tudo o que dizem os profetas, claramente entendo que Christo foy o Filho de Deos mandado ao mundo para nos redemir. Este Rabbino conheceo a verdade, porque depôs a teyma; tambem vós se deposereis a obstinação, abjurando sinceramente ao vosso erro, podieis crer este artigo. Rabbi Anima Voluntas, ou Rabbi Moyses Egypcio, que tudo he o mesmo, reconheceo tambem esta verdade, como consta do *Sanhædrin Guazit* na distincção *Helech*, o porque perguntando-lhe os Judeos pelo tempo da vinda do Messias, considerando este Rabbino o dilatado da sua e da vossa esperança com o tempo em que o Messias havia-de vir, respondeo aos Judeos com este desengano: "Vanum est atque inane à Judæis Messiam expectari, sed sola redemptio consistit in pœnitentia." He frustraneo e vão, diz este Rabbino, esperarem os Judeos ao Messias, porque a estas horas só na penitencia podem ter a sua redempção os Judeos. Ora desenganai-vos, meus irmãos, já que os Rabbinos vos desenganão. Desenganai-vos, e resolvey-vos em que a vossa esperança he huma fabula, porque o tempo do Messias vir já passou, e depois de passar não pode tornar a vir. E se vos não desenganais com esta verdade, que bastou para desenganar aos vossos Rabbinos; para que acabemos este discurso, respondei me a este argumento.

58. Dizei-me: Quantos Messias tem vindo ao mundo, que vós recebestes sem dificuldade nem controversia? Se o não sabeis, como na verdade ignorais, eu vos direy todos os Messias que vierão, de que eu tenho noticia. Antes de Christo se declarou Theudas por Messias verdadeyro. Receberão-no publicamente os Judeos, e dentro em Jerusalem se aggregarão quatro centos Judeos, que persuadidos de que lhes havia-de fazer passar o Jordão a pé enxuto o seguirão com toda a sua fazenda. O que sabido pela guarnição dos Romanos, que presidiavão a cidade, o forão destruir, e a todo o seu sequito, entrando ao depois por Jerusalem triunfantes com a cabeça de Theudas, e com a destruição de todo o seu sequito. Assim o diz o vosso Josepho. Este foy o primeyro Messias que recebestes sem difficuldade nem controversia, e viestes a parar no vosso Messias, e vós em pagares com a vida o vosso engano.

59. Quando Christo nasceo, veyo outro Messias, que foy Judas Galileo; persuadio-vos que não pagasseis o tributo a Cesar quando mandou fazer a descripção universal por todo o mundo. Recebeo-o, e aceitou-o todo o povo Judaico com grande alvoroço. Tivestes vós, e Judas vosso Messias, o mesmo fim de Theudas. Depois no tempo de Felix, procurador de Judea, veyo o terceyro Messias chamado Egypcio; recebeste-lo com gosto, e mettendo-vos na cabeça lançar o jugo dos Romanos fora de Jerusalem, com quatro mil homens quiz commetter a cidade, e oppondo-se-lhe Felix, levou o sequito e o Messias o mesmo fim que os primeyros dous Messias tiverão. Passado pouco tempo vierão mais dous Messias, hum chamado João, e Simão outro. Aceytaste-los com alegria, e pagastes com a vida a facilidade da vossa crença. Depois da morte de Christo veyo o sexto Messias, chamado Barcosbas, ou como dizem outros Bencosbas, ou como outros querem Barchossiba; aquem seguio o mayor letrado que então tinhão os Judeos, Rabbi Haquibba, como consta do vosso Talmud. Aceytaste-lo, disse-vos que vos rebellasseis contra os Romanos, e o fruto que tirastes do vosso Messias foy a destruição que vos fez Tito e Vespasiano. Quarenta e oito annos depois desta destruição veyo o setimo Messias chamado Ventozora, aquem muytos dizem que foy o mesmo Barchossiba, outros que foy diverso. Aceytaste-lo com muyta pressa, fizestes-vos com elle forte em Bithera ou Bither, e lá vos foy segunda vez destruir Adriano, e matar-vos a vós e ao vosso Messias.

60. Com o tempo veyo o oitavo Messias chamado Mahir. Aceytaste-lo com jubilo, e sahio-vos, (4 ibid. cap. 21. Vinto in Isai.) cara a vossa aceytação. Em Sicilia veyo o nono Messias*: aceytaste-lo sem repugnancia, fez-vos entender que vos havia-de levar pelo meyo do mar como Moyses crestelo; e ficou a mayor parte dos que o seguirão sepultada nas aguas, e se teve por sem duvida que fora o demonio este vosso Messias. No anno de 1666 veyo o decimo Messias chamado Sabbatai Essevi; e depois de o receberem os Judeos que de todo o mundo tinhão ido a buscar ao seu Messias, em Constantinopla o Messias e a mayor parte dos Judeos forão justiçados pelo Turco. E para que o nosso Portugal não ficasse de fora, porque para isto sois pintados, vos veyo da India hum Judeo, a quem depois as nossas historias chamarão o Judeo do Zapato; disse-vos que era o Messias, e depois de se ter publicado por tal aos Judeos entre Eufrates, vos vinha a vós dar esta boa nova; correstes todos ao vosso Messias, porque cuydaveis ter nelle a vossa India, e ao depois sendo prezo nos carceres do Santo Oficio o vosso Messias e mais vós ficastes todos escarnecidos neste reyno. O vosso Josepho traz outros tres Messias, Judas Gaulonites, Judas filho de Ezechias, e Athronges pastor do campo, que todos tres tiverão o mesmo fim dos outros Messias.

61. A qui tendes quatorze Messias, aquem aceytastes, (Costa contra a Prestdia, Costa contra a perf. Judaic. cap. 5. fol. mihi 47. Joseph. de Antiquit. 18. cap. 1. lib. 1. cap. 12. lib. 22. cap. 2. e 6.) Ora dizei-me agora por vida vossa: quando aceytastes estes Messias, era chegado o tempo do Messias vir ou não era chegado? Se não era chegado o tempo, como aceytaste a estes Messias antes do tempo chegar? Se era chegado, e por isto os aceytastes, como dizeis que ainda não chegou o tempo para o Messias vir? Para todos os Messias era já chegado o tempo da sua vinda, e só para Christo ser o Messias inda o tempo não chegou? Que respondeis a esta demonstração? Mas que haveis de responder, se não dar-vos por convencidos, porque esta demonstração não pode ter outra reposta? Ou vos haveis de desenganar, que pelo tempo he impossivel o vosso Messias vir: ou fechar os olhos a toda a razão para vos conservares Judeos. Oh, não seja assim, meus irmãos, porque se esta fora a vossa resolução não podeis ter des-

* It would be very desirable to know a little more of the history of the ninth or this Sicilian Jewish Messiah, who persuaded his countrymen that if they followed him he would conduct them through the midst of the sea like another Moses. Here seems to be a clear tradition of the Jews having undertaken an expedition from Sicily in search of a new settlement. But over what sea, it may be inquired, did they sail, and whither did they proceed? The latter part of the question is answered by the archbishop, who says that they were drowned on the voyage, although it would have been satisfactory to have been informed who brought back the intelligence. He also says that it was generally believed that this Messiah was the devil; and Torquemada declares that it was under the guidance of the devil that the Tultecas quitted the habitation of their ancestors, and sailed over the ocean in quest of Tamoancha or the terrestrial paradise, a place whither it is very likely that this pretended Messiah boasted that he would lead his credulous countrymen. It is not improbable that the archbishop might have read the "Indian Monarchy" of Torquemada, and other more curious histories preserved in the archives of the Inquisition, and hence have been inclined to believe that this Messiah was Totec or the devil, and that, like Nunez de la Vega, the bishop of Chiapa, who consigned to oblivion the history of Votan, he dissimulated his knowledge of a mysterious piece of history, contenting himself with merely hinting to the more knowing Jews in Europe, that the church was acquainted with what if they suspected they would not dare avow, and that it was not without reason that, reverencing the dead letter of the old law, she fulminated anathemas against those who persisted in their obedience to its precepts. It is a remarkable fact that ancient Hebrew inscriptions have been discovered in the Canary Islands, which is a clear proof that the Jews in early ages passed the Pillars of Hercules: there would be nothing therefore improbable in the supposition, that the Jews who embarked from Sicily meditated a voyage over the Atlantic. The opposite shores of Africa were certainly much too near Sicily to entitle an expedition thither to any celebrity under whatever auspices undertaken, although it must be confessed that the Jews are the last people in the world who would attend to the admonition, "Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus."

graça mayor ; pois continuará o vosso cativeiro, durará o vosso desterro, apertar-se-ha o vosso carcere, porque nunca ha-de chegar o vosso Messias, porque já lá vay o tempo de vir quem vos podia libertar, e necessariamente continuará o infortunio com que vos ameaçou o vosso profeta: "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastatus ; laqueus juvenum omnes, et in domibus carcerum absconditi sunt ; facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat, in direptionem, nec est qui dicat Redde."

§ XII.

62. Somos chegados, bem que tarde, mas ainda mais tarde seria se eu vos referisse tudo o que notey para este sermão. Somos pois chegados á terceira parte da nossa demonstração, em que vos hey-de provar que o Messias por quem suspira o vosso dezejo, e a quem espera a vossa teyma ha tantos annos, he impossivel pelos sinaes que ha-de ter o Messias, porque já todos estão verificados em Christo, e depois de verificados huma vez, não he possivel verificarem-se outra. O Messias ha-de ser hum só ; assim o confessarão todos os vossos Rabbinos antiguos, e eu não tenho tempo para provar este artigo, que negão alguns dos vossos Mestres modernos. O Messias pois havia-de ser hum só. Logo se duas vezes em diversos tempos se verificassem em duas pessoas os mesmos sinaes, que Deos deu só para hum, necessariamente havião-de ser dous os Messias ; porque senão daria mayor razão para que o Messias fosse hum, e não fossem dous. Isto não pode ser, porque hum só foy o Messias que Deos prometteo ao mundo. Mais, se em diversos tempos omnimodamente se vissem em dous Messias os mesmos sinaes de hum Messias só, enganava-nos Deos, porque fazia verificar em dous Messias aquelles sinaes que erão só proprios de hum Messias. Deos não he possivel que engane, como dicta a razão natural: logo em duas pessoas, em diversos tempos, he impossivel que se verifiquem os mesmos sinaes omnimodamente, porque huma destas duas pessoas era verdadeyro Messias e outra falso ; porque em ambos estavão os sinaes que a hum só podião competir, e havia-de ser hum só. Outro seria, e não seria o Messias. Seria o Messias, porque tinha os seus sinaes. Não seria o Messias, porque dous Messias erão impossiveis. Mais, em dous Messias, em diversos tempos, com os mesmos sinaes, estava disculpado quem adorasse a hum que não fosse o verdadeyro, e quem adorasse ao outro que o verdadeyro não fosse : porque em ambos estavão omnimodamente os mesmos sinaes, e não havia mayor razão para que fosse verdadeyro hum Messias, e o outro o não fosse. O Messias, aquem Deos mandou adorar como a seu Filho, era hum, e a nenhum outro Messias mais que a este se devia semelhante adoração. Consta expressamente do texto sagrado, segundo a vossa mesma raiz Hebraica: "Osculamini," ou "adorate Filium ejus, ne forte irascatur Filius ille, et omnino pereat qui illius viam non sequitur." Logo, que providencia era a de Deos em prometter a hum só Messias com sinaes certos e infalliveis ; e pôr esses sinaes em dous Messias ? Logo, a verificação em dous he impossivel. Este argumento prova com toda a clareza que he impossivel o Messias por quem esperão os Judeos, porque os sinaes do Messias estão desmentindo aos Judeos a sua mesma esperança. Todos os sinaes que Deos revelou, que havia de ter o Messias, ha 1705 annos que se principiarão a verificar na pessoa de Jesus Nazareth (Psal. 2. vers. 12.) e ha 1632 annos que se acabárão todos de cumprir na sua pessoa, porque tantos ha que se destruio já a vossa cidade. Vós ainda esperais a outro Messias fora da pessoa de Christo : logo pelos sinaes que Deos deu para o Messias verdadeyro, he impossivel o vosso Messias.

63. Para vos fazer esta demonstração, he necessario perguntar-vos se esperais vós o Messias com aquelles mesmos sinaes com que a Escritura e os profetas o descrevêrão, ou com outros de quem vós nem nós temos noticia ? Não podeis dizer que com outros o esperais fora daquelles que Deos revelou : logo ha-de vir com os sinaes que consta da Escritura. Todos estes, sem dissonancia de hum só, estão já verificados em Christo : logo he impossivel fora da pessoa de Christo tornarem-se a verificar. Ora discorrey commigo, não por todos os sinaes, que isso he impossivel com hum sermão, mas pelos principaes, que Deos revelou que havia-de ter o Messias.

64. Hum dos sinaes do Messias, diz Deos pelo profeta Isaias, no cap. 8. era que quando o Messias viesse ao mundo, havia-de ser o escandalo dos Judeos e a ruina da sua cidade : "Et erit vobis in sanctificationem : in lapidem autem offensionis, et in petram scandali duabus domibus Israel ; in laqueum et in ruinam habitantibus in Jerusalem." A parafrazi Caldea, ou o Targum de Jonathas lé, "Et erit vobis Messias in scandalum duabus domibus Israel." Se negais que este sinal era do Messias, e que do Messias fallasse o profeta, negais ao Targum, e ao vosso Talmud, porque do Messias entende elle a este texto no Tratado de *Sanchedrin*, e no livro *Jalcut*, na exposição deste mesmo lugar : "Non veniet filius David quousque non consumentur duæ domus Patrum Israel, sicut scriptum est Isaia cap. 8." O mesmo afirma o vosso Rabbi Salamão, na exposição do cap. 5. de Micheas : "Iste dominator est Messias

filius David, de quo scriptum est, Et erit in petram scandali." Dous sinaes, diz o profeta, ha-de ter o Messias. Ha-de ser escandalo dos Judeos, e os Judeos hão-de ser arruinados no seu dominio e na sua cidade, quando o Messias vier: isto supposto, dizei-me agora: verificou-se em Christo este sinal, ou não se verificou? Se se não verificou, como vos escandalizastes tanto de Christo, que por ser o vosso escandalo o perseguistes até o crucificares? Como vos escandalizais oje tanto delle, que por escandalo não lhe podeis ouvir fallar o nome? Se se não verificou, como está já destruida a vossa cidade, e perdido o vosso governo, que se conservava no magistrado da vossa nação que tinheis em Jerusalem? Se se não verificou, como estais oje destruidos? Se se verificou, para que esperais o Messias, e para que quereis a sua vinda? Para o crucificares? Já o tendes feito. E tambem vos vay a vos com cada dia matares o Messias? Para que o quereis, e para que o esperais? Para perderes ao vosso reyno? Já está perdido. Para que o esperais, e para que o quereis? Para ser ruina da vossa cidade? Já os Romanos a destruirão. Para que o quereis, e para que o esperais? Para vos tirar o governo da vossa Judea? Já está tirado. Para que o esperais, e para que o quereis? Para ser o vosso escandalo a pedra da vossa offensa? Já tropeçastes nelle, e já delle vos escandalizastes, porque o matastes como culpado sendo elle a mesma innocencia. Apertemos mais este ponto, e dizeime: este Messias que esperais, ha-de ser o vosso escandalo? Ha-de ser a vossa offensa? Ha-de ser a vossa ruina? Ha-de ser a vossa destruição? Todos dizeis que não, porque o Messias ha-de ser a vossa adoração, o vosso obsequio, o vosso respeito: o Messias vos ha-de restituir a libertade, reparar a vossa cidade, conduzir-vos triunfantes a Judea, e dar-vos outra vez o dominio da Palestina. Sim? E este ha-de ser o vosso Messias? Logo o Messias que esperais ha-de ser hum Messias falso, e não verdadeyro; porque o verdadeyro Messias ha-de acabar o vosso dominio, destruir a vossa Judea, arruinar a vossa cidade, e ser o vosso escandalo, como diz o vosso profeta, e com elle os vossos Rabbinos. Logo o vosso Messias não ha-de ter estes sinaes do Messias verdadeyro, e por consequencia só Christo foy o verdadeyro Messias, e falso o que esperais que depois de Christo ha-ja de vir.

65. De Isaias passemos a Oseas, e seja de passagem, porque se o quizeremos ponderar de assento, elle só bastava para todo o sermam. O profeta Oseas, no cap. 3., nos deu outro sinal por onde o Messias se havia-de conhecer quando o Messias viesse: "Dies multos expectabis me, et ego expectabo vos." Quando vier o Messias, diz o profeta, os Judeos hão-de espera-lo, e o Messias ha-de esperar aos Judeos. E porque os Judeos o não hão-de aceytar, ficaráõ sem rey, sem principe, sem sacrificio, e sem altar: "Sedebunt filii Israel, sine rege, sine principe, sine sacrificio, et sine altari." Depois de ficarem neste estado os Judeos, reconhecerão o seu erro, e lá nos ultimos dias adorarão ao Messias aquem não quizerão aceytar quando tinha vindo: "Et post hæc revertentur filii Israel ad Dominum Deum suum, et ad David regem suum." Não podeis fugir a esta profecia, negando com alguns dos vossos Rabbinos, que se não entende do Messias este texto, mas de David, porque alem de que o Targum, livro sagrado para vos, do Messias o explica; "Post hæc obedient Messiæ filio David:" e os vossos Rabbinos confessarão que o Messias na Escritura se explica pelo nome de David, como consta do livro *Midras Misle,* que he a gloza dos Proverbios no cap. 19. e do livro chamado *Sohar,* na exposição do cap. 10. do Levitico; alem pois da doutrina dos vossos Rabbinos implica com a Escritura, e com a razão, que de David se possa explicar este texto. (Oseas, cap. 3. verss. 3, 4, 5.)

66. Implica com a Escritura, porque della consta que David morreo ha muitos annos. Implica com a razão, porque he evidente que depois de David morrer, nem já David vos pode esperar a vós, nem vós esperais a David até o fim do mundo. Porque he claro que David depois de morrer não pode tornar, e por consequencia não pode ser esperado, nem esperar-vos, porque os mortos não esperão aos vivos: logo de David não falla o profeta; mais, ao profetizado vós haveis de espera-lo, "Expectabis me." Elle ha-de esperar-vos a vós, "Ego expectabo vos." Se vos ha-de esperar, logo já tem vindo: porque se não tivera vindo, bem o podeis vós esperar a elle, mas elle não vos podia esperar a vós. Vós não esperais a David, porque David já veyo. David não vos espera a vós, porque já morreo. Logo não se entende de David esta profecia. Mais, vós haveis-de buscar ao profetizado como a vosso Deos: "Quærent Dominum Deum suum." Nenhum de vós busca a David, porque já veyo; nem confessa que David foy Deos: logo he falsa a vossa exposição. Mais, ao profetizado haveis-de nega-lo, e depois, no fim do mundo, vos haveis-de converter a elle, "Post hæc revertentur." Haveis de adora-lo como a vosso Deos, diz o Targum, "Revertentur ad cultum Dei sui." Logo aquelle aquem negastes quando a primeira vez veyo era Deos. A David não o negastes pelo passado quando veyo, nem o haveis-de adorar por vosso Deos no fim do mundo quando ha-de resuscitar David. Logo David não foy o profetizado por Oseas.

67. Menos podeis fugir á força desta profecia explicando-a do cativeyro de Babylonia; porque no cativeyro de

que falla o profeta, nem haveis-de ter rey, nem profeta, nem sacerdotes. Em Babylonia tivestes sacerdotes, que foy Josedech, como consta de Daniel cap. 13.; tivestes reyes e principes, sacerdotes e sacrificios. Tudo consta do cap. 1. de Baruch vers. 10.; tivestes sacrificio e sacerdotes: "Facite manna, et offerte pro peccato ad aram Domini Dei nostri." Tivestes rey, que foy Johachim; tivestes principes, que forão Zorobabel e Salathiel. Logo não falla do cativeyro de Babylonia o profeta. Isto supposto, e estabelecido por certo, e que do Messias falla o profeta, vamos agora á verificação destes sinaes.

68. He verdadeyra esta profecia? Todos sois obrigados a confessa-la por verdadeyra. Logo já veyo o Messias. Porque se o Messias vos espera, "Expectabo vos," não vos pode esperar sem ter já vindo. Veyo, não o aceytastes, e por isso não tendes rey, nem principe, nem altar, nem sacrificio, nem sacerdote. Haveis-vos-de converter para elle, "Revertentur." Haveis-de busca-lo, "Quærent Dominum Deum suum." Haveis-de-vos converter a elle? Logo delle vos avertestes quando veyo. (Baruch cap. 1. vers. 10.) Haveis-de busca-lo? Logo quando veyo o deyxastes. Verificou-se já este sinal, ou não se verificou? Se se não verificou, como não aceytastes a Christo quando veyo? Como estais sem sacerdote, sem altar, sem sacrificio, sem principe, sem rey, se haveis de ficar assim por não aceytardes ao Messias quando viesse? Se se verificou já, como se ha-de verificar depois? Ao vosso Messias haveis-de nega-lo quando vier? Todos respondeis que não. Logo não se ha-de verificar nelle este sinal de verdadeyro Messias, porque ao verdadeyro Messias quando viesse, havião-de nega-lo os Judeos. Logo se este sinal se não ha-de verificar, he porque em Christo está já verificado: logo he impossivel tornar-se a verificar, e por consequencia o vosso Messias, aquem ainda esperais, he impossivel, porque não ha-de ter este sinal do verdadeyro Messias. Na vinda do vosso Messias haveis-de perder o reyno, o sacrificio, e o sacerdocio? Não: porque tudo isto vos ha-de restituir o Messias. Logo não se ha-de verificar no Messias este sinal. Logo Christo em quem se verificou, foy o Messias, e aquelle aquem esperais o não ha-de ser, porque este sinal ha-de faltar no Messias que dizeis que ainda ha-de vir. Para que quereis, e para que esperais ao Messias? Para o negar? Já o tendes feyto. Para ficares sem rey, sem principe, sem sacrificio, sem altar, e sem sacerdote? Já estais ha tanto tempo assim: e se com sua vinda assim não ficares, não he possivel que o Messias que esperais seja Messias verdadeyro. No Messias aquem esperais nada disto ha-de succeder; em Christo verificou-se tudo isto. Logo Christo foy o Messias verdadeyro, e o que esperais ha-de ser hum falso Messias.

69. De Oseas vamos a Malachias, para vermos outro sinal do Messias verdadeyro, que tambem já está verificado, e he impossivel tornar a verificar já, "Non est mihi voluntas in vobis. Munus vestrum non suscipiam de manu vestra. Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificabitur mihi oblatio munda." Quando o Messias vier, diz Deos pelo profeta Malachias, depois da sua vinda, não me hão-de ser agradaveis as pessoas dos Judeos, nem delles quero receber sacrificios, porque desde donde o sol nasce até onde o sol morre será o meu nome grande nas gentes, isto he na gentilidade, e em toda a parte se me sacrificará hum sacrificio limpissimo. Isto assentado por profecia certa, dizei-me: estais ja reprovados vós, e os vossos sacrificios? Entrarão já os gentios na vossa herança? Recebe hoje Deos de vós sacrificio algum, ou culto externo? Ha alguma parte no mundo aonde a gentilidade convertida não sacrifique ao Deos verdadeyro? Nada disto podeis negar, porque todo o mundo o sabe. Todo o mundo sabe (Malach. cap. 1. verss. 10, 11.) que vós sacrificais hoje, porque para não sacrificares fora de Jerusalem tinheis preceyto. Todo o mundo sabe que os vossos sacrificios e vós estais reprovados, porque nem tendes altar nem sacerdote. Todo o mundo sabe, e vos mesmos o chorais com lagrimas irremediaveis, que entramos na vossa herança nós os gentios. Todo o mundo sabe, que não ha lugar em o mundo, aonde a gentilidade convertida não adore ao verdadeyro Deos, e lhe não sacrifique hum culto limpissimo, e huma oblação agradavel. Ou esta profecia está satisfeyta, ou não? Se não está satisfeyta, ainda hoje não pode haver sacrificio em todo o mundo, e só em Jerusalem ha sacrificio; o que he falso; porque ainda que hoje haja Jerusalem, já em Jerusalem não ha templo aonde só podeis sacrificar. Se não está satisfeyta, alem do profeta mentir, o que não concedereis, vindes a dar em hum notavel absurdo. Mentio o profeta, porque disse duas cousas, que havião-de succeder ao mesmo tempo. A primeyra, que Deos havia-de reprovar, e pôr fim aos vossos sacrificios. A segunda, que feyta esta reprovação, em todo o mundo lhe havia-de sacrificar a gentilidade. Vós já não sacrificais, como vós mesmos dizeis; nós não sacrificamos, como porfiadamente teymais: logo huma de duas haveis de admittir, ou que mentiu o profeta em dizer que á extinção dos sacrificios Judaicos se havião-de seguir os dos gentios, ou a que tendo faltado já os vossos, devião de entrar os nossos sacrificios. Não podeis dizer o primeyro: logo haveis-de confessar o segundo. Mais; se nós agora não sacrificamos, dais em hum notavel inconveniente, e vem a ser, que Deos está

hoje no mundo sem sacrificio nem culto. Porque vós não lho dais, os Mouros menos. Nós tambem lho não damos, como vós dizeis : logo já não ha no mundo quem sacrifique a Deos com o culto verdadeyro. Isto he impossivel. Logo está já verificado este sinal, e por consequencia não se pode verificar já. Para que esperais, e quereis ao Messias ? Para perderes a vossa primogenitura ? Já está perdida. Para que quereis, e esperais ao Messias ? Para os Gentios entrarem na vossa herança ? Já entrarão. Para que esperais, e quereis ao Messias ? Para Deos vos reprovar ? Já estais reprovados. Ha-de vos succeder tudo isto, quando vier o vosso Messias ? Haveis de ser reprovados ? Haveis de perder a vossa herança e a vossa primogenitura ? Respondeis que não, porque o vosso Messias vos ha-de restituir tudo isto de que hoje estais privados neste vosso cativeyro. Logo ou o vosso Messias que ha-de vir, nunca ha-de chegar ; ou se vier, não pode ser Messias verdadeyro ; porque com a vinda do verdadeyro Messias estas hão-de ser as vossas perdas ; e como hoje estais no estado em que disserão os profetas que devieis estar depois do Messias vir, fica sendo impossivel já a vinda de outro Messias. Ora abri os olhos, meus irmãos (não tenho tempo para vos ponderar outros sinaes) havieis abri os olhos, e olhay para vós nesse miseravel estado em que cada hum de vós está : e vede que em Christo Jesus estão compridos todos os sinais, que os profetas vos derão para conhecer ao Messias, e depois de satisfeytos, não se podem outra vez verificar. O estado em que estais he prova evidente do vosso erro ; porque estais nesse estado, porque não quizestes aceytar ao Messias, e em lugar de adorares a sua pessoa, lhe tirastes a vida em huma cruz. Este foy o vosso peccado, e por este peccado padeceis hoje este tam grande castigo, como confessa o vosso Rabbi Samuel : "Paveo quod peccatum, per quod sumus in hac captivitate, sit illud, propter quod locutus est Dominus per Amos. Expavesco, quod iste Jesus sit ille Justus venditus pro argento."

70. Tomay esta mesma resolução deste vosso Rabbino, e acabay de vos desenganar, porque já he tempo. Acabay de vos desenganar, que a vossa esperança he huma tontice ; o Messias por quem esperais he huma chimera ; e que fora da pessoa de Jesus de Nazareth, outro Messias he sonho, ou disparate. Porque só Christo teve os predicados intrinsecos de que se havia-de compôr o Messias, e fóra da pessoa de Christo he impossivel que outrem tenha estes mesmos predicados. Resolvey-vos, que Messias fóra de Christo he impossivel, porque com a vinda de Christo já passou o tempo de vir o Messias. Entendey, finalmente, que Messias fora da pessoa de Christo he impossivel, porque os sinais do verdadeyro Messias já estão em Christo verificados. Se do coração vos arrependeis, e sinceramente tendes abraçado este desengano, venturosos de vós os que verdadeyramente abjurais ao vosso erro ; porque conhecendo a verdade, deyxais as sombras da Synagoga pelas luzes da Igreja, o horror da heresia pela fermosura da fé. Consolay-vos, e consolay-vos muyto, porque ainda que o castigo fosse quem vos metteo a caminho, o castigo foy quem vos abrio os olhos, e tendes hum Deos tão compassivo, que inda que o negastes, em quanto Judeos, de ser vosso Pay, elle, se vos arrependeres, vos receberá de novo como filhos, porque vos redemio á custa de tanto sangue. Mostray que sois bons Judeos, porque se Judeo he o mesmo que confitente, confessay os vossos erros arrependidos, para verdadeyramente serdes Judeos confitentes. A honra que tendes perdido por estares ahi penitenciados ; e a fazenda que se vos confisca, por teres sido hereges, recuperay-a com huma grande dor do vosso coração, não por vos ter a vossa desgraça reduzido a tanta miseria, mas por serem os vossos peccados quem em tam miseravel estado vos tem posto, offensas contra hum Deos, aquem deveis tantos benefissios.

71. E vós, oh desgraçados, que ahi estais entre esses confitentes para seres relaxado, abri os olhos, para que o incendio em que ha-de ser consumido o vosso corpo, não chegue tambem a vos queymar a vossa alma. Oh filho do meu coração, redemido com o sangue de Jesu Christo, criado em o gremio da Igreja, lavado em a agua do batismo : quem vos pudera com o sangue das propias veias remediar a vossa cegueyra ! Que se fora possivel, nem huma so gota de sangue deixára de derramar para vos desfazer o vosso engano, e resgatar a vossa alma do cativeyro do demonio, que assim vos tem obstinado ! Quanto me magoa a vossa disgraça ! E quanto me parte a alma a dor de vos ver em perigo proximo de condenação eterna ! Vede, meu filho, gerado no Evangelho, nascido entre Catholicos, e alumiado com a luz que vos deram tantas pessoas doutas antes de sahires cá fora. Vede que estais enganado, e se tiveres a desgraça de morreres nesse estado, vos espera hum activo fogo por toda a eternidade, para vos abrazar a alma, depois que o fogo temporal vos tiver consumido o corpo. Estais convencido de Judeo pela prova de direyto, e vós mesmo tendes confessado este crime, supposto que a vossa confissão foy diminuta. Depois déstes naquelle barbaro erro de professar o Atheysmo. Ora concorday estes dous pontos, seres Ateysta e Judeo. Se hoje houvera salvação na ley de Moyses, o que não ha, nem pode haver, sois tam disgraçado que vos não podeis salvar, porque morreis herege da mesma ley que professais. Sois Judeo Saduceo, nos termos em que vos tendes posto, e já no

tempo em que ainda durava a vossa ley, era a profissão dos Saduceos, seyta heretica entre os Judeos, porque esta negava o artigo da resurreyção, e por consequencia a immortalidade da alma. Vós ainda estais de peor condição, porque não só negais á alma a immortalidade, mas estais tão cego, que até negais haver alma. Dizeis que não ha outra bemabenturança mais que a vida: que o salvar he viver: que o perder não he ir ao inferno, porque o não ha; mas que só em morrer consiste a perdição. Se vos persuadis, ainda que enganadamente, que isto he verdade, como quereis perder a vida em que no vósso parecer consiste a bemaventurança? Como quereis morrer por vosso gosto, se a perdição, segundo o vosso juizo, está só em morrer? Deixay-vos convencer de quem vos deseja salvar. Pedi misericordia ao Tribunal do Santo Officio, que com tanta piedade vos tem esperado ha dous annos, e com tanta paciencia vos tem soffrido agora confitente, logo revogante, e depois profitente do desgraçado Atheysmo. Confessay os vossos erros, não com animo de salvar a vida, mas só com os olhos em a salvação da vossa alma. E se vos resolveres a morrer neste estado, eu d'aqui vos cito para o dia do Juizo, aonde havemos de apparecer ambos resuscitados na presença do Deos verdadeyro. Vós resuscitado Judeo e herege, que he o estado em que morreis: e eu, conforme espero na misericordia divina, resuscitado Catholico, porque espero na Divina bondade, que hey-de morrer na ley de Jesu Christo, que he a unica em que pode haver salvação. Nós ambos havemos de estar diante do Supremo Juiz resuscitados, e então vereis que arguindo-me Deos pela grandeza dos meus peccados, não me ha-de arguir de ser falsa a minha ley. Arguir-me-ha da pouca observancia que eu tenho della, mas da verdade, isso nam; salvo se Deos for injusto, o que não he; e a vós não só vos ha-de julgar pelas vossas culpas, mas vos ha-de condenar pela observancia da vossa ley em que morreis. Ponde-vos a vós na presença de Deos, sem mais peccado, que guardar a ley de Moyses. E ponde hum Christão na mesma presença, sem outra culpa mais que a observancia da ley de Christo. Se Deos condenar ao Christão por amor da ley, e salvar ao Judeo por amor da mesma, não podia ser justo Deos, nem podia satisfazer ás razões com que o Catholico havia-de arguir a sua justiça. Porque nesse caso havia o Catholico de arguir a Deos desta maneyra, 'Juiz recto, eu cri em Christo, porque elle teve todos quantos sinais vós revelastes pelos vossos profetas que havia-de ser vosso Filho. Fiz o que me mandastes, agora condenais-me por isso mesmo. Pois como me podeis condenar por eu vos obedecer?' Certamente não tem reposta esta replica. Logo he impossivel que Deos condene ao Catholico por ser Christão. Ponhamos agora ao Judeo, aquem Deos condena pela observancia da ley de Moyses, quando, digo, querendo arguir a Deos pelo condenar por ser Judeo. Dirá: Senhor eu cri no Deos de Abraham, Isac, e Jacob. Eu observey a ley, que vós destes a Moyses, pois para que me condenais? Pode responder Deos, 'Mentes, que Abraham, Isac, e Jacob crerão, e esperárão o Messias futuro, que havia-de ser meu Filho, e havia-de ter todos os sinaes que eu prometti para que o pudessem conhecer. Este meu Filho foy ao mundo, virão-se nelle todos os sinaes revelados nas Escrituras. Tu tão fóra estivestes de o admittir, e de crer nelle que o crucificaste. A ley que dey a Moyses havia-de acabar com a vinda de meu Filho, e elle havia-de promulgar outra ley, que se havia de abraçar em todo o mundo. Tu vistes com os teus olhos todos os sinais do tempo em que se havia-de promulgar esta ley. Se meu Filho não fora ao mundo, nem se satisfizessem ás profecias tinheis escusa, dizendo que observastes a ley, que eu dey para sempre, e que crestes no Deos de Abraham, Isac, e Jacob. Mas agora, que tudo está satisfeyto, eu sou o justo em te condenar, e tu fostes o rebelde em ser Judeo.' Ainda mal, meu irmão, que isto que eu agora vos digo, assim o haveis-de experimentar então lá naquelle dia. Este he o laço, em que voluntariamente vos prendeis. Esta he a rêde, que vos teçêrão a muytos de vós vossos filhos, vossos pays, vossos parentes, e todos os vossos amigos, e os que tem o vosso sangue; porque esta he a desgraça que vos vaticinarão os vossos profetas: Joan. cap. 15. v. 22. "Ipse autem populus direptus, et vastatus: laqueus juvenum omnes, et in domibus carcerum absconditi sunt: facti sunt in rapinam, nec est qui eruat; in direptionem, nec est qui dicat Redde."

72. Tenho acabado a minha demonstração, e tambem com vosco tenho acabado, oh desgraçado povo de Israel! Mas porque acabey com vosco, agora com vosco principio. Ah! Deos e Senhor meu, crucificado pelos Judeos, tanto para o seu, quanto para o nosso remedio! Abranday, Senhor, corações tão obstinados, já que aqui está hum obstinado coração entre este miseravel povo? Se de sentidas se quebrárão as pedras, porque morrestes; já que morrestes, quebray aquelles endurecidos corações, com que ainda vos não amão os Judeos que vos mataram. Déste vista a hum cego, que vos meteu a lança até o coraçam: Day olhos a tanta gente cega, que querendo vós do coração dar-lha, ella ainda vos mete a lança até o coração! Lançay, Deos de minha alma, lançay nova agua, e novo sangue desse vosso coração enternecido sobre estes miseraveis homens, que poderá ser se arrependão, vendo que hum coração offendido com tam repetidos aggravos se desentranha em finezas para quem não merece tam grandes

excessos. Rasgaste o véo do Templo, em sinal de que a vossa morte punha fim á Synagoga dos Judeos: rasgay o véo que os Judeos tem no coração ha tantos annos, para que de todo o coração detestem os Judeos aos seus erros, pela efficacia da vossa morte. Estais esperando com os braços abertos aos filhos de Judea ha 1705 annos, e por mais que os chamais com a cabeça inclinada, elles ingratamente vos dão as costas; porque vos não querem reconhecer pelo Messias verdadeyro que os veyo buscar para os salvar. Vós sempre morrestes por morrer por elles: e elles só por vos matar he que morrerão sempre. Lembray-vos, Deos e Senhor por natureza compassivo, lembray-vos destes vossos filhos, que em fim tem o vosso sangue, e vós os redemistes a elles á custa de tantas penas! Elles forão tão barbaros, que sendo vós seu pay, não quizerão ser vossos filhos; mas as ingratidões dos filhos sempre tiverão escusas no amor do pay. Já os chamastes com beneficios, e forão ingratos aos favores. Agora buscay-os com os castigos, e até aqui o castigo não melhorou aos Judeos. Fazey que reconheção com toda sinceridade, que nesta sua desgraça já não tem outro remedio, mais que o fazerem penitencia do tempo que tem perdido com a sua esperança: chorando ao seu erro, e detestando ao seu peccado, abominando a sua suprestição, e pondo fim á sua teyma; para que assim regenerados na agua de seus penitentes olhos, renasção vossos filhos, já que pelo baptismo são filhos vossos.

LAUS DEO.

RESPUESTA AL SERMON

PREDICADO POR EL ARÇOBISPO DE CRANGANOR

EN EL AUTO DE FE, CELEBRADO EN LISBOA, EN 6 SEPTIEMBRE AÑO DE 1705.

Por el Author de las Noticias Reconditas de la Inquizicion, Obra Posthuma.*

Impresso en Villa-Franca, por Carlos Verò, á la Insignia de la Verdad.

AL LECTOR.

DEVO darte cuenta, amigo Lector, antes de empezar la prefacion, que la Respuesta deste Sermon que ahora imprimo, es obra posthuma de un insigne sujeto conocido en la republica literaria por sus excelentes y judiciosas obras, y aunque su larga edad, y sus impertinentes y molestos achaques no le davan lugar á controversias, no obstante por condescender con el gusto de algunos amigos de tan decantado Sermon, compilo la que sigue, dividiendola en Articulos para responder á cada uno minutamente. El intento fue defender la religion Judaica, no ofender la Christiana, y mostrar que la calumnia que el Arçobispo levanta contra aquel eminentisimo y docto Rabbino R. Salomon, de haver corrompido la Sagrada Escriptura, se deve atribuir con verdad al mismo Arçobispo, ó á algun Christiano antes del.

Si el Author ha conseguido su intento, el que leyere y examinare el Sermon y su Respuesta, sin cegarse de la pasion ni del interes, reconocerá la verdad; me persuado que el que fuere capaz de balancear las razones de una y otra parte, hallará una distancia immensa entre el Sermon y la Respuesta; pues todas las razones que el Sermon alega son deducidas de falsas ilaciones, de conceptos predicables, de mal acotadas alegaciones, de alegoricos y torturados sentidos de lo literal; quando la Respuesta se compone de reales y verdaderas ilaciones, deducidas de sus premisas, de claras y evidentes prophecias explicadas literalmente, sin torcerlas ni alegorizarlas para aplicarlas á su intento como haze el predicador en su Sermon. Esto pareciò acertado dezirte, oh amigo Lector, porque casi todos desean y esperan saber algo del Author, y de la obra.

No hay cosa mas necesaria en la religion que la controversia, devese buscar y examinar con toda exactitud para poder con mas certeza establecer los fundamentos della; pero el que quiziere opinar devese desnudar de todo el prejuicio que nos causa la educacion, deve considerar que el contrario tiene alma como él, y desea la suma felicidad, que es el fruto de la verdadera religion, deve suponer que no hay hombre en el mundo que si supiera que havia religion verdadera que no fuese la suya, que no se trasladase á ella; y si lo hay, no merece el titulo de hombre; quien se obstinarà contra si mismo? Asentado este principio deve considerar, que si el fin que mueve á la controversia es el persuadir (á su parecer) á la verdadera religion á los que ignorantes están remotos della, deve exercitar los medios que mas conducen al deseado efecto; deve emplear el estilo mas persuasivo, deve buscar las razones mas eficazes, los argumentos mas solidos, las ilaciones mas bien deducidas, y las consequencias mas bien sacadas, no deve mostrar parcialidad sino por la verdad, deve confesar la razon donde la hallare, deve mostrar sinceridad y neutralidad en todo, deve huir de subterfugios y ficciones, deve ser exacto en las acotaciones, y recto en dar el verdadero sentido á las alegaciones: no deve ofender con palabras ignominiosas, ni levantar calumnias

* *Nota.*—Se presume por ser el estilo del lenguage tan heroyco y tan bien limado que esta es la causa que ha dado motivo á muchos y á mi tambien de dezir ser el Señor H. H. hijo de Londres, el que ha sido el Author de la siguiente Respuesta.

para poder mantener su systema, ni tampoco deve cantar la victoria sobre pasos contrarios al sentido literal. Desta forma será la disputa acertada, y se aclarará la verdad, que es lo que se deve buscar; pero lo contrario no sirve mas que á exponer el credito de la persona que opina, y de la religion que defiende, pues viendo la parte contraria que no sabe defender la religion, si no es ofendiendo al antagonista con calumnias y ficciones, atribuyen la falta de la persona á la religion, y concluyen que pues no alega otras razones no tiene otras que alegar; y en vez de convertirse se fortifican mas en la creencia de la suya; y siendo una cosa que concierne tanto á todas las criaturas humanas, no se devia permitir que en los discursos de controversia, donde se pretende persuadir á otra religion, se usasen terminos indignos de hombres doctos y moderados: porque los hombres en vez de examinar las qüestiones principales, se pasan á defender las injurias, á innovar otras contra el antagonista, y en esto se suscitan odios y malquerencias, en vez de la pretendida amistad.

Soy de parecer que devemos estimar y venerar á qualquiera persona que pretendiere persuadirnos á su religion, sea la que se quiere, como quien procura (en su opinion) al mayor y mas elevado bien que podemos desear, y tratandonos con la cortesia devida á la pretendida sinceridad, devemos procurar responderle con los terminos mas corteses y adequados que seamos capazes; y por lo contrario huir de todos aquellos barbaros que pretenden persuadir á otros á su religion, violentando las razones y el sentido literal, solo porque ellos lo entienden asi, y despreciarlos como indignos de la sociedad humana, y como deshechados de la republica literaria.

Pero reduzcamos todas las religiones del mundo á quatro. La primera que es la mayor parte del mundo, son las diversas religiones de Paganos, que suponen multiplicidad de Deidades, ó ninguna Deidad. La otra parte, menor que la Pagana pero mayor que las siguientes es la Mahometana. La tercera es la Christiana, menor que las dos pasadas y mayor que la siguiente. La ultima y menor en profesores que todas, es la Judaica.

Como no tenemos noticia de todas las religiones paganas, es preciso que las reyectemos, ademas que todos (á saber, Mahometanos, Christianos, y Judios,) vamos de acuerdo, que no hay mas que una sola eterna Causa, que criò, rige, y govierna este mundo: los Christianos y Judios acordamos tambien, en que solo las dos religiones son verdaderas, á saber, el Christiano mantiene ser la suya verdadera, el Judio substenta ser solo la suya.

Dividese la religion Judaica en dos: la una (que la mayor parte de los Judios profesa,) es la ley de Moyses, con la tradicion Rabbinica; la otra, que los Caraitas siguen, es la que reyecta esta tradicion; competele pues al Christiano que se quiziere convertir, y que se persuadiere de la verdad de la religion Judaica, antes de profesar una de las dos religiones, el examinar con toda exactitud y diligencia las razones de ambas partes, y quedar persuadido de una dellas, para saber á que parte decidir, pues no estando informado de las razones en que una y otra parte se funda, mal podrá distinguir la verdad; despues que se huviere informado minutamente y por extenso de las razones que obligan á una y otra parte á seguir su opinion, se podrá hazer dueño de la qüestion, y elegir la parte que le pareciere mas acertada.

No sé como hay Judio que pueda persuadirse en su conciencia á pasarse al Christianismo, sin primero examinar por extenso todas las diferentes opiniones que huvo, y aun permanecen en esta religion, las razones que alegan en su abono, y las que se escrivieron en contra; en tanta distancia y division de pareceres, donde cada uno canta la victoria y se persuade que solo él profesa la verdadera religion, y las demas son sectas: quien será tan docto, tan agudo, y tan gran theologo, que se atreva á decidir por esta ó aquella opinion? quien se atreverá á elegir sin primero balancear todas las opiniones una con otra? este oficio deven hazer los Christianos entre ellos mismos, y no devia de haver Christiano capaz de juzgar, que no huviese primero examinado todas las opiniones de su religion francamente, desnudandose del prejuicio que le puede causar el haver sido educado en diferente opinion.

Pero para convertir á los Judios, era preciso que se formase primero un concilio general de todos los profesores del Christianismo, baxo qualquiera dominacion que fuere, sin exceptuar los Unitarios, y que despues que huviese acordado el concilio, qual de todas las opiniones era la que devian seguir, por convencion general de todos, (no por artes ni engaños, no por interes ni poder absoluto;) entonces competia llamar otro concilio, en que tuviesen los Judios libre acceso y plena libertad de deliberar claramente su parecer, sin miedo ni rezelo; pues se tratava de la salvacion de todos en general. Devian los Christianos provar primero, como Christo era el prometido Messias, en el Testamiento Viejo, por todas las prophecias que del verdadero Messias hablan literalmente, sin torcerlas ni alegorizarlas; devian provar de donde consta por las prophecias que ha de ser Dios y hombre; devian provar que Dios es uno y trino [como ellos dizen] por el Testamiento Viejo; devian provar que los Judios eran obligados á desistir de la ley de Moyses, por abrazar la de Christo; devian mostrar autenticamente qual es esta ley que Christo ordenó; y despues devian con paciencia dar atencion á las razones que los Judios pudieran alegar en contra; replicar, y con-

troversiar de una y otra parte, y unos y otros devian confesar la verdad donde estuviese, de la manera y con las circunstancias que pareciese; esta era la forma de hazer que todos confesasen la verdad, para cuyo efecto era preciso que este concilio fuese mantenido del publico Erario, tanto unos como otros, y que fuesen hombres que no tuviesen beneficios, ni de una ni de otra religion, porque no fuesen obligados á mantener su religion por conservar sus puestos.

Pareceme, que solo desta forma se pudiera venir á aclarar la verdad, y á decidir la qüestion que há 1700 años que dura, y sabe Dios lo mas que durará, pero quererse persuadir el Arçobispo, que los Judios han de ceder por alegorias; y que los Judios se persuadan á que el Arçobispo ceda, en quanto la Iglesia tiene que dar beneficios, es locura; siga cada qual su opinion, y sirva á Dios con pura y recta intencion, y no se aparte de lo que le enseñaron (si no es capaz de decidir); y dexe á Dios el cuidado de su salvacion, que como misericordioso recevirá su recta intencion quando las acciones no le sean acceptas. Crean los theologos lo que les pareciere, que esto es lo que yo creo, pues no me puedo persuadir que la Divina Misericordia repulse de su gracia á un recto y perfecto Mahometano, que observa su religion porque cree que esa es la mejor forma de servirle.

RESPUESTA AL SERMON.

§ I.

2. Vós sois aquelles, a quem a esperança sendo tão larga, não cansou a paciencia.

Valgame Dios! que pueda tanto la prevencion, que se atreva á detestar como crimen una heroyca virtud digna de los mayores encomios? Por esta tan heroyca esperança es el pueblo de Israel llamado Santo, porque no han podido captiverios, destierros, martirios, aflicciones, desgracias, é infortunios disuadirlos de la verdadera creencia; ni la esperança de futura grandeza, ni de aparente felicidad, fue bastante incentivo para removerlos de la sagrada y sempiterna religion; tal es su constancia en la verdad, y tal es la fuerça de su creencia, que posponiendo toda humana consideracion á la divina, no dexan ni dexarán su Dios, ni su Ley.

En semejante caso no hay duda que el Señor Predicador y sus sequaces (pues que tan mal siente de la paciencia y esperança de los Judios) halláran mas adequado el perder con la paciencia la esperança, y trasladarse de un Dios á otro, y de una ley á otra, como hazen con los Santos, fixando la devocion en quien mas apriesa les responde.

Pero para que vea el Señor Arçobispo, quanto estima Dios esa virtud, y con que palabras la exalta, atienda á las mismas del propheta Jeremias en el cap. 2. v. 2. donde afirma que no se olvidará de la paciencia con que el santo pueblo le siguió en el desierto quarenta años. "Recordor tibi benignitatis adolescentiæ, amoris sponsalium tuorum, te prosequutam esse me per desertum, per terram non satam." Si la Divina Magestad se halla tan agradecida por solos quarenta años depender de su Divina Providencia; que será en tantos captiverios, destierros, &c. que padeció la Nacion en tantos siglos? Vos sois aquelles a quem a evidençia sendo tão clara, não bastou a vos convencer o genio. Jer. 2. v. 2.'—En llegando á las pruevas, se examinará la fuerça desta evidencia.

6. Vio o profeta Isaias no capitulo 42 dos seus Vaticinios, &c.

Supone el Predicador que esta prophecia descrive las calamidades, extorciones, y vexaciones, que han de padecer los Judios despues de la venida del Messias, y sobre este fundamento paraphrasea el verso, "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastatus," &c. que quiere dezir, es un pueblo saqueado, y conculcado, &c. de aqui pues deduce que los Judios no tienen que aguardar el Messias con estas palabras.

9. Pois se os Judeos no Messias futuro esperão a sua redemção, e ainda hoje esperão ao Messias, como diz o profeta que nãa hão de ter redemção os Judeos? Por isso mesmo, porque os Judeos no Messias futuro esperão o seu remedio, por isso hão de ficar sem remedio os Judeos, porque nunca para os Judeos ha-de chegar o Messias. E como o Messias he impossivel, por isso tambem he impossivel o remedio que no Messias esperão os Judeos.

Notese que esta prophecia consta de dos partes, primera y segunda; la primera es la alegada por el Predicador,

la segunda es la omitida por el mismo; la primera representa los trabajos, miserias, y vilipendios, que pádece Israel en la presente dispersion; la segunda los bienes, grandezas, y felicidades, que gozará en la futura redempcion; y esto con expresiones tan afectuosas y tan amorosas, que provocan al Israelita á derramar lagrimas de alegria confirmandose mucho mas en su esperança, y regozijandose por el gran bien que sabe no poderle faltar. Aqui traslado las palabras pronunciadas por el santo Propheta con su acostumbrada elegancia, é inimitable energia.

'Y agora asi dize el Señor tu Criador, oh Jahacob, y tu formador, oh Israel, no temas porque ya te redimí, llamé por tu nombre, tu eres mio: quando pasares por las aguas yo estoy contigo, y si por los rios no te llevarán, si anduvieres en el fuego no serás quemado, ni la llama arderá en ti; porque yo soy el Señor tu Dios, el Santo de Israel tu Salvador," &c. Y con este mismo amor y cariño vá siguiendo á consolar, y alentar á su amado pueblo Israel hasta el fin del capitulo, aunque pecador, ingrato y desconocido. Isa. cap. 43. v. 1. No sé pues como se afirma tan positiva y decisivamente por el Predicador, que el Propheta asegura que no ha de haver redempcion para la presente esclavitud de Israel, quando consta patentemente lo contrario; no sé como no consideró que podia suceder que este Sermon viniese á manos de algun Judio, que cotejando el paso del cap. 42. hallase que el Predicador exagera los males amenaçados en él, pretendiendo constituirlos irremisiblemente perpetuos, quando el Propheta no les dá mas existencia que por el solo tiempo de la captividad, disimulando la restauracion de los bienes anexos en el cap. 43. Que juizio hará este Judio de la candidez del Predicador? Que concepto formará de su doctrina? Apuremos mas estas importantes reflexiones. El Predicador afirma que no hay redempcion para Israel; y Dios dize, 'No temas porque ya te redimí;" el Predicador afirma que Dios tiene despedido y desechado á Israel de su proteccion y patrocinio, que no lo reconoce mas por su peculio y por su pueblo; y Dios dize, 'Te llamé por tu nombre, tu eres mio;' el Predicador afirma que Israel perdió por sus muchos excesos el glorioso titulo que gozava de que Dios se llamava Dios de Israel; y Dios dize, "Yo soy el Señor tu Dios, el Santo de Israel tu Salvador:" Digame agora pues el padre Predicador, parecele que el Judio ha de dexar de creér á la palabra de Dios tan clara, tan patente, y tan inteligible, para creer á sus exageraciones, á sus disimulaciones, y á sus forjadas objecciones?

No considera el Señor Arçobispo, que el Judio que viere que las pruevas que pretende traer contra el esperado Messias y contra la decantada esperança son las mismas que le aseguran aquel y le fortifican en esta? no es fuerça digo, que admirado y atonito el buen Judio prorumpa diziendo: Oh Dios de verdad! y estas son las pruevas que los Christianos alegan contra nos? Y estas se predican por sus mas eminentes pastores, se apruevan por los mas doctos prelados, y se dan á la publica prensa con authoridad suprema? Bendito seas tu, oh gran Dios de Israel, que me dexaste en mi verdadera creencia; pues, qué mayor prueva de mi verdad y de su falacia que el no tener otras armas para vencerme, que disimulaciones, exageraciones, y omisiones, negando la verdad, y encubriendo lo que no le conviene relatar, y no necesitar yo mas razones para convencerle, que alegar el mismo paso contra él, que él alega contra mi?

§ II.

13. Dize el Predicador que preguntandose á un Judio si el Messias que espera ha de ser solamente hombre, ó Dios y hombre, se ha de hallar muy confuso, y que por esto los Rabbinos tienen advertido al pueblo, que sucediendo que alguno le proponga esta qüestion, le responda que ni el Messias vino, ni deve venir.

No comprehendo como puede nacer este embaraço al Judio, quando tiene por articulo que el Messias ha de ser hombre, y no Dios y hombre, como se prueva adelante; supongo pues que esta noticia le fue inculcada al Predicador por algun malicioso neophito para acreditarse de gran theologo.

Y si es que el Señor Predicador la sacó de algun author, deviera, como acostumbra, acotar adonde viene este celebre consejo de los Rabbinos, pero siempre acontece en estas controversias donde el poder y la tirania pasan plaça de authoridad, que lo mas esencial se supone sin prueva, y lo que poco importa se circunstancea, y exagera.

14. Que los Judios estan divididos sobre la venida del Messias, creyendo algunos que no ha venido, y por consequencia lo esperan; y afirmando otros que vino ha 1637 años haviendo nacido luego que Tito destruyó á Jerusalem; así lo dixo el Predicador en su Sermon, pero sepa que ningun Judio tal cree, ni creyó, ni aun los mismos Rabbinos que relatan su nacimiento, haviendo representado este chimerico ente como un real suceso, para insinuar al pueblo que el Messias estaria prompto toda vez que hizieren penitencia, como lo promete Moyses en el

verso 29. del cap. 4. del Deuteronomio donde despues de haver amedrentado al pueblo con amenaças, y rigores, dize que no obstante su rebeldia si buscare á Dios con todo su coraçon, y con toda su alma, lo hallará indulgente y benigno ; lo mismo ratifica *ibidem* en el principio del cap. 30.

Recelando pues los Rabbinos que considerandose la nacion derramada por las tres partes del mundo, destituidos de defensa, sin aliança ni amistad, sin rey ni reyno, sin templo ni sacrificio, immergida en una fatal consternacion, no se dexase llevar de una funesta desesperacion, juzgando que haviendo Dios indignado, renunciado su protecion, la dexava expuesta á extragos, á destroços y á exterminios ; los Rabbinos pues como vigilantes y amorosos padres, procuraron animar y confortar al pueblo, insinuandole con metaphoras á imitacion de los Prophetas, que la libertad de la presente captividad era mas prompta que la de Egipto, y Babilonia, no haviendo otra prescripcion para ella que la penitencia ; constando por innumerables pasos del Pentatheuco y de los Prophetas, que hallandose Israel oprimido de angustias, persecuciones, y calamidades, en recurriendo á Dios con sincera y cordial contricion, serian redimidos y restituidos á su tierra, con prerrogativas y privilegios, mucho mas aventajados que en las dos vezes que la poseyeron ; puesto que una vez restaurados en ella no tienen que recelar de guerra, ni de enemigos, ni de tercera proscripcion.

Replicará el Predicador instando, que bien podian los Rabbinos enseñar este dogma de la promptitud del Messias, sin forjar un ente chimerico, para hazer creer al pueblo una cosa inexistente ; respondo, que imitaron en esto á los Prophetas, que descrivieron algunas metaphoras como si fueran reales sucesos. El Propheta Isayas descrive en el cap. 5. de su libro una viña plantada por su amigo en un fertil suelo, donde edificó una torre, y cavó un lagar, esperando gozar una larga cosecha de regaladas uvas, mas que llegando á vendimiarlas, halló uvas silvestres en lugar de domesticas ; aqui se ve pues una pura alegoria, un puro ente de razon, representado por un ente real y existente, explicandolo el mismo Propheta que por esta viña se entiende la Casa de Israel, de la qual esperava Dios una republica de pios y devotos, y la halló de libertinos y disolutos.

No mandó Dios al Propheta Ezequiel, cap. xvii. v. 3. que representase al pueblo una grande aguila de largas alas, de dilatados miembros, de pluma galantemente matizada, que havia desgajado del Libano una rama de un cedro, &c. aplicando esto á Nabuco, y al Rey de Juda*? Viendo pues los Rabbinos que Dios se sirve de typos para persuadir, hay quien pueda cençurarlos quando no hazen mas que imitar á Dios ?

* Reference to the first painting of the collection of Mendoza will show that the arms of the Mexican empire were a large eagle with rich plumage, perched upon a tunal tree, with one leg extended as if to pluck off a branch. The reason which the Mexicans alleged for taking those arms was, that Huitzilopuchtli commanded them to found the city of Mexico on the spot where the appearance of such an eagle signified to them the accomplishment of the oracle. Torquemada gives the following account, in the eleventh chapter of the second book of his "Indian Monarchy," of the foundation of the city of Mexico :—

"Ya decimos en el Libro de las Poblaçiones, el origen, y principio, que tuvo esta ciudad de Mexico, apareciendo en èl una peña, y un tunal, nacido en ella, y un aguila caudal encima : Todo lo qual, pareciò junto à unas aguas (segun algunos dicen) blancas, otros açules, ò verdes, y mui profundas. Lo qual, parece cosa fabulosa, y mas mentira y patraña, que historia verdadera, y no es esta Ciudad la primera, que con portentos, y prodigios, se dice, ha sido fundada en el mundo ; porque de la Atenas dice el Glorioso Padre San Agustin, en los Libros de la Ciudad de Dios, citando à Varron, que quando querian fundarla los Atenienses, repentinamente apareciò, en aquel lugar, un arbol de Oliva ; y en otro alli junto, una fuente, que rebentó de agua. El Rei Cecrops, que vido las repentinas visiones, y no sabiendo el fin que representaban, aunque entendia, que era cosa importante y necesaria para la dicha fundacion, por no errar, embiò à consultar el caso, al Templo de Apolo, en Delfos ; el qual respondiò, que la Oliva, representaba la Diosa Minerva, y el Agua, al Dios Neptuno, y que los nombres de estos dos Dioses, se ponian à la eleccion de los que querian fundar aquella ciudad. Y como entonces entraban las mugeres en consulta y consejo juntamente con los hombres (segun prosigue luego el mismo Padre Agustino) votaron los unos y los otros, por el nombre que se le avia de dàr à la ciudad. Las mugeres decian que el de Minerva, y los hombres que el de Neptuno, y como estuviesen los votos partidos, puestos los hombres à una parte y las mugeres à otra, contaron los votos, y hallaron aver uno mas entre las mugeres, que entre los hombres, y prevaleciendo su parecer, dieronle el nombre que pedian de Minerva, que en Griego quiere decir, Athenas ; y de esta manera se quedò esta celebrada ciudad con este dicho nombre. De manera, que quando la ciudad de Mexico aya sido nombrada en sus principios con este nombre, Tenuchtitlan, no fue sin causa ; pues tuvieron motivo de aver visto la piedra y tuna (como hemos dicho) que ambas cosas significan este nombre. En este lugar se ranchearon (como decimos en el Libro de las Poblaçiones) haciendo unas pobres y pequeñas choças, rodeadas de carriço y espadañas, que ellos llaman Xacalli, y en otras provincias, Bahareques ; en las quales pasaban su vida estrecha y pobremente, por ser el lugar mui pobre, y desamparado ; y como gente pobre, y desamparada, y guerreada de todos los pobladores de la Tierra-Firme, comian raìces de Tulli, y otras yervas, que en el sitio y en sus alrededores se criaban. Pero como la necesidad, es madre de toda invencion, è industria, enseñòles modo de pescar, haciendo redecillas, y otras invenciones de yervas, con que pudiesen sacar del pescado, que en esta laguna dulce se cria. Y aqui començaron las pescas en esta laguna, que hasta este tiempo dicho, no sabian de ellas los otros moradores de la tierra : y como les avia sucedido bien, y tenian yà manera de poderse mejor sustentar, fueron continuando la pesquerìa, de la qual tuvieron noticia los comarcanos de la tierra : los quales, vivieron mucho tiempo, ignorantes de aquella poblaçion ; porque los Mexicanos estuvieron trece años, desde que llegaron al sitio del tunal, hasta que se dividieron en los dos barrios, que aora son Mexico, y Tlatilulco : Y en

Quien informó pues al Señor Arçobispo que hay Judios que afirman que el Messias vino luego que se destruyó el templo, y se perdió el ceptro, que son 1632 años, era muy poco versado en lo que creen los Judios por lo que concierne al Messias, pues muy bien sabe la nacion que lo que quieren insinuar los Rabbinos, con representar al Messias nacido inmediatamente despues de la destruccion de Jerusalem, es indicar al pueblo que el tiempo de la redempcion está siempre prompto, no porque haya actual y realmente nacido, mas porque podia nacer.

Y como havrá Judio que crea que vino el Messias, creyendo él que su venida es para juntar su dispersion, para librarlos de la opresion y persecucion, para colocarlos en la cumbre de la felicidad y grandeza, reedificando su ciudad y restaurando su templo, uno y otro mas aventajado y sumptuoso de lo que era, no haviendo hasta hoy nada desto? Como se puede persuadir que haya Judio que crea ó que afirme que vino el Messias?

Asentado pues este incontestable principio, queda desvanecido todo el resto del numero 14, y el principio del numero 15.

15. Donde dize que los Rabbinos modernos afirman que el Messias ni vino ni vendrá, porque Dios no lo permitió en las Escripturas, no es articulo de fé para los Judios.

Si el Predicador fuera mas versado en la crecncia Judaica de lo que es, no dixera tal, pues el afirmar que la venida del Messias no es articulo de fé, es opinion heretica en la nacion. No hay sin embargo que culpar á Francisco Antonio de Olivares que la seguia por falta de instruccion, viviendo en Portugal donde no se permite tener ni leer obras que informen de la Ley de los Judios; ademas, que una opinion particular ni haze dogma ni forma secta. El resto de este numero y del 16 se ventila en el 17.

todo este tiempo no huvo noticia de ellos entre las gentes que vivian à estotra parte del Norte por tener creìdo que estaban presos y cautivos en la tierra de los Culhuas. Pero como los humos se divisaban, y algunos ruidos que debian de oìr vinieron à conocimiento, de que en medio de estas aguas avia algunas gentes pobladas, aunque deseaban saber quienes fuesen, no se atrevian por respeto de estar en medio de las aguas (que entonces era esta laguna dulce mui honda) y por no atreverse à entrar en ella, por no saber modo de poder salir. Pero vinieron à entender que eran los Mexicanos los que aqui se avian rancheado y hecho su poblacion; y aunque muchas veces quisieron hacerles guerra, no osaban por la raçon dicha.

Cuentase, que el olor del pescado que comian los Mexicanos llegaba à las narices de las gentes comarcanas, y que embidiosos de ello, los quisieron desposeer del lugar, y que nunca se atrevieron, temiendo el valor Mexicano, y recelando perecer en las aguas, que eran hondas, y mui llenas de carriços, y españasias; y que deseando comer de aquella comida y manjar que ellos no alcançaban, y no pudiendo por las difficultades que se les ofrecian, vinoles un grande antojo, del qual antojo se hincharon las gargantas de todos los antojadiços, y murieron muchos de ellos. Esto dicho pase por cuento; pero si huviere quien quisiere creerlo por verdad, podrà fundarse en esta raçon, que el Demonio que hacia favor à los Mexicanos usase de esta astucia, para poder con ella atraer à los otros idolatras que lo supiesen à maiores cegueras, y mas aventajados y diabolicos servicios suyos; porque pudo fingir aquel olor, ò tomar algun pescado, y ponerlo invisiblemente en las narices de los que lo olian, y que de esto pudiese nacer naturalmente aquella enfermedad de garganta; y siendo la hinchaçon de pujamiento de sangre, y no haciendole remedio ninguno (por no ser conocido el mal) muriesen de ello los que murieron. A esto ayuda, decir San Agustin, en el lugar arriba citado, que enojado Neptuno del agravio que le avian hecho los Athenienses, en no averlo recibido y honrado su nombre, dandolo à su ciudad, sacò las aguas del mar de sus limites y cerco, y las derramò por sus campos y dehesas, y las destruiò todas. Y dice luego, que esto no le es dificultoso al Demonio: pues si el mar (del qual dice el santo Rei David en el Psalmo, que le ha puesto Dios termino y cerco para que no pase punto adelante) saliò tanto, que se derramò por las tierras Athenienses, y hiço tanto daño en ellas, y esto por orden del Demonio: què mucho, que en esta ocasion hiciese este engaño entre estos idolatras, sacando el olor del pescado, tan afuera de las aguas que llegò à las narices de los comarcanos? Porque si le concedemos el poder de sacar las aguas de sus quicios, (como el Glorioso Doctor San Agustin se lo concede) tambien hemos de conceder esto; porque la misma fuerça es menester para lo uno que para lo otro; y el Señor, que le diò libertad para el un caso, se la daria para el otro: y esto por la manera y raçon que ordenase y pluguiese à su Eterna y Secretisima Providencia y Sabiduria, que muchas cosas que sabemos, y no alcançamos su secreto, no es porque no es hacedero, sino porque como no lo sabemos todo, nos espantan sus efectos, y solo nos queda lugar y licencia de admirarnos de ellos.

Puestos estos Mexicanos, en este lugar dicho, hicieron luego un altar à su Dios Huitzilopuchtli (como lo tenian de costumbre en todas las mansiones y paradas que hacian, en especial en esta parte, donde yà sabian que avian de tener su permanencia, y estàr mui de asiento). Pero como gente pobre y descarriada, no les llegò el posible adonde el deseo; y asi les sucedio, que el altar no fuese con aquel adorno, magestad, y grandeça, que ellos quisieran; pero formaronlo pobremente, segun pudieron; y colocado y puesto en èl su diabolico idolo, festejaronlo con las solemnidades que acostumbraban; y sucediò, que saliendo à caça un Mexicano, llamado Xomimitl, en busca de algun animal irracional, que poder traer para ofrecer à su Dios, se encontrò en el camino con un Culhua, llamado Tlacochichil, y riñendo los dos, (porque eran mortales enemigos, como yà hemos dicho, los de Culhuacan, y los de Mexico) venciò el Mexicano al dicho Culhua, y maniatandolo, lo trajo vivo con mucho contento, y le presentò à los demàs que estaban en su pueblo; y acordandose todos de la burla que su Rei Culhua les avia hecho, quando le pidieron reliquias para su altar, en el barrio de Contitlan, les avia dado aquellas quatro cosas sucias y asquerosas, embueltas en un paño, (como yà dejamos dicho) tomaron de esto ocasion para matar à este cautivo, y poner su coraçon, enmedio del altar de su idolo, para que las reliquias, que usaban poner en ellos, fuesen las mas estimadas de la vida, que es el coraçon, el qual es el primero que vive en el cuerpo humano, (como dice el filosofo) y el ultimo que muere. Hecho asi, quedaron todos mui contentos de vèr el buen anuncio, y agüero con que començaban à fundar su ciudad, hechando en sus cimientos coraçones de hombres vencidos, y vengandose juntamente de la que les hicieron en la burla dicha del altar."

We have inserted the above chapter at full length, because it records a variety of curious facts. The corruption of ancient traditions, through

§ III.

17. Isaias, cap. ix. ver. 5. "Et vocabitur nomen ejus," &c.

Para que el Lector comprehenda el estado de la qüestion, me parece no solo conviene, digo conveniente, mas aun necesario poner el verso de la controversia en Latin y Romance; y despues explicar en ambos los modos, para que pueda el discreto Lector juzgar qual de las dos explicaciones es mas coherente y consistente con la letra y con la razon. El Latin del Predicador dize: "Infans natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, et erit principatus super humerum ejus: et vocabitur nomen ejus Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus Fortis, Pater Sempiternus, vel Pater Sempiternitatis, Princeps Pax, ad multiplicandum principatum, et pacis non erit finis: super solium David et super regnum ejus sedebit ut confirmet illud, et corroboret in judicio et justitia, à modo et usque in sempiternum."

Esta translacion difiere del texto Hebraico, y parece que el Señor Predicador se olvidó de lo que prometió en el principio, de que los textos que acotase serian conforme al Hebraico nuestro no conforme á la Vulgata, digo á su Vulgata, pero como el Predicador no tenia el menor rezelo de que nadie le contradixese, pasose por alto ese texto, ó para mejor dezir, como sin esa adulteracion en el verso no tuviera cavimiento la controversia, era preciso abonar la Vulgata para poder formar la controversia.

Primero. En el verbo "vocabitur," que él lo pone en futuro pasivo, y segun eso se deve leer en el texto Hebraico *veicare*, que quiere dezir, y "será llamado," quando en el texto Hebraico se lee *vaicrá*, esto es "vocavit," que es el preterito del modo activo; y asi se deve transladar, "y llamó."

Segundo. El pone todos los atributos en nominativo, aplicandolos todos al Messias, por donde infiere que el Messias es Dios, pues lo llama "Dios Fuerte, Padre de la Eternidad."

Tercero. Difiere en el ultimo atributo, haziendo en las dos dicciones de que consta dos nominativos, leyendo "Princeps Pax," quando en el Hebraico la diccion "Principe" es el acusativo paciente del verbo "vocavit;" y la diccion "Pax," está en genitivo "Principem Pacis," que quiere dezir "Principe de la Paz," y no dos atributos como haze el Predicador. Consta esto del Hebraico en el que se lee *Sar Salom*, que quiere dezir "Principe de Paz;" y el nombre *Sar* está puntado con (-) *Patah*, que lleva el genitivo, quando si fuera atributo por sí, devia estar puntado (ר) *Gamez*. No puedo pues comprehender como el Predicador mantiene con tanta confianza y desahogo la alegacion de este verso, afirmando ser, "conforme ao vosso texto Hebraico."

the interpretation *ad libitum* of the Mexican paintings, is no less conspicuous in what is related at its commencement of the coloured waters, than the diligence of Torquemada in noticing the relations, which he even believed to be fabulous, of those who were his contemporaries or lived in the preceding age; little doubt can be entertained but that the fiction of the coloured waters was invented by some monk, into whose hands had fallen a painting of the city of Mexico founded in a Saint Andrew's cross, the arms and sides of which were, as is not unfrequently the case in the crosses represented in Mexican paintings, of different colours, and that this furnished occasion for a miraculous narration. The remarks which follow respecting the antiquity of the custom of choosing an ominous site for cities are deserving of attention, although Saint Augustine has shown himself not a little credulous in the story which he has told, of the votes of the Athenian women in favour of Minerva outnumbering those of the men in favour of Neptune by one; but when do the early Fathers ever neglect an occasion of turning the manners of the Greeks and Romans and their mythology into ridicule? The latter part of the chapter, which treats of the first arrival of the Mexicans in the island of the lake of Mexico, in which they afterwards founded their city, and of their concealing themselves there for thirteen years, their retreat remaining all that time undiscovered by the Indian tribes who dwelt in the neighbourhood, is very curious, because it would argue that the ancestors of the Mexicans were strangers and refugees, or such a description of persons as a band of shipwrecked men fighting their way through savage tribes would be likely to be. That they were more civilized than the surrounding Indian tribes, is evident from their knowing how to construct boats and to catch fish; and that they were of a very different religion from them, may be guessed from the insulting present of a dead bird which the king of Culhuacan sent to them on their demanding from him some offering for their altar, which was probably in derision of the god Huitzilopuchtli, who in the similitude of a bird spoke from the bush to Mexi and Tecpatzin. It deserves to be noticed that Acosta and Torquemada both liken the servitude of the Mexicans under Coxcox, the king of Culhuacan, to that of the bondage of the children of Israel in Egypt; and it would also appear that the above-mentioned king, like Pharaoh, consented rather through fear (as the Mexican annals assert) than any generous motive, to their departure from his state. If the ancestors of the Mexicans were Jews, it may easily be imagined that a fanatical enthusiasm once having taken possession of their minds, they might have felt disposed to react the part of the children of Israel under Moses towards the king of Culhuacan and his subjects; and on this supposition the sacrifice of the Culhuacan by Xomimitl would closely resemble the murder of the Egyptian by Moses, as recorded in the second chapter of Exodus. As regards the story of the Mexicans placing a human heart in the centre of their altar as a relic, it is analogous to the account given by Bernal Diaz of what took place at the first dedication of the greater temple of Mexico; but it is very singular that the Mexicans, like the primitive Christians, should have founded altars and temples over the remains of martyred or sacrificed persons.

§ IV.

24. Aqui suelta la rienda á la censura contra R. Abenezra, y contra R. Salomon porque explican esta prophecia del cap. ix. de Isaias diziendo que el texto habla del Rey Ezechias. El primero dize que hallandose convencido por el texto, que el Messias era Dios, y rezelando que lo echasen de la sinagoga dixo que hablaba del Rey Ezechias y no del Messias. Segun estas aserciones del Predicador, Abenezra creia que el Messias deve ser Dios; siendo asi pues, por qué rezelava que lo echasen de la sinagoga? Renunciara la Ley Judaica, y pasarase á la Ley Christiana, donde huviera sido muy bien recebido, agazajado, festejado, y aplaudido, siendo insigne Gramatico, celebre Astronomo, y excelente Comentador Literalista, nada inclinado á lo Alegorico, como se vé en el Comento que hizo sobre toda la Biblia.

Deme licencia el Reverendo Padre Predicador de preguntarle, por que via alcançó su Paternidad á saber que R. Abenezra quedava convencido que el Messias devia de ser Dios? Que lo supiese del mismo Rabbino no puede ser, porque son mas de 500 años que murió. No puede dezir que el Rabbino revelase ese secreto, porque á quien lo revelaria? Al Judio no, por las consequencias que rezelava; al Christiano no, porque fuera gran desdoro para un hombre tan sabio haver profesado una religion que no podia justificar, y en la que no se podia salvar. No se puede imaginar por que via penetró el Predicador el pensamiento deste famoso Rabbino.

Es preciso que el Judio que sabe la verdad, y que reconoce que la intencion del Señor Predicador no fue mas que sorprender á aquellos miserables que salian en el auto con ficciones, se regozije en su coraçon al ver á quantas artes é invenciones son obligados á recurrir para mantener su systema, pero no es mucho, porque estava el Predicador empeñado aquel dia, y era preciso salir del empeño á todo precio.

E Rabbi Salamão, que para vos enganar foy entre todos os Judeos o vosso Salamão, &c.

Esta horrible calumnia fue forjada en la oficina de Nicolao de Lira, Neophito Normando, por hallarse embaraçado con el "vocavit nomen ejus" del cap. 9 de Isaias. Admirome mucho como el Señor Arçobispo, Catolico Apostolico Romano, se sirve desta calumnia, quando en la suprema Inquiziçion de Roma no se admite acusacion de Neophito contra Judio.

Admirome pues digo, que el Señor Arçobispo admita esta ridicula calumnia, quando Agustino, uno de los principales doctores de la Iglesia, afirma ser increible que los Judios hayan viciado los libros sagrados; primero, porque parece imposible que conviniesen todos en tan mal proposito, estando esparcidos por todas las partes del mundo, sin hallarse entre ellos quien se opusiese á tan execrable enormidad y detestable sacrilegio, como fuera adulterar las cosas sacras. Ademas, que hallandose todos los codices Hebraicos, antiguos y modernos, conformes en todo y por todo, no obstante haverse escrito en varios tiempos y remotas regiones, indica una inviolable y exacta sinceridad.

Ni tampoco se deve presumir (sigue el mismo Agustino) que quiziese un pueblo tan numeroso, que no tiene en su captividad otro bien que la posesion de los sagrados libros, falsificarlos, por satisfazer á la malevolencia y rencor que puede haver en ellos contra una nacion ó pueblo: por donde concluye en el lib. xv. cap. 13, "De Civitate Dei" que hallandose dos lugares diferentes, uno en el texto Hebraico, y otro en el Griego, se deve dar mayor credito al Hebraico, pudiendose creer que algun copiador Griego falsificó el Hebraico en la translacion.

Dixe ridicula calumnia, y dixe bien, siendo como tal juzgada y reputada en todo el pueblo de Israel, quando ven que si en el Libro del Pentatheuco que se lee en cada dia de Sabado en la sinagoga se hallara una letra mas ó menos, aunque no sea mas que expletiva, y que no altere el sentido de la diccion ó del verbo, se dexa aquel Pentatheuco y se saca otro.

Mas adelante pasa la exactitud Judaica en lo que toca á la palabra de Dios; que si acaso sucede que el Lector del Pentatheuco alterase por ignorancia ó por descuido alguna palabra ó accento que mudase el sentido, deve volver á leer todo el verso; y si no cayó en el yerro, los que oyeron lo advierten y le hazen volver á leer como deve. Si esto pues se practica en la sinagoga por lo general de la nacion, por un yerro pequeño escrito ó pronunciado, qué haria si supiese ó presumiese que un Rabbino de los mas celebres de Israel, como fué Rabbi Salomon, huviese viciado el texto de Isaias?

Pero si nuestro excelentisimo Rabbi Salomon declara esa prophecia por Ezechias (como real y verdaderamente es, y puede ver el que mirare las prophecias para entenderlas, no para torcerlas como adelante se explicará) que

necesidad tenia de viciar ni adulterar el texto? Quando dado que estuviese, como pretende el Predicador y la Vulgata, "vocabitur" (*veicare*), no por eso se saca de alli consequencia alguna en contra de su exposicion, y podia dexar el "vocabitur" sin exponerse á la censura de Judios y Christianos. Haviendo pues R. Salomon declarado la prophecia por Ezechias, y dexado el (*vaicra*) "vocavit" como lo halló, sacase por consequencia que R. Salomon ni necesitava viciar el texto, ni adulterarlo; y que Geronimo ú otro antes dél fué el que lo vició, por parecerle no se podia explicar la prophecia en preterito, y que con esa miserable enmienda dava un grande apoyo á su creencia. Pero sepa el Señor Predicador que los Judios no necesitan de semejantes artes ni engaños para apoyar su creencia, que siendo la misma palabra de Dios ella por si se mantiene y sustenta. Veanse todos los exemplares Hebraicos antiguos y modernos en todas las partes del mundo, y se hallará que no hay nada viciado, y que todos acuerdan y concordan en la verdad, lo que consta claramente al Judio que sabe que esto es asi; por donde reconoce que no se contentan con viciar y adulterar ellos el texto, sino que forjan una ridicula calumnia contra el mas fidedigno y excelente Expositor que huvo en el mundo, con razon estimado y venerado de toda la republica literaria por haver comentado toda la Biblia, á saber, el Pentatheuco, todos los Prophetas primeros y postreros, y todos los Agiographos, toda la Misna, y casi todo el Talmud que consta de 63 Tratados distribuidos en 12 tomos en folio, que contiene todo el Ceremonial, Moral y Judicial; todo esto explicado con terminos adequados y proprios en un estilo laconico, inimitable, y peculiar á él, sin embargo claro é inteligible, traçado de modo que no se puede dexir por él

"Dum arctiùs esse volo obscurior fio."

Viendo pues digo que los vapores del enojo se ivan coudensando en una opaca nube, cargado de un justo y fomentado sentimiento contra mi poco atento antagonista, resolvi reprimir los impetuosos impulsos de mi provocada pasion, lisonjeandola con representarle que la fuerça de mis incontrastables pruevas y de mis irrefragables razones obligarán al Predicador á cantar la palinodia á favor del eruditisimo y doctisimo Rabbi Salomon, el qual fué un sapientisimo Salomon que enseñó y explicó, no que engañó (como falsamente afirma el Predicador) á todas las naciones literarias de la Europa viciando la Ley Escrita y Oral que creen y observan los Judios en su dispersion.

Ratifica el Predicador su hypothesis, ó para mejor dezir pretende ratificarla, con la Paraphrasis Caldaica del gran sabio Jonathan, hijo de Huziel, del precitado verso de Isaias trasladandolo como sigue: "Et vocabitur nomen ejus *Min Kodam*, Deus fortis, permanens in secula seculorum, Messias:" omitiendo el fin del verso que dize: "In cujus diebus multiplicabitur Pax."

Dos reparos me ocurren; uno, por que no traduxo la diccion *Min Kodam?* otro, por que disimuló el fin del verso? En la respuesta destas dos qüestiones se manifiesta quien fue el que vició el verso, y quien fue el que intentó engañar al pueblo. Los indicios son contra el Predicador, del qual, por lo que tengo notado atras, consta que suele alterar, reformar ó mutilar el texto, dando á entender al auditorio que lo traduce pura y sinceramente del Hebraico diziendo: "Isaias assim o descreve no capitulo nono dos seus Vaticinios, conforme ao vosso texto Hebraico: 'Et vocabitur nomen ejus Admirabilis ..... Princeps Pacis.'"

Valgame Dios! no censura arriba el Predicador á Rabbi Salomon diziendo que el verbo que estava en pasivo "vocabitur" y será llamado, lo havia mudado el mismo Rabbi Salomon en activo "vocavit" y llamó, para que los primeros atributos fuesen nominativos agentes, y quedase el ultimo que es el Principe de Pax en acusativo paciente? Aqui vemos el verso mudado, representado y traducido no conforme al Hebraico, mas conforme á la idea del Predicador. Lo mismo haze en la Paraphrasis Caldaica de Jonathan hijo de Huziel, donde trae el *Min Kodam* sin traducirlo, y omite el fin del verso que dize: "In cujus diebus multiplicabitur Pax."

El verdadero texto pues de Jonathan hijo de Huziel dize como se lee aqui: "Et vocabitur nomen ejus à facie, vel ab Admirabili, Consiliario, Deo Potente, Patre Æternitatis, Principe Pacis." Y será llamado su nombre de aquel, ó por aquel que es Admirable, Consejero, Dios Potente, Padre de la Eternidad, Principe de la Paz, Messias, en cuyos dias se multiplicará la Paz.

Los primeros quatro atributos son divinos, el ultimo humano que es paciente, que en el Hebraico está en acusativo, requerido del "vocavit" activo; y en el Caldaico en nominativo regido por el verbo pasivo "vocabitur." El *Min Kodam* es una preposicion ablativa la cual fue omitida por el Predicador porque no le convenia, no porque ignorase su interpretacion, pues en el cap. vii. v. 11. del mismo Isaias dize el Propheta al Rey Achaz "Pete tibi signum à facie Domini Dei tui." Asi traduce Montano estas palabras que son del mismo Jonathan 'Pide señal del Señor tu Dios.'

Ahora descubriremos la razon por que el Predicador omitió el *Min Kodam* sin traducirlo; la razon es porque si lo huviera traducido, el verso diria, "Et vocabitur nomen ejus á facie Admirabilis, Consiliarii, Dei Potentis, Patris Æternitatis, Principis Pacis, Messias, in cujus diebus multiplicabitur Pax." Que quiere dezir, 'Y será llamado su nombre por el Admirable, por el Consejero, por el Dios Potente, por el Padre de la Eternidad, por el Principe, por la Paz, por el Messias, en cuyos dias se multiplicará la Paz.' Segun esta traduccion todos los atributos son del Niño, que es pasiente, y que supone ser Messias; pero queda todavia por saber quien es el agente, quien es el que llama; quando poniendo el *Min Kodam* ó sea el ablativo, los primeros quatro atributos son de Dios que es el agente, que es el que llama, quedando el ultimo para el Niño que es el pasiente, que es el llamado.

De lo dicho, pues, quedará persuadido el discreto y desapasionado Lector, que el Predicador tiene alterados los textos, tanto del Hebraico como del Caldaico, colocando las palabras de forma que parezca que dizen que el Messias ha de ser Dios y Hombre.

Pero digame el Señor Predicador, para que tomó el trabajo de mutilar y torcer versos tan reconditos, y por fin despues de todo concedido, no es mas que una alegoria mal fundada, pues se opone al primer articulo de la religion? Quanto mejor fuera y aun mas facil el buscar este primer articulo (fundamento principal de la religion Judaica) y darles á entender á esos desdichados presos por la tirania de la Inquizicion, que el verso que dize 'Oye Israel al Señor tu Dios, El Señor es Uno,' en el original estava Tres y Uno, y que los Judios lo falsificaron y lo dexaron en Uno; que Rabbi Salomon ó Abenezra ó algun otro Rabbino de los que vinieron á su noticia, fue el que lo alteró primero; que los primeros Judios asi lo creian, pero que los modernos, por odio que profesavan á los Christianos, adulteraron el texto: y aqui se podia su Ilustrisima dilatar, explayando su rethorica con aquel estilo regatero tan peculiar á él, que yo le prometo que huviera encontrado con tanto aplauso y aprovacion como el que tuvo entonces, y que no tenia que rezelar la contradiccion ni de Christianos ni de Judios: del Christiano no, porque no le convenia; de los Judios no, porque eran ignorantes y no sabian; y quando no lo fuesen y pudiesen contradecirle, bien cierto estava el Señor Predicador que nadie tendria el atrevimiento de levantar los ojos, quanto mas la voz; antes estoy cierto que baxarian las cavezas para aprovar quanto dixese. El caso es que no han dado en esta mina, en dando en ella la han de poner por obra.

Valgame Dios! y qué cosa tan ridicula a los ojos de las desapasionadas naciones parece, el que se ponga un hombre eminente en su profesion, de alto grado en la Prelacia á disputar con personas que no le pueden responder, á alegarles con libros que no les es permitido leerlos, y que con todo eso le es preciso torcer y mutilar los pasos de la Sagrada Escriptura para poder provar lo que pretende persuadir!

Apelo á los hombres doctos y desapasionados que viven en tierras donde no es preciso circunscrivir sus ideas á la voluntad de quatro ignorantes Inquizidores, si no era mas adequado para una farsa que para un sermon; si no era mas proprio para un teatro que para un pulpito? Nos llaman ciegos porque no queremos someter nuestra razon á una alegoría mal fundada? porque no cedemos el primer articulo de nuestra Religion á sus comentos torcidos y mutilados? Y qué se llamarán ellos que adulteran los sagrados textos, que toman parte de un capitulo, discurso, proposito ó verso sin hazer mencion de la otra parte que declara el genuino sentido para poder aplicar aquel giron á donde quieren? Y sobre esto cantan la victoria como si nos huvieran actualmente vencido. Le parece al Señor Predicador que eso convence á algun Judio? Pues se engaña si tal cree, antes por la contra, fortifica su creencia; y en vez de hazer como haze la Inquizicion, que prohibe los libros que discurren en contra su Religion, nosotros publicamos semejantes libros que contra nos se imprimen, y los explicamos á nuestros hijos para que reconozcan la realidad de nuestras razones y la falacia de las suyas, para que se fortifiquen en la verdadera creencia, y que reconozcan á quantas artes es necesario que apelen los que quieren torcer la verdad, y á quantos artificios y mañas estan obligados á recurrir, para mantener su opinion.

Y para que vea el desapasionado Lector la verdad de la alegada prophecia de Isaias, aqui expongo el sentido genuino y literal della, sin torcer ni alegorizar, conforme la explican los mas famosos y authenticos Literalistas.

Empieza el cap. vii. Havian Retzin Rey de Aram, y Pekach Rey de Israel sitiado la Santa Ciudad de Jerusalem, pero por la gallarda resistencia de los ciudadanos sitiados, les fue fuerza levantar el sitio; no obstante llevaron consigo grande botin y cantidad de prisioneros. Hizieron los Reyes confederados nueva aliança, proponiendo de nuevo el sitio con mayor pujança de fuerzas y grande armacion de guerra, cuya confederacion puso en grande consternacion la Casa de David, temblando si venciesen, no pusiesen el ultimo periodo al Dominio y al Reyno; y no estava menos cobarde el pueblo que el Rey.

Manda Dios al Propheta Isaias que en compañia de su hijo Sçearjasçub fuese á encontrar á Achaz, y le dixese de su parte que se sosegase, que alentase el abatido animo, y que recobrase los perdidos espiritus; que no temiese de esos dos tizones de fuego, mas aptos á quemar y consumir á si mismos que á otros; que aunque ellos se proponian hazer una conquista general del Reyno para despues repartirlo entre ellos, les vaticinava que tal idea no tendria efecto; mas que por la contra, Israel (es á saber los diez tribuz) concluido el termino de sesenta y cinco años dexaria de ser Nacion, y quedaria totalmente esparcido y derramado; que en el interim, ni el uno ni el otro Rey dilatarian los terminos de sus dominios, quedando cada qual con lo que poseia.

Manda Dios á Achaz que para que se asegurase de lo que predecia, pidiese una señal ó maravilla, ó ya en lo alto del empireo, ó bien en lo profundo de la tierra. Incredulo el Rey se excusa con el pretexto de la religion, de que no queria tentar á Dios, quando el verdadero motivo era la poca fe que dava á las palabras del Propheta. Quexandose pues este de su incredulidad dize que Dios (sin que ellos los de la familia Real lo pidiesen) daria una patente y manifiesta señal para que se asegurase la Judea de la verdad desta prophecia, á saber; que la Moça estaba preñada, que pariria un Hijo, el qual se llamaria *Emmanuel;* que antes que llegase á los años de discrecion, los dos Reyes confederados serian totalmente exterminados. Pero que si la dureza y perversidad de ese incredulo Rey, en vez de penitente rendir gracias á Dios por tan notable deliberacion, le induxese á persistir pertinaz en sus iniquidades, le notificava, que irritada la divina Justicia al mayor grado, le obligará á castigarle con mayor rigor, haziendo que el formidable exercito del Rey de Assiria se apodere de todas las fortalezas y castillos de la Judea; dexando de tal forma desolada é inculta la tierra, tan falta y escasa de ganado, que el que llegare á pascer una ternera y dos ovejas, será el que mas posea. Abundarán de leche por razon de que haviendo tanta escasidad de ganado, havrá cantidad de yerba, pues donde antes havia mil viñas, agora será un inculto campo, lleno de espinos y cardos; los montes de antes cultivados seran reducidos á pastos de ovejas y vacas por falta de quien los cultive.

En el cap. viii. manda Dios al Propheta que tome un envoltorio, y tanto para confirmacion desta prophecia como para que se transfiera á los futuros escriva en él *Maher-sçalal-hasç-baz.* Executa el Propheta la divina orden; toma dos testigos Uria y Zacharia; llegase á la Prophetisa, esta concibe y pare un hijo, y llamase por orden de Dios *Maher-sçalal hasç-baz*; significando, que antes que este Niño llegare á saber llamar Padre y Madre, el Rey de Assiria venceria en batalla los dos Reyes confederados, y los captivaria llevando consigo los despojos de Damasco, y las riquezas de Someron.

Pero como havia en la Judea un partido que deseava venciesen Retsin y Pekach, y este se oponia al govierno de la familia Real, si no publica intrinsecamente, manda Dios al Propheta que les vaticine, que ya que ellos aborrecian el dulce y sosegado govierno de la Casa de David, que les traeria el formidable exercito del Rey de Assiria, el qual ocuparia toda la Judea hasta llegar á la Metropolis y cabeça del Reyno; pero que no obstante, Dios asistiria á los buenos y los libraria de ese peligro.

Vuelve el Propheta sobre el dicho asunto de los Reyes confederados, asegurando que todo su armamento no tendria efecto; y asi, que por mas que diligenciasen, y que con summo trabajo alcançasen á juntar y amasar numerosos exercitos de diferentes naciones, no les serviria de provecho, por quanto su idea no vendria á efectuarse.

Prosigue diziendo que Dios le amonestó no siguiese las veredas de aquellos que deseavan el govierno ó estavan de la parte de los dos Reyes confederados; que exhortase á aquellos que defendian la verdadera causa á confiar solo en Dios, y á temer solo la divina Magestad que los protegia; que cerrase y sellase esta prophecia entre los Doctos y Sabios hasta el tiempo de su cumplimiento.

El Propheta dize: Aunque agora tiene Dios retirada ó encubierta su providencia de nosotros, espero en su divina misericordia, y estoy confiado en ella, que llegará el deseado tiempo en que se mostrará patente; porque yo y mis niños somos manifiestas señales de lo que ha de suceder á Israel; (á saber *Yesahya* Salvacion de Dios; *Sçearjasçub,* Restauracion del resto, esto es, que el resto de Jehuda volveria á su pristino estado; *Maher-sçalal-hasç-baz,* que de breve y en muy poco espacio de tiempo sucederia la presa y el despojo de los dos Reyes; *Emmanuel,* que Dios estava con ellos.) Y asi quando vos induxeren á consultar los Idolos y Oraculos que solo hablan sin concierto ni acierto, respondedles que cada uno recurra á su Dios, y como tal vosotros quereis consultar los Prophetas y Profesores de la santisima Ley. Esos Idolos y Oraculos responden á los que los consultan contra la verdad, y sin fundamento ni realidad; y quando el sequaz de esos Oraculos se ve aflicto y perseguido de su desventura, hambriento y sitibundo, mira acia los cielos, maldize su Dios por haverle engañado en su vaticinio, ó imputa su desgracia al mal govierno de su Rey; y por fin, se ve en adelante perseguido y acosado de su desdicha, en grande aprieto, en

tenebrosas y lobregas desgracias, sin luz de esperança para salir dellas. Asi sucedio á los hijos de Zebulon y Nephtaly en su primer captiverio; y aun el postrero fue peor, quando fueron captivos al Poniente por Tiglath-Pileser, Rey de Assiria.

En el Cap. ix. predize el Propheta que no sucederá lo mismo al Tribu de Jehuda, porque aunque se veria en la obscuridad del sitio, y en las tinieblas de la guerra que contra él moveria Sancherib, Rey de Assiria, tendria no obstante la luz de la salvacion, la claridad de la victoria que por el portentoso medio de su divina Providencia conseguiria; con lo qual se exaltaria la fama de la Nacion al summo grado de gloria y grandeza; que con indezible júbilo y contento alabarian y glorificarian al Eterno y Omnipotente Dios, en gracia de tan señalada y portentosa victoria, con tantas muestras de alegria como suele regocijarse el labrador quando recoge su cegada, ó como el soldado quando reparte la presa; que esta victoria no se conseguiria por vias naturales, y como sucede de ordinario con grandisimo estrago, riesgo y muerte de los vencedores; porque este summo y formidable exercito seria aniquilado y vencido por un efecto milagroso: que se pareceria esta victoria á la que consiguió Gedeon contra los Midianitas, con pocos soldados, sin muerte ni intervencion de los victoriosos; pues sucederia milagrosamente por medio del Angel, el qual destruiria el exercito enemigo con tal ímpetu qual suele quemar el fuego en la materia combustible. Que esto sucederia por meritos de aquel Niño (que ya havia nacido) en cuyos hombros el peso de la Monarchia dignamente reposaria; cuyo nombre le seria impuesto por aquel que era Maravilloso Consejero, Dios Fuerte, Padre de la Eternidad, llamandole Principe de la Paz; (ó si quiere el Señor Predicador) cuyo nombre le llamó Maravilloso, Consejero, Valiente, Fuerte, Padre del Siglo, Principe de la Paz); que dilataria el Imperio, que gozaria una perpetua paz, con la qual se estableceria el ya vacilante trono de David, cuyo fundamento seria la Justicia y la limosna para siempre; que el zelo del Señor de los exercitos havia permitido que esto sucediese. Prosigue, que haviendo Dios castigado la Nacion Israelitica para que, penitentes, volviesen de sus pecados, los Someronitas y toda la Nacion con sobervia y arrogancia dirian (confiados en la aliança del Rey de Aram) que havian de volver á su pristino estado y aun mejor que antes; pero que Dios les mostraria el poco fundamento de su aliança, excitando los enemigos de Retzin contra él, y exaltandolos para que lo vençan en batalla; y que despues haria que los mismos Aramitas de una parte, y los Philisteos de la otra atacasen y venciesen á Israel con grandisimo estrago suyo, sin por eso aplacarse la divina ira.

El nombre *El* en el Hebraico significa fuerte, y es atributo que indiferentemente se da á Dios, como se aplica á los hombres; y quando se aplica á estos no significa Deidad, mas si Fortaleza, Grandeza, ó Cargo de justicia; como *Ele Moab,* Valientes ó Principes de Moab; *Netatija Elohim, El Parho Fedi,* por Superior á Parho; *Asher Yarshihun Elohim,* lo que condenaron los Juezes. Con mucha propriedad pues se puede atribuir á Ezechias el titulo de *El Guidor,* queriendo significar por él, que seria Valiente, Heroe, un Gran Capitan. Confirmase esto en ver que la Santa Escriptura le celebra de valeroso; y esto de las palabras de *Hisquiau,* y toda su valentia, &c.

El de *Abi Had,* que el Predicador traslada "Patris Æternitatis," traslada B. Arias Montano en la Interlineal, á la margen, "Pater Seculi," Padre del Siglo; y es tan cierto que lo fué, que no hay mas que recurrir á las Sagradas Letras para quedar enterado dello.

Despues que se separaron los diez Tribus de los de Jehuda y Benjamin, los pios y devotos Reyes de Jehuda, como Assa, Jeosaphat, Jothan y otros, aunque solicitos procuraron restablecer el divino culto en su Reyno, abandonaron enteramente el de Israel, ó ya por parecerles imposible el restablecerlo por la contumacia de sus Reyes, ó por rezelo de que comunicando los Israelitas con los de Judea introduxesen en ella el infame culto de la idolatria. Pero el Padre del Siglo, el Padre Comun, tomando tanto cuidado de las distraidas ovejas que no estavan á su cargo como de las que pascian en su aprisco, escrivió cartas, despachó correos, envió proprios por todas las ciudades y lugares de Israel exhortando á los Israelitas á que volviesen á adorar el verdadero Dios, y dexasen los malditos Becerros; y con su maravilloso consejo se truxo á perfeccion esta grande obra, con que reconcilio á los distraidos Judios al verdadero culto. Consta esto del Libro ii. Paralip. cap. xxx. v. 1.

Envió tambien Ezechias por todo Israel y Judea, y escrivió cartas á Ephraim y Manasse que viniesen á Jerusalem á la casa de Ya para celebrar la Pascua á Ya Dios de Israel; y por aquel consejo maravilloso de trasladar la Pascua al mes segundo, como dize: 'Y el Rey tomó consejo con sus Principes y con toda la Congregacion en Jerusalem para hazer la Pascua en el mes segundo,' II Cron. cap. xxx. v. 2. dio lugar que todos juntos la celebrasen; y de que vinieron muchos de los Israelitas consta del mismo cap. xxx. v. 11. muchos varones de Asser, Manasse y Zabulon se humillaron y vinieron a Jerusalem. 'Y en v. 18. se lee.' Porque grande multitud de pueblo de Ephrain, y Ma-

nasse, Isachar y Zabulon no se havian purificado, y comieron la Pascua no conforme á lo que era escrito, Ezechias oró por ellos diciendo: "·A·, que es bueno, sea propicio á todo aquel que ha apercebido su coraçon para buscar á Dios." Vease pues si dignamente le competen los titulos de Padre del Siglo, de Maravilloso Consejero, al que tanto cuidado tuvo de que se reconciliasen con Dios.

Que fuese el Principe ó Arbitro de la Paz no hay duda; pues, quien seria aquel que en aquel siglo quiziese oponerse al todopoderoso Dios, que con tantos portentos se havia declarado protector de Ezechias? Pues ya le enviava un Angel por general de sus armadas; ya un Propheta por medico de sus enfermedades, mandando retroceder el Sol de su diario curso para confirmar con ese portento sus vaticinios; de que resultó que Berodac-Baladan Rey de Babilonia le mandase embaxadores para informarse del milagro, y para procurar su aliança.

De estos tres capitulos literalmente transladados y aplicados á las verdaderas personas de quienes tratan, consta que la señal que dió el Propheta á Achaz fue de que la Moza havia concebido; que pariria un hijo, el qual se llamaria Emmanuel. El suceso correspondió al vaticinio; se llegó el Propheta á la Moza que era su muger; tomó testigos á Uria y Zacharia; parió la Moza un hijo; llamose Emmanuel; y antes que llegase á los años de discrecion, se rompieron los designios de los dos Reyes confederados. Este es pues el sentido literal de esta prophecia, y el querer disputar contra esto, es oponerse á la verdad; y á los ojos de los que estudian la Santa Escriptura sin pasion ni prejuicio de la educacion, es darse por vencido y es mostrar la flaqueza de su argumento; pues este milagro ó esta señal se le dió á Achaz y á la casa de David para que se asegurasen de que los Reyes de Samaria y Aram no conseguirian su intento, y que quedarian frustrados sus intentos y designios. Como pues se les daria una señal que havia de suceder en cerca de 700 años despues dellos, para asegurarles de lo que havia de pasar de alli á dos ó tres años? Y como podia dezir el Propheta "Y sucederá que antes que sepa el Niño (de aqui á 700 años encirca) distinguir del bien el mal, la tierra que tu aborreces será dexada de sus dos Reyes." No son estos dos Reyes Retzin Rey de Aram, y Pekach Rey de Israel? No significa que ambos serian deshechos y vencidos en batalla, y que perderian sus reynos? Como pues para asegurarles de lo que havia de pasar en su vida, les da una señal que ha de suceder de alli á 700 años, y esto á un Rey incredulo é idolatra como Achaz? No seria eso exponer al Propheta Isaias (cap. vii. ver. 16.) á la derision del Rey y su corte? Si por cierto, y esto no lo ignoran los muy doctos de los Christianos que estudian esta prophecia desapasionadamente, pues acuerdan ser el que se ha expuesto, verdadero, literal y genuino sentido, y como tal lo confiesan Eusebio, Basilio, Geronimo, Cirilo, y Theodoreto entre los antiguos; y pocos de los doctos modernos hay que no acuerden en lo mismo, y aun confiesen que el sentido alegorico no es solo aplicable á Christo, mas que tambien se pudiera adaptar á qualquiera otro sin torcer ni forçar mucho el sentido; por donde consta que estos Doctores, digo doctos y sabios varones, conocen ser forçoso el sentido alegorico, y como tal no ser suficiente para obligar á los Judios á admitirlo. Van de acuerdo que la prophecia literalmente explicada es clara y manifiesta, sin embaraço ni obscuridad alguna; que se cumplió pocos años despues, como lo vaticinó el Propheta, al pie de la letra. No es asi quando ellos mismos quieren aplicarla á Christo por un sentido alegorico, porque está obscura, embaraçada, y aun impropria; y es necesario recurrir á la corrupcion de la Vulgata para poderla aplicar, y ni con todo eso basta. Pareceme que he puestó esta prophecia á buena luz, para que reconozcan los de mi nacion (que es el fin y escopo de esta Respuesta) la poca razon que acompaña al Padre Predicador de cantar la victoria sobre este paso; y que solo lo podia hazer entre los que ó la ignorancia no les dexava discernir la verdad, ó el miedo del castigo les impedia el publicarla.

Alega el Predicador para confirmar su hypothesis con el cap. xxiii. y el xxxiii. de Jeremias; trae los versos 5 y 6 del xxiii y los explica, aplicandolos al Messias, segun sus principios, diziendo que el Propheta dize que vendrá un Rey Justo, &c.: y que á este Rey llamarán "Deus Justus noster;" pero no hace mencion del cap. xxxiii. bastandole dezir implicitamente que de los versos destos dos capitulos consta patentemente que el Messias ha de ser Dios y hombre.

Que omitiese los versos 15 y 16 del cap. xxxiii. no me admira, porque asi hizo tambien en el § I. num. 6, que alega con el cap. xlii. de Isaias donde Dios amenaza á su pueblo con castigos y estragos, y omite el 43 inmediatamente siguiente, donde le anima y conforta con amor y cariño. Examinemos pues estos dos versos, que por esa via penetraremos la verdadera causa desa omision. Dizen pues, ver. 16. "In diebus illis salvabitur Juda, et Jerusalem habitabit confidenter, et hoc est nomen, vocabunt eum Dominus Justus noster."

No sé á quien refiere este "eum" masculino, quando el Hebraico dice *la* que es por nombre femenino, y no hay otro á quien refiera sino á la ciudad de Jerusalem; y siendo asi, como no hay duda, dize el verso que se llamará

Jerusalem, Dios es nuestra Justedad ó Justicia; este mismo nombre se aplica al Messias en el cap. xxiii; y dize el Predicador que en virtud de llamarse con ese nombre, es Dios y hombre. Digo yo tambien, que pues que Jerusalem tiene el mismo nombre, Jerusalem es Dios y ciudad. Lo mismo digo del altar eregido por el Patriarca Jacob en Sehen. Gen. cap. xxxiii. ver. 20. Lo mismo del edificado por Moyses por la victoria conseguida contra Amalek, que le llamó con el nombre quadriliteral "Dios es mi Pendon," Exod. cap. xvii. ver. 15. Lo mismo del altar de Gedeon que le llamó "Dios es Paz," Juezes, cap. vi. ver. 24. Lo mismo finalmente de Jerusalem, que dize el Propheta Ezechiel en el ultimo verso de su Libro, que Jerusalem se ha de llamar "Dios está alli."

Para concluir pues con este punto, sepa el Reverendo Padre Predicador que cada noche de Sabado y fiesta solemne se canta en la sinagoga aquel himno que él llama motete, y que verdaderamente es una confesion de los articulos de la ley que profesan los Judios. Entre estos el tercero es dezir: Que Dios no tiene semejança de cuerpo, y por consequencia no es hombre. Este articulo se deduce de diversas partes de la Biblia. Moyses dize hablando con el pueblo: "Y habló Dios á vos dentro del fuego; vos palabras viades, mas semejança no viades, sino es que la voz." Deut. iv. ver. 12. Y mas dize: "Y vos guardareis mucho por vuestras almas, que no visteis alguna semejança en el dia que vos habló Dios en Horeb dentro del fuego." Ibid. v. 15. Y prosigue encargando con mucha eficacia que no hagan figura de ningun genero de criatura. Balaam afirma, aunque Gentil, "Dios no es hombre para que mienta, ni hijo de hombre que se arrepienta." "Non est homo Deus ut mentiatur, et filius hominis ut pœniteat eum." Num. xxiii. ver. 19. El santo Propheta Samuel dize al Rey Saul: "Tambien la Fortaleza de Israel ni mentirá, ni se arrepentirá; porque no es hombre para arrepentirse." "Et etiam Fortitudo Israelis non mentietur, nec pœnitudine ducetur." 1 Sam. cap. xv. ver. 29. Ezechiel dize á Hiram Rey de Tiro, que se jactava de ser Dios: "Por ventura te atreverás á dezir delante de tu matador, Yo soy Dios? Entonces conocerás que eres hombre y no Dios en poder de tu homicida." "Nunquid dicendo Deus sum coram interfectore tuo? Tu autem homo es et non Deus in manu interfectoris tui." Ezechiel xxviii. ver. 9. Y finalmente dize Dios por boca de su Propheta: "No haré segun la ira de mi furor, no volveré á hacer daño á Ephraim, porque soy Dios y no hombre." "Non faciam secundum iram furoris mei, non revertar ad disperdendum Ephraim, quoniam Deus sum et non vir." Oseas xi. ver. 9.

Estas son las columnas donde se arrima ese importantisimo articulo de la incorporeidad de Dios, el qual si se negase por algun Judio, no se consideraria como herege, mas como renegado, perdiendo en la nacion el nombre y concepto de Judio. Considere pues si la nacion dexará de creer un articulo tan claro y reiterado por tantos Prophetas para seguir la explicacion contestada del Padre Predicador. Con esto queda vindicado el honor del sapientisimo Rabbi Salomon, y purgado de la execrable calumnia de haver falsificado las palabras de los Prophetas, provandose por esta noticia que como theologo Judio no podia creer ni imaginar que en el cap. ix. de Isaias, ni en el xxiii. y xxxiii. de Jeremias se dize que el Messias ha de ser hombre y Dios. Lo mismo digo por el grande Rabbino Abenezra; lo mismo por Jonathan hijo de Huziel; lo mismo finalmente por qualquiera hijo de Israel, por necio, por idiota, ó por ignorante que sea.

Mas todavia me queda que admirar como el Predicador que quiere hazer dezir á Jonathan hijo de Huziel sobre el ver. 5. cap. ix. de Isaias, "Infans natus est nobis," que el Messias es Dios, no se vale de su autoridad y proteccion en los cap. xxiii. y xxxiii. de Jeremias. Como no se vale mas que del texto Hebraico, sin hazer mencion de la Paraphrasis Caldaica? Como emplea sus razones en calumniar otra vez al tan innocente como perseguido Rabbi Salomon, acriminandole que en el cap. ix. de Isaias falsificó el texto, afirmando que el verso dezia "Y este es su nombre que llamarán, [no que lo llamará como dize el Hebraico,] que fue adulterado por Rabbi Salomon? Como cita el texto del cap. xxiii. ver. 6. Jeremias, donde dize el Propheta, segun él, que el Messias es Dios; y no cita el del xxxiii. ver. 16, donde dize lo proprio de la ciudad de Jerusalem? Qué me responderá? Que el no pretende que la ciudad de Jerusalem sea Dios. Muy bien, siendo asi, para qué forma un axioma general donde afirma que el nombre *Tetragramaton* no se aplica sino á Dios, hallandolo aplicado á cosas insensibles como son altares y ciudades? Es fuerza, pues, segun su axioma, que todas estas cosas sean Dios. Procurará resolver mi dificultad diziendo, que el hombre, como el mas noble entre todas las criaturas, era solo capaz y digno de unirse con la Divinidad? Isaias, cap. vii. ver. 14. A eso se responde, que Dios dize por boca de su Propheta Oseas, cap. xi. v. 9. "Yo soy Dios, y no hombre." *Et hoc sufficit.*

25 y 26. Dize que los Rabbinos explican la prophecia del cap. ix. de Isaias por Ezechias, y la de los cap. xxiii. y xxxiii. de Jeremias por David, ó por Zorobabel. Por lo que toca á lo de Isaias es verdad lo que dize el Predicador, que los Rabbinos lo aplican á Ezechias, y yo con ellos como se puede ver por la explicacion de la

prophecia *ut supra*. Y vease que los primeros versos del cap. ix. no hablan de otra cosa que del milagroso triunfo que consiguió Israel contra Sancherib; y de esta manera se combina la segunda parte del capitulo con la primera, y no hay necesidad de explicarlo por el Messias, haviendo muchos pasages en toda la Biblia que hablan dél. Los dos capitulos de Jeremias, no sé que haya algun Rabbino que no los entienda por el Messias.

Este Predicador emplea su tiempo en afirmar que Rabbi Salomon falsificó los textos, y en ridiculizar lo que dizen los Rabbinos, exagerando la grandeza del nombrado Jonathan, porque pasando una mosca sobre su escritura se quemava. Si el Predicador supiera que el estilo Rabbinico es muchas vezes alegorico, penetraria que lo que quieren entender por esto es dezir, que este grande hombre era tan aplicado y atento á la meditacion de la Ley, que si estando en esto se le representava qualquiera idea mundana, luego se disipava y desvanecia.

27. Mucho forcejea el Padre Predicador para provar que el paso del cap. ix. de Isaias habla del Messias, y para eso alega con una esquadra de Rabbinos antiguos y modernos que lo afirman; el que huviere examinado sin parcialidad nuestra exposicion atras, reconocerá quan mal fundado va el Predicador en lo que pretende provar, pero sea asi, concedasele; quiero ser tan generoso que quiero obligar á todo Israel que se lo concedan. Pero el punto principal, que es *summa rerum*, es saber, si el Messias ha de ser Dios.

§ VI.

33. Dize que los Rabbinos hallandose embaraçados por las dificultades propuestas por él, no hallaron otro medio de desempeño que el viciar el texto. No tenian necesidad de viciarle, puesto que el articulo precitado, no permite á ningun Judio creer que Dios pueda ser hombre.

34 hasta 39. Estos paragraphos quedan respondidos con el precitado articulo. Acordamos que el cap. xxiii. de Jeremias habla del Messias, mas no que diga ni se infiera de sus palabras que el Messias es Dios.

41. Dos Rabbinos nombra en este paragrapho, Rabbi Osseas el primero, y Rabbi Semiam Bem Jochay el segundo. El Rabbi Osseas jamas pareció *in rerum natura*, pues no huvo Rabbino de tal nombre. El otro que él afirma haver florecido muchos años antes de Christo, no floreció sino mas de cien años despues; y en ninguno de los libros atribuidos á él se halla lo que dize el Predicador; y si acaso se hallara en algun libro que no ha venido á nuestras manos (lo que absolutamente se niega) entonces se condenará el tal Rabbino por renegado, y su doctrina no tiene fuerça ninguna.

42. Lo mismo respondo sobre este paragrapho diziendo que quien cree ó escrive que el Messias deve ser hombre y Dios, no es Judio; que quiere dezir, no profesa la Ley de Moyses; por donde su doctrina como tengo dicho, no puede persuadir á Judios. En el fin del mismo paragrapho vuelve á repetir lo que dixo en el numero 6, alegando con el verso 22 del cap. xlii. de Isaias: "Ipse autem populus direptus et vastatus," &c. Ademas de lo que tengo respondido allá, remito el Lector al cap. xliii. el qual desvanece todo lo que tiene dicho el Predicador, diziendo claramente que Israel es de Dios, y que tiene redempcion, como queda dicho. *Et hoc sufficit pro præsenti lectione.*

§ IX.

43 y 44. Jactase con mucha confiança de haver convencido á los Judios con el verso 10 del cap. xlix. Genesis: "Non auferetur sceptrum a Juda, nec scriba de femore ejus, donec veniat Silo vel qui mittendus est, et ipsi aggregatio populorum." Sepa el Padre Predicador que muy engañado está en la inteligencia desta prophecia: deve considerar pues, que el nombre de Judá representa quatro sugetos muy diferentes, ó tiene quatro acceptaciones, como se dize en las escuelas. 1°. Tomase por Judá, hijo de Jacob como en el verso 8 de este mismo cap. xlix. donde dize, "Judá, á ti te alabarán ó te cederan tus hermanos." 2°. Tomase por el tribu de Judá solo, como en el verso 10 del precitado capitulo, donde dize, "No se tirará el ceptro de Judá." 3°. Tomase tambien por los tribus Judá y Benjamin, despues de la division de los diez tribus, asi todos los Reyes que reinaron sobre los dos tribus se llamaron Reyes de Judá, comprehendiendo implicitamente el tribu de Benjamin. 4°. Tomase finalmente por los doze tribus que forman el cuerpo de todo Israel, como en el cap. xxxiii. de Jeremias, verso 16, donde hablando del Messias dize, "En aquellos dias será salvo Judá, y Jerusalem estará en sosiego;" donde el nombre de Judá aqui comprehende todo el pueblo Israelitico.

Asentado pues este incontestable principio, es fuerça tomar el nombre de Judá en el verso 10 donde dize, que no se quitará el ceptro de Judá, por el tribu, no por la persona ni por el universal de la nacion: por la persona no,

porque no devemos presumir que el Patriarca entendiese que su hijo Judá huviese de vivir y reynar hasta que viniese el Messias, y que la inteligencia del verso 10 es: No faltará el ceptro de la persona de Judá hasta que venga el Messias; no por el universal de la nacion, porque bendiciendo Jacob sus hijos uno por uno como particular, es fuerça que á Judá tambien le bendixese como tal; con que en las palabras, "Non auferetur sceptrum a Juda," promete el Padre que el ceptro permanecerá en su tribu sin pasar jamas á ninguno de los onze hermanos. Segun esto no puede argüir el Predicador contra los Judios que faltó el ceptro en la nacion quando nació Christo que fue el Messias segun su opinion, porque el ceptro de Judá havia faltado muchos años antes en el Rey Zedechias, sin volver mas á Judá; y siendo asi como en efecto es, siguese irrefragablemente, ó que la prophecia es falsa, ó que no está bien explicada. Para evitar pues estas dificultades devese advertir, que entendiendose esta prophecia literalmente como es razon que se entienda, se reconocerá que no habla una sola palabra del Messias, ni excede el tiempo de la division del reyno de Israel y Judá; ni tampoco trata de los tribus como miembros del cuerpo de la nacion, sino es una vez, y esta por accidente indirectamente.

Que no trate del Messias pruevase; porque haviendo el santo Patriarca convocado á sus hijos, y ofreciendose á manifestarles lo que les havia de suceder en el fin de los dias, Gen. xlix. ver. 1. parece intentava manifestarles algo del Messias, entendiendose siempre por este termino "El fin de los dias," por el tiempo del Messias como consta del verso 2. cap. ii. de Isaias, donde descriviendo el Propheta la summa felicidad de aquel tiempo dize; "Y será en fin de los dias, será el monte de la Casa de Dios en la cumbre de los montes," &c. Esta prophecia misma hallase confirmada en Micheas cap. iv. ver. 1. con los mismos terminos, con las mismas palabras, "Y será en fin de los dias." Del mismo termino usa el Propheta Jeremias, descriviendo la felicidad de Israel en tiempo del Messias en el verso 24 del cap. xxx. Del mismo el Propheta Ezechiel en el cap. xxxviii. ver. 16.

Usando pues el santo Patriarca deste mismo termino 'parece' que intentava tratar del Messias como queda dicho; pero llegando á examinar lo que dixo en aquella ocasion, no se halla que hablase del Messias, ni del Pueblo de Israel en universal. Esto patentemente consta por lo que dixo á sus hijos, pues á Ruben no hizo mas que reprehenderlo por lo que havia hecho con Billá; á Simeon y Levi por haverse arrojado contra Sechem por Diná; (á Judá lo veremos adelante) á Zabulon prophetizó que la porcion de su tierra havia de ser maritima; á Asser que su tierra havia de ser fertil y regalada; y finalmente no se habla del Messias.

Es verdad que todos los comentadores Christianos, y muchos de los Judios explican "non auferetur sceptrum a Juda," no faltará el ceptro de Judá, &c. alegoricamente por el Messias, pero los Literalistas Hebreos no lo entienden sino por la division del reyno de Israel del de Judá, explicando la prophecia desta manera.

A ti Judá, te alabarán, ó te cederán tus hermanos, porque eres intrepido como el leon, y asi todos te conceden la superioridad. El ceptro que poseerás sobre toda la nacion permanecerá indivisible hasta que venga el Silonita el qual apartará los diez tribus de los dos, y entonces á él, á saber á Judá, le quedará agregacion de algunos pueblos, que son los dos tribus de Judá y Benjamin, todos los Sacerdotes y Levitas que estavan derramados por todo Israel, que dexaron sus arrabales y posesiones recogiendose en Jerusalem; como tambien muchos devotos Israelitas, que á imitacion de los Sacerdotes y Levitas fixaron su habitacion en la provincia de Judea, para no dexar el santo y divino culto profesado por sus pios y devotos padres.

Que este sea el genuino y literal sentido de la prophecia de Judá, no hay que dudar por muchas razones que apoyan esta explicacion; y por muchas irrefragables objeciones que nacen contra los que la explican alegoricamente, como se irá mostrando.

La primera objeccion es, que los alegorisantes quieren por modo de extorsion torturar el nombre de *Siloh*, y hacer que diga Messias, quando se halla ser una ciudad famosa en Tierra Santa por haver reposado en ella el arca de Dios 369 años, colocada alli por Josué, como consta del verso 1 del cap. xviii. de su Libro, en el cual es nombrada 7 vezes; en el de los Juezes 6; en el Libro I. de Samuel 8; en el I. de los Reyes 2; en Jeremias 4; en los Psalmos 1; que son 28 vezes que se llama, digo que se halla nombrada en la Biblia. El Propheta Ahiá Silohnita hallase nombrado en el I. Reyes, cap. xi. xii. y xiv. constando pues tan patente y literalmente lo que era Siloh, y el Propheta Ahiá natural desa ciudad, no sé quien obliga á los alegorisantes á convertir el nombre de una ciudad tan conocida en otros tan remotos de su genuina significacion.

La segunda objeccion que parece indisoluble, milita contra Jonathan hijo de Huziel, y Anquelos, por haver armado una alegoria sobre un principio no solo contestado, mas aun negado por la experiencia, afirmando que no faltaria el ceptro de Judá hasta que venga el Messias, viendo ellos que havia faltado en la captividad Babilonica;

que despues de restablecidos en Judea despues de haver vivido sugetos á Persianos y Griegos, sacudido y quebrado el duro y pesado yugo de los ultimos, alcançaron Reyes del tribu de Levy, no del de Juda, y extinguidos estos tuvieron á Herodes y sus descendientes por Reyes hasta casi el fin del segundo Templo, donde se terminó del todo el ceptro ó reliquia del dominio en la nacion, hasta el presente tiempo.

Para resolver pues esta fuerte objeccion es menester suponer primero, que dos famosos sabios como estos no se huvieran arrojado á forjar una alegoria tan contraria al sentido literal; de forma que si lo que representa la alegoria es verdadero, lo que dize el Patriarca es falso, como consta por lo alegado. Es fuerza pues explicar la alegoria de forma que no solamente no contradiga la prophecia, mas que se halle por lo menos significada en ella.

Los sabios, Judios y Christianos, prefieren siempre el sentido literal al alegorico. Los Rabbinos dizen claramente en el tratado de Sabat cap. v. que el texto sagrado jamas puede salir de su literal; y Cornelio Alapide en sus Canones sobre el Pentateuco, Can. 40, dize: "In sensu literali omnis sententia omniaque verba debent explicari et accommodari rei significatæ; id autem non est necesse in sensu alegorico." Supuesto esto hallase que segun la Paraphrasis de Jonathan y Anquelos, el sentido literal de la prophecia del santo Patriarca queda contrario é incompatible con el sentido alegorico, porque segun este, desde que el Rey David empuñó el ceptro, no devia jamas haver faltado el imperio de la casa de David, que es lo mismo que dezir del tribu de Juda; *sed sic est* que faltó desde Zedecias, ultimo Rey en la destruccion de Jerusalem, sin volver jamas á aquel tribu como se vió en la segunda casa; ergo segun la alegoria destos dos sabios seria fuerça dezir, ó que la prophecia del Patriarca era falsa (lo qual fuera detestable heregia y horrible blasphemia) ó que los dos alegorisantes no supieron adaptar la alegoria á lo literal, lo qual fuera paradoxo, constandonos por muchos pasages de la Biblia, que parecen impenetrables, de la ciencia de estos dos, digo y de suficiencia de estos dos eminentisimos sabios.

Ratificase mayormente la dificultad por ver que despues de la destruccion del segundo Templo hasta el presente siglo, ha faltado el ceptro en Israel. Como pues se puede jamas conciliar la alegoria con la prophecia? Como se atreve la alegoria á afirmar que jamas faltará el ceptro de Judá, quando el vaticinio ni tal promete, ni tal indica?

Para resolver pues esta formidable dificultad juzgo no haver otro medio que distinguir entre *posesion* y *jurisdiccion*, y explicando, segun los alegorisantes, que el Patriarca habló de la jurisdiccion, no de la posesion; el sentido de la prophecia es el que ahora explicaré.

Judá, (dize el santo Patriarca) tus hermanos te ceden la preferencia; los de tu Padre se te humillan porque eres intrepido y valeroso como un leon; si alguna vez pues, Judá se hallare sin corona, y el ceptro pasare á otro tribu, le asegura el Patriarca que no tiene que rezelar, y que lo que perdió fue la posesion por un tiempo limitado, haviendo quedado la jurisdiccion siempre intacta, y reservada para gozarla con la posesion perpetua en la persona del futuro Messias. Pero como la mayor parte de los comentadores, prevenidos de sus alegorias, juzgan que el vaticinio, *non auferetur sceptrum a Juda*, asegura á este tribu un imperio continuo sin interrupcion hasta la venida del Messias, hallo ser necesario desvanecer esta opinion provando por diversos pasages y vaticinios de la Sagrada Biblia, que Dios tiene amenaçado muchas vezes á su incorregible Pueblo con la caida de su corona, y con la destruccion de su reyno.

En el cap. xxvi. ver. 33. del Levitico dize Dios: "Vos esparciré en las gentes, desvainaré detras de vos la espada, y será vuestra tierra desolacion, y vuestra ciudad será destruccion." Aqui vemos dispersion, desolacion de la tierra, y destruccion de las ciudades, cosas *inconsistentes* con corona y ceptro. En el cap. iv. ver. 27. del Deuteronomio dize: "Y esparcirá el Señor á vos en los pueblos, y quedareis pocos hombres en numero, en las gentes que guiará el Señor á vos alli." En el cap. xxviii. ver. 36. del mismo Libro dize Moyses: "Y llevará el Señor á ti y á tu Rey que levantares sobre ti, á gentes que no conociste ni tu ni tus padres."

Por estos textos del Pentateuco claramente consta la destruccion total del reyno, y la total dispersion de la nacion. No sé pues donde reside esta *jactada* certidumbre de la perpetuidad del reyno de Judá hasta el Messias. Sé que me replicarán que esta promesa parece patente y clara en el cap. vii. ver. 15 y 16. II. Samuel, donde Dios dize á David, hablando por su hijo Salomon: "Y mi merced no se quitará dél como la quité de Saul, que quité delante de ti. Asi tu casa será asegurada juntamente con tu reyno para siempre delante de ti, y tu silla será compuesta para siempre." En el cap. ix. ver. 3. hasta 11 inclusive, I. de los Reyes, en una vision que tuvo Salomon despues de haver dedicado el Templo dizele Dios, que havia admitido su dedicacion, y que su nombre, sus ojos y su coraçon asistirian en aquella casa perpetuamente; y que si él siguiere los vestigios de David su padre, sirviendolo con coraçon perfecto

y recto, observando sus preceptos que continuaria su trono perpetuo sobre Israel como havia dicho á su Padre David: "No será tajado á ti varon de sobre la silla de Israel; pero si vos volviereis vos y vuestros hijos de mi, y no observareis mis preceptos, y sirviereis y vos humillareis á los ídolos, tajaré á Israel de la tierra que les di; y á la casa que santifiqué para mi nombre quitaré de mi presencia, y servirá á Israel de exemplo y de escarnio en todos los pueblos; y esta casa que era tan sublime, viendola el que pasare por ella se admirará y silvará, y dirá por que hizo el Señor asi á esta tierra y á esta casa? y le diran, porque dexaron al Señor su Dios que sacó a sus Padres de tierra de Egipto, y se pegaron con otros Dioses, y se humillaron á ellos, y los sirvieron, y por esto truxo Dios sobre ellos todo este mal."

Esta revelacion y promesa explica la que Dios havia hecho á David, por la qual incontestablemente consta que la grandeza, la felicidad, y la prosperidad del reyno que Dios prometió á David y Salomon fue condicional no absoluta.

Aunque *secundum allegata et probata* queda firmemente establecida mi hypotesis que sostiene no haver Dios jamas prometido al Patriarca Jacob, ni al Rey David, ni al Rey Salomon su hijo la perpetuidad de la corona, sino es despues del Messias; quiero para concluir totalmente este articulo, y corroborarlo de forma que quede inexpugnable é incontrastable, mostrar que no solamente no huvo tal promesa jamas, mas al opuesto Dios mostró á David la profanacion del Templo, la destruccion de Jerusalem, y el excesivo estrago del pueblo. Esto todo llora David con amargas y sensibles lagrimas en el Psalmo lxxix. donde dize: "Señor, entraron los Gentiles en tu heredad, inmundaron el Templo, reduxeron á Jerusalem en ruinosos montes, expusieron los cadaveres de tus siervos por alimento á las aves del cielo, y las carnes de tus pios á los animales de la tierra, derramaron su sangre como agua en los contornos de Jerusalem sin haver quien los entierre." Todo el resto del Psalmo se emplea en deplorar las miserias de la nacion.

Este Psalmo fue compuesto y dedicado por Asaph el Levita, uno de los musicos de la Casa Santa, al Rey David, ó fue compuesto por el mismo David y dedicado á Asaph su contemporaneo como consta del cap. xxv. del I. Paralipomenos: y como todos los Psalmos fueron divinamente inspirados, es fuerça dezir, que Dios quizo mostrar á David la ruina de Jerusalem. Ni puede valer el dezir que David habla de su tiempo, deplorando alguna perdida de batalla, cuyas consequencias son las desdichas que representa el Psalmista; no vale digo este frivolo subterfugio, constandonos que David no tuvo batalla que no fuese triunfo, y es cierto è infalible que jamas en su tiempo entraron Gentiles en Jerusalem, ni inmundaron la santa ciudad, digo el Templo; ni derrocaron la santa ciudad, ni huvo el estrago que descrive en el Psalmo; ergo ella fue una revelacion prophetica á David ó á Asaph: por donde nos consta que David sabia que la promesa de Dios para la perpetuidad del reyno en su familia era condicional y no absoluta.

Para tapar totalmente la boca á la critica y que no tenga lugar de censurar, basta leer el Psalmo cxxxii. ver. 11. y 12. donde dize: "Juró el Señor á David con verdad irrevocable diziendole: fruto de tu vientre pondré sobre tu trono. Si guardaren tus hijos mi pacto, y este testamento mio que les tengo enseñado, tambien sus hijos *in perpetuum* se sentarán en tu trono." Por estos versos consta que David mismo confiesa que la perpetuidad del reyno en su familia, para antes de la venida del Messias, era condicional y no absoluta.

Pudiera tambien alegar con el Psalmo cxxxvii. donde representa el pueblo cautivo en Babilonia; pero como este Psalmo no tiene titulo, y hay algunos que suponen haver sido compuesto en Babilonia, por algun sentido devoto (aunque mi opinion no es esa) no lo cité, porque con lo alegado, tengo establecida mi hypotesis con inconcussibles fundamentos.

45 á 52. Para provar su asumpto alega con la estatua del sueño de Nabuco explicando los tres primeros metales, oro, plata, y cobre, por las tres monarchias de Caldeos, Persas, y Griegos; la quarta de hierro la aplica á los Romanos, atribuyendo el barro al reyno de los Judios, el qual estaba mezclado con el hierro pero no unido; mezclado con Roma digo, por la aliança que havia entre los Romanos y los Judios, por cuya causa eran obligados los Romanos en ocasion de guerra á socorrerlos y defenderlos; sigue diziendo que la piedra sin manos que derribó la estatua y la reduxo en polvo, desmenuzó y disipó el barro, junto con los quatro metales.

Pregunto pues al Señor Arçobispo, que supuesto que Israel haya quedado disipado y aniquilado, qué necesidad havia del Messias? Para quien havia de venir? Quien havia de gozar las grandezas y felicidades prometidas para el tiempo de ese incomparable monarca? Como se cumplirá la prophecia del cap. xxiii. ver. 5. de Jeremias que pregona: "Vendrán dias, dice el Señor, y levantaré á David un pimpollo justo, y reynará Rey, y prosperará, y hará justicia y limosna en la tierra. En sus dias será salvo Juda, é Israel habitará con sosiego." Lo mismo confirma

en el cap. xxxiii. ver. 15 y 16, diziendo en el verso 17: "Asi dize el Señor, no será tajado á David varon sentado sobre el trono de la casa de Israel." Si Israel, pues, quedó destruido en el barro del coloso, segun la hypotesis del Señor Arçobispo, sobre quien ha de reynar este tan justo y caritativo Rey? Quales serán los pueblos que gozarán de su dulce dominio? Qual será la nacion que merecerá alcançar los favores de su patrocinio?

Terrible cosa es pretender persuadir con algunas alegorias mal deducidas, mal explicadas, y mal aplicadas; y particularmente á una nacion *que no se sabe apartar del sentido literal*, y con razon y justicia, siendo lo literal Palabra de Dios, pura, limpia, inalterable, inviolable, é inconcusible; quando la alegoria no es mas que una idea humana, fragil, tal vez erronea, tal vez posible, tal vez imposible. Ademas de las incontestables pruevas alegadas del Propheta Jeremias, pudiera aducir immenso numero de otras de todos los Prophetas; pero me reduzco solamente á confutar la falsa proposicion que presume insinuar el Predicador, que el barro de la Estatua significa Israel; convenciendolo con la palabra del Propheta Daniel, en el verso 44. del cap. ii. "Porro tempore Regum istorum suscitabit Deus cœli regnum quod in æternum non corrumpitur, et regnum istud populo alteri non relinquetur: comminuet et consumet omnia ista regna, et ipsum stabit in æternum." Mas en los dias de estos Reyes, el Dios del cielo levantará un reyno que eternamente no se corromperá; y este reyno no será dexado á otro pueblo: desmenuzará y consumirá todos estos reynos, y él permanecerá para siempre. Los dedos de los pies, parte de hierro y parte de tiesto, indica que parte del reyno será fuerte, y parte será quebrantada. No dize pues que son dos reynos, como supone el Predicador, mas solo que es un reyno, que parte dél será fuerte, y otra fragil; *ergo* no puede afirmar que el barro es un quinto reyno que significa la corona de los Judios.

§ X.

48. Prosigue muy confiado que el Propheta vaticina, que la venida del Messias havia de ser quando el imperio Romano estuviera aun mezclado con los Judios, y que viniendo havia de destruir en los Judios el barro de su reyno, y en los Romanos el hierro de su imperio, porque de las ruinas destos dos dominios se havia de levantar el reyno del Messias, el qual havia de ser eterno y extendido por todo el mundo. De aqui arguye con un dilemma á los Judios, á su parecer indisoluble, diziendo: El imperio Romano ya hoy no está mezclado con el reyno de los Judios, ni el reyno de los Judios mezclado con aquel imperio, porque estas dos potencias están destruidas; el reyno de Christo esta dilatado por todo el mundo (sigue diziendo); luego implica que el Messias haya de venir despues desta destruccion, porque la destruccion se havia de seguir á la venida.

Como el Predicador juzga su dilemma por formidable se persuade, que los Judios quedan convencidos y confutados sin tener que replicar; pero no considera lo que se ha dicho y provado arriba, que en todo aquel coloso no havia materia alguna que significase Judios. Esto consta por lo alegado y provado; veis aqui pues toda la chimerica machina del dilemma del Predicador tan caida, tan derribada, y tan disuelta en menudo polvo como la estatua de Nabuco.

Para ratificar pues esta irrefragable verdad, basta leer el principio del cap. vii. de Daniel, donde representa la vision que tuvo de las quatro monarchias que Nabuco havia visto de quatro metales, oro, plata, cobre, hierro, baxo quatro feroces animales, leon, oso, tigre, y otro cuya figura no descrive en otra forma que en lo monstruoso, horrible, y mas que formidable de su forma y aspecto.

Si esta vision pues de Daniel fue la misma que la de Nabuco, con esta sola diferencia, que lo que para aquel fueron metales, para este fueron animales, siguese que asi como en Daniel no se cuenta mas que quatro animales representantes de las quatro monarchias, asi en la de Nabuco tambien el numero ha de ser quaternario. Pero yo me persuado que aunque el Padre Predicador afirma en su sermon que el barro de la estatua representa la ruina de los Judios, que lo asegura como Predicador, pero que no lo cree como Arçobispo. Quomodocumque sit, lo mismo que vio Daniel es lo que havia visto Nabuco.

Entender de convencer á los Judios con alegorias es lo mismo que detener el agua en un cribo, *porque la nacion Hebrea jamas se aparta del sentido literal de las Escripturas*, considerando con razon que el sentido literal es la verdadera Palabra de Dios, pura, sincera, inviolable è infalible; quando la alegoria no es mas que una conjectura, una idea, una presumpcion, una chimera fabricada en la oficina de la imbecilidad del limitado humano entendimiento. Este Predicador explica, segun los principios que le parecen convenientes á su proposito, los metales de la estatua de Nabuco, y representa el imperio Romano como destruido ya, lo qual es falible y no puede sustentar.

Para comprender esta verdad bien notese, que los Persas que conquistaron la monarchia Babilonica, la destruyeron y la aniquilaron de forma que quedó extra rerum naturam, como consta de las sagradas prophecias y por las historias de aquel tiempo, por donde quedó la estatua sin cabeça de oro. La monarchia de los Persas fue desmonada y deshecha por los Griegos. La de los Griegos por los Romanos; allá van tres metales; no queda mas que el hierro con el tiesto; este significa el imperio Romano el qual subsiste y permanece. Es verdad que no con tanta extension ni dilatada jurisdiccion, como en los tiempos antecedentes, pero no se puede negar que no sea el mismo imperio Romano aunque cerrado entre muy cortos terminos, pues el Emperador de Alemania, se intitula antes de ser declarado Emperador en vida de su padre, "Rey de Romanos," y despues de Emperador goza los mismos titulos y dignidades que gozavan sus Antecesores, llamandole Cesar y Augusto, y cediendole como tal, todos Reyes y Principes de la Europa la preferencia sin controversia de oposicion. Si los pies de hierro que representan el imperio Romano subsisten es incompatible con que la Piedra llene la tierra con su bulto, porque el Propheta dize: que despues de haver la piedra desmenuzado todos los metales, se convirtió en un immenso monte que llenava toda la tierra: en quanto subsiste pues el quarto metal, no puede haber piedra, porque no pueden existir juntos; sed sic est que el metal existe; ergo no ha parecido todavia la piedra; ergo que el Messias no vino.

Para corroborar su sistema que el Messias ha venido, alega con un Rabbino del Talmud, que dize, que la letra ם Mem cerrada en medio de la palabra *lemerbe*, Isaias, cap. iii. ver. 6, que significa seiscientos, y que tantos años pasaron desde la promulgacion desta prophecia hasta la muerte de Christo; y que los Rabbinos afirmavan, que pasados estos seiscientos años, havia de venir el Messias infaliblemente. Advierta el Padre Predicador que el Rabbino que explicó asi la prophecia de la ם Mem cerrada floreció cerca de ducientos años despues de Christo. Haviendo pues él visto, que á los seiscientos havia venido el Messias (segun dize el Predicador) cómo no renunció la Ley Mosaica para profesar la Ley Christiana? Me responderá que por tema y por obstinacion. Adequada respuesta, digna de un hombre discreto y de letras!

Para derribar pues estas chimericas montañas, allanar y dilucidar este articulo representado como formidable é inaccesible del Predicador, sepa su Paternidad que los Judios no se apartan una jota del sentido literal*, ni admiten

* We have here the declaration of a learned Jew that the Rabbis never depart an iota from the literal interpretation of the text of Scripture; and hence (openly be it asserted without fear of contradiction) the Bible has caused the Jews to believe for nearly two thousand years in the greatest absurdities. It would, perhaps, have been happy for mankind, if they had never understood the sacred text in a depraved moral and practical sense, as well as in an absurd theoretical one. We shall instance from the first two or three chapters of Genesis some of the many errors into which too close an adherence to the literal text of Scripture has led them; and first with respect to Adam, his stature and likeness, his form. The contemporaneous creation of his first wife, whom they supposed refused obedience to him, imagining herself his equal, and the after formation of his second wife Eve from his rib, have furnished matter for the most ludicrous controversies amongst the Rabbis, who professed to ground their inferences upon the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses of the first chapter of Genesis, and the twenty-first and twenty-second verses of the second chapter; in which latter chapter they contend that the creation of a second wife for Adam is unequivocally declared. It may be proper to observe that they assert that the name of Adam's first wife was Lelah, and of this woman the more superstitious amongst them entertain an extraordinary dread; believing that when she forsook Adam she became a witch or evil spirit, who was greatly disposed to injure children in the cradle; hence "Lelah begone," is a deprecatory phrase which the Jews pronounce over a new-born infant. It is probable that Lelah was known to the Mexicans under the name of Cioapipilti, and not impossible that she became in after ages the less formidable Queen Mab of Christians. The sixth chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras will show the theory to which the ninth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, relating to the gathering together of the waters and the appearance of dry land, gave rise in later ages amongst the Jews; where mention is made also of the Enoch or Behemoth, and the Leviathan; the latter of which they believed would be slain by the Messiah and eaten at a feast to which they alone would be invited. We are not certain whether some of the Talmudical writers do not add fictions of their own to the Mosaic account of the creation of light, although the first chapter of Genesis says no more than that light was created on the first day, three days before the creation of the sun, the moon, and the stars. It is singular that the Mexicans should likewise have believed that the existence of light was previous to that of the sun, and it furnishes strong grounds for supposing that the Jews had communicated to them this peculiar tenet. Although heat be so grand an agent in the machinery of nature, its creation is no where mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis; but it may be inferred,—since plants cannot vegetate or their seed ripen without heat, and they were created on the third day,—that its existence was also independent of the sun. The Jews, though great astrologers, have always been wretched astronomers, which might likewise have been caused by their too literal interpretation of the text of Scripture; since the fourteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis possibly induced them to believe that the stars were minor luminaries, merely created for the purpose of giving light to the earth; although such an hypothesis at once divests astronomy of all its sublimity, whilst the phrase in the same verse, "*and let them be for signs*," might have been understood by them to refer to *judicial astrology*, a study to which they have in all ages been addicted. The existence of the Terrestrial Paradise is also another article of Jewish faith, grounded upon the literal sense in which they understand the twenty-fourth verse of the third chapter of Genesis; although they would be at a loss for an answer if a reason were demanded of them, why the cherubim and the flaming sword were placed to guard against man's access to a spot, the site of which he never would be able to discover. It is contrary to all received doctrine to suppose, since Scripture is silent on the subject, that there were two creations of animals; the first, granivorous and herbivorous, which inhabited Paradise; the second, carnivorous, which was created after the fall of man: and yet, what must the logician think, who knows that modifications in form constitute diversity in species, and the anatomist, who is

ni jamas convierten el literal en alegorico ; y ocurriendo algun paso que precisamente se conoce ser alegorico, procuran reducirlo al mas proximo sentido literal que se pueda adaptar. Sepa tambien que el Talmud se compone de canones, dogmas, y methodos para lo ritual ; y naciendo entre los Rabbinos alguna controversia sobre algun punto, despues de haverlo bien ventilado y agitado, se resuelve y se decide segun la opinion que parece mas real y mas adequada ; esa decision se guarda y se sigue entre Judios, como si fuera la misma Ley escrita infalible é inviolablemente.

Es cierto tambien que el mismo Talmud contiene un immenso numero de alegorias sobre toda la Biblia, donde nacen tal vez qüestiones que se agitan y ventilan como las otras, pero jamas se determinan ni jamas se deciden ; y sirven solamente para sacar conceptos morales para el pueblo, que bien sacados y bien aplicados en los sermones, suelen producir muy buenos efectos en el auditorio. Llegandonos pues á nuestro punto, determino comunicar mi conjectura sobre la ם cerrada en medio de la diccion, que el Rabbino Talmudista quiere explicar, segun dize el Predicador, por el valor del numero, no por la fuerça de la figura ; quando yo la explicaré verosimilmente por la figura de forma que se combine bien con las circunstancias de aquel tiempo.

Digo pues, que haviendo Dios prometido al pio y devoto Rey Ezechias una paz firme y solida, y una tranquilidad perpetua sin intermision no se contentó hazerlo con palabras solamente, mas tambien poniendo la ם como queda dicho, en la mitad de la palabra, que es un perfecto quadrado, cerrado de todas partes, y viene a ser un gerogliphico para el Rey, indicandole que asi como aquel quadrado es cerrado de todas partes, de forma que nadie lo puede entrar ni quebrar, asi la paz que gozaria no seria intermitida ni quebrada por toda su vida, como en efecto asi fué.

Aqui se ven dos alegorias, aplicadas á esta ם, y fundadas sobre dos conjecturas, ambas posibles, ambas plausibles, ambas adequadas*. Examinemos agora el valor y la fuerça de la alegoria Talmudica, hasta donde se extiende.

Afirma el Rabbino Talmudista, segun atesta el Predicador, que el Messias devia venir seiscientos años despues del Rey Achaz, en virtud de la ם cerrada, bien sea : pero es menester examinar la calidad deste Rabbino, cómo alcançó este tan recondito misterio, si por reflexion ó por inspiracion divina : si fue por el primero destos dos medios, es una especie de prophecia, que era fuerça creer al pie de la letra ; si lo alcançó por su reflexion, su idea no tiene mas fuerça ni mas vigor que qualquiera otra alegoria : y siendo asi como con efecto es, no hay obligacion de creerla y admitirla como si fuera vaticinio ; antes el mismo author que la dixo, no la representa sino como una simple conjectura, creyendo el suceso posible, mas el tiempo prescripto no infalible. Pruebase, porque si la nacion huviera tomado este presagio por prophetico, reconociera á Christo por Messias, á saber, por el Messias prometido en la ם cerrada ; *sed sic est* que no lo reconoció por tal ; *ergo*, &c.

aware that the internal and external organization of many animals, formed as they now are, only qualify them to be beasts of prey. In opposition to the Rabbis, we must contend that absurdity follows the interpretation of many texts of Scripture in a literal sense : they will not maintain that before the curse was pronounced upon the serpent, that reptile went erect upon its tail, and that its food is at present really dust, which is wholly devoid of nutriment.

* The principle having been conceded that Providence never seeks to accomplish ends which are not wise, or employs means which are not adequate, it follows as a necessary consequence that types, which are so lauded by the Jews as the mode by which Heaven deigns to impart to the mind of man a glimmering light of truth, without at the same time vouchsafing to him the perfect knowledge of an event till after it has happened, possess little intrinsic merit ; since, considered as a means, they fail in their end if it be instruction, and viewed as collateral proofs, they are superfluous if that which they foreshadow be already known ; which not being the case, they do not afford, but themselves stand in need of, proof. Inconsistencies in matters of Jewish faith and doctrine are so monstrous, that it would be idle to inquire of the Rabbis, why one of the severest charges which they brought against the ancient oracles was, that their answers were obscure, whilst their famous cabalistic art, as they well know, although derived from the theory of types and founded upon the supposed properties of letters, turns wholly upon equivocations, and was framed with the view of imposing upon the ignorant and credulous. These observations have been suggested by the absurdity of the supposition contained in the paragraph above, that God, not content with merely giving Hezekiah a verbal promise of a lasting and solid peace, signified the same to him also by the Hebrew letter ם, which served as a hieroglyphic, denoting by its square form, "that in like manner as that square was closed on all sides and of such a shape that none could enter or break through it, so the peace which he should enjoy would neither be broken nor interrupted during his whole life." It would not be difficult to prove by an analogous mode of reasoning, that is to say, from the shape of the Hebrew letter, that Hezekiah instead of enjoying peace would be besieged, taken prisoner, and his body afterwards quartered by the enemy, since ם might as well be the type of a siege, a prison, or the quartering of a body into four equal portions, as of peace and tranquillity. It would be reasonable to suppose that, far from using types, the Deity, if he deigned to communicate to mortals, for their good, the knowledge of the future would employ concise and plain language adapted to human comprehension. Longinus, who admired the emphatic brevity of the command that called light into existence, would have pronounced a very different judgment upon the ם, which has given rise to so much foolish discussion amongst the Rabbis.

§ XI.

Num. 55. Ridicula es la objeccion que haze en el fin del paragrapho 53, diziendo, que si los Judios niegan que la ◻ de *Lemerbe* significa los seiscientos años que pasaron desde el quarto año de Achaz hasta Christo, que merecen muerte. Muy engañado está el Señor Arçobispo; sepa pues, que la obligacion que tienen los Judios de creer los Rabbinos es en lo concerniente á lo dogmatico y ritual de la Ley, como consta del cap. xvii. del Deut. desde el ver. 8. hasta el 14; pero no están obligados á creer todo lo alegorico. Tengo reparado que si un Rabbino dize alguna cosa, ó explica algun paso de la Sagrada Escriptura alegoricamente, donde parece al Predicador que puede deducir algo á su favor, arguye con esto á los Judios como si fuera un articulo de religion, persuadiendose que los tiene convencidos, en lo qual vive muy engañado como tengo dicho; y para que reconozca ser verdad lo que digo, vea como tengo explicado arriba la misma ◻ alegoricamente; y aunque dixera que no creo que esta ◻ significa los seiscientos años alegados, no por eso mi nacion me havia de juzgar por herege ó por scismatico, porque por fin como tengo dicho arriba, la alegoria no es mas que una idea humana, la qual puede ser facilmente falax; y asi el argumento del Predicador de los seiscientos años de la ◻, ni tiene fuerça ni vigor, ni es digno de respuesta.

El author desta Respuesta, cargado de edad y achaques, no tuvo lugar de ver el Libro citado por el Padre Predicador; pero haviendo buscado el alegado paso, halló que el Arçobispo con su acostumbrado candor trae lo que dize el sabio Moyses Ben Maimon, sin acotar el principio deste Discurso que aclara la intencion del author; quien quiziere tomar el trabajo podrá consultar el original *Epist. ad Orient.* Dize pues este author: "Sobre lo que dizes de los tiempos en que puede venir el Messias, y lo que sobre ello explicó R. Zehadya; Primeramente deves saber, que el tiempo en que ha de venir el Messias precisamente, jamas podrá alcançarlo hombre alguno, como declaró Daniel, cap. xii. ver. 9. 'I dixo cerradas y selladas están estas cosas hasta la hora del fin.' Pero la mayor parte son ideas y opiniones de algunos Sabios que creen haverlo alcançado. Ya el Propheta tocó sobre este particular, diziendo: 'Se extenderán muchos, y se multiplicará el saber:' queriendo dezir que se multiplicarán las opiniones, y havrá diversidad de pareceres sobre ello: y ya Dios declaró por sus Prophetas que algunas personas fixarán tiempo para la venida del Messias, y pasará el tiempo y no se afirmará. Y despues nos amonestó que no dudasemos por ninguna manera de la verdad dello, diziendo: No vos aflijais si no se cumpliere este supuesto computo, mas todo quanto se dilatare á venir, acrecentad vos la esperança pues asi dize Habacuc: 'Si tardare, esperale, que viniendo vendrá, no se dilatará.'" Cap. ii. ver. 3.

Nota, que el fin del captiverio de Egipto, al qual Dios fixó un termino, pues dize: "Sabe por cierto que tu posteridad habitará como extrangera en el pays de otros, y los servirán, y los afligirán por quatrocientos años." Gen. cap. xv. ver. 13. No se supo la verdad, y se dificultó el genuino sentido: algunos creyeron que estos 400 años, se devian contar desde que baxó el Patriarca Jacob á Egipto; otros que desde que empezó el captiverio, á saber 70 años despues; otros fueron de opinion, que empezaba desde que el Patriarca Abraham tuvo esta revelacion; y quando se cumplieron estos 400 años salieron de Egipto algunos Israelitas, 30 años antes que empezase la mision de Moyses, creyendo que ya havia llegado el tiempo de la redempcion, y los mataron los Egipcios, y les agravaron el yugo del captiverio. Esto es lo que nos noticiaron los sabios, y sobre esos hombres que erraron en la cuenta y creyeron que ya havia llegado el tiempo de la redempcion, y salieron de Egipto, dixo David: "Hijos de Ephraim armados, flecheros, dieron la espalda en dia de batalla." La verdadera cuenta de los 400 años fue del nacimiento de Isaac que es la sucesion de Abrahan, pues el ver. 12. del cap. xxi. Gen. dize: "Porque con Isaac será llamado á ti generacion." Y en el ver. 13. del cap. xv. dize Dios: "Peregrina será tu sucesion, en tierra que no será de ellos, y los harán servir, y los afligirán 400 años." El sentido literal deste verso es, que parte del captiverio dominarán sobre ellos, y los sugetarán, y los afligirán, y son 400 años de peregrinacion, pero no de sugecion; y no se supo la verdad desto hasta que vino el gran Propheta Moyses; hallase que desde el nacimiento de Isaac hasta la salida de Egipto pasaron 400 años cabales.

Infierese pues por consequencia, que si en el captiverio de Egipto, que tenia tiempo fixo y limitado, no comprehendieron quando devia terminar, que será en este dilatado captiverio que por su larga duracion temblaron los Prophetas á tanto que uno dellos dize por exageracion, "Has de estar irritado para siempre contra nos? Has de dilatar tu ira eternamente?" Psalm lxxxv. ver. 6. E Isaias, relatando la duracion deste captiverio, dize: "Y serán recogidos, recogimiento del encarcelado en la mazmorra, y serán encerrados en la carcel, y de multitud de dias serán visitados." Cap. xxiv. ver. 22.

De los precitados articulos consta que este gran sabio era de opinion, que ningun hombre podrá jamas alcançar á saber precisamente el tiempo de la venida del Messias. Para corroborar esta opinion, alega con el verso de Daniel, de que estarán cerradas y selladas las prophecias hasta la ultima hora; y para fortificar mas esta verdad trae por exemplo el captiverio de Egipto, que no obstante que Dios se sirvió dar un preciso termino á ese captiverio de 400 años, huvo diversos pareceres y opiniones, por no saber quando se devia empezar á contarlos.

Despues que este eminentisimo sabio se declaró con tantas veras sobre este articulo, quando él mismo da un termino á la venida del Messias, havrá alguno en el mundo (menos el Señor Arçobispo) que crea que lo que propone es como infalible y no como posible? Si el Padre Predicador huviera sido tan sincero que huviese acotado con todo el paso, como yo hize, no le quedaria lugar de argumentar, pero estaba cierto no lo harian. Quien le havia de redarguir? Los que salian á quemar? Los penitenciados y Sambenitados?

56. En este paragrapho trae una sentencia de un sabio del Talmud, que dize que el mundo ha de durar solo seis mil años: "Machina mundi hujus annorum sexies mille, et non plures persistere debet." "Assim o dizem os vossos Rabbinos por tradiçaon antiga desde ó tempo dos discipulos de Elias." Dos cosas asegura aqui este Predicador; la una, que asi lo afirman los Rabbinos por tradicion antigua; la otra, que esta tradicion traia su origen de los discipulos de Elias, entendiendo por este Elias el Propheta conocido con este nombre y que fue trasladado vivo al Cielo; pero para que se reconozca quan poco versado era en las Tablas Hebraicas, y lo poco que sabia del Talmud, mostraré que esa es una idea singular de un sabio, y no tradicion antigua recebida desde el tiempo de los discipulos de Elias, y despues se verá quien era este Elias. Primeramente es necesario saber, que en el Talmud quando un sabio propone su opinion, ó bien deducida de su idea, ó apoyada de algun verso de la Sagrada Escritura, si no pertenece á alguna parte de la Ley sea Ritual ó Dogmatica, ni se ventila ni se decide; bien si, tal vez se traen opiniones de otros sabios en contra, pero no se pasa adelante.

El grande Rabbino Moyses de Egipto en el ultimo capitulo del Tratado de los Reyes, tratando sobre las diversas opiniones del Talmud de lo que ha de suceder antes y despues de la venida del Messias dize, que esas prophecias son muy cerradas y dificultosas de comprehender; que aun los mismos Prophetas no las entendieron, y que los sabios no recibieron tradicion alguna sobre ellas, y que solo discurrian lo que colegian de los versos. Luego este gran sabio, eminentisimo en la inteligencia del Talmud, dize, que los sabios no tuvieron tradicion alguna sobre esos dichos y opiniones, y que solo se inclinavan conforme conjecturavan de los versos, á lo que sigue él mismo diziendo: "Que no se deve aplicar mucho el tiempo en este estudio, pues son ideas forjadas en la oficina del entendimiento humano, que muchas vezes salen erroneas, y raras vezes reales."

De lo dicho consta que esta opinion no es recebida ni tradicional, y si pasare el termino de los seis mil años, diremos que no acertó, ó que quizo dezir algo baxo esas palabras que no sabemos comprehender; y para que se reconozca que esta opinion no está asentada en el Talmud, se hallará en el Tratado de Sanhedrin, en el capitulo Helech (tantas veces citado por el Predicador) otra opinion de un famoso Rabbino que dize: "Que el reynado del Messias, despues de su venida, ha de persistir siete mil años, á saber, por él y su succesion."

La segunda parte de esta asercion estriba en afirmar que esa opinion de los seis mil años, era una antigua tradicion recebida entre los Rabbinos desde los discipulos de Elias, y para dar mayor fuerça á esta sentencia, dá á entender que este era el Propheta Elias. Pero sepa el Señor Arçobispo que este tal Elias no era mas que un Rabbino, en cuya casa se guardava la Academia, y quando se decia algo en su nombre deziase, se discurrió en la academia de Elias: y lo mismo en casa de R. Ismael, otro Rabbino en cuya casa se guardava tambien academia, y se traen sus dichos tambien en la misma forma; y asi como este no es Ismael hijo del Patriarca Abraham, asi aquel Elias no era el propheta Elias; *ergo* no era tradicion antigua recebida desde los discipulos de Elias como afirma el Padre Predicador.

No puedo callar una adulteracion que comete en el precitado dicho que acota, pues para poderlo hacer á su gusto y que nadie le pudiese contradezir (aunque no havia presente quien lo pudiese hazer) no trae el texto, sino dize que los sabios afirman que el mundo ha de durar solo seis mil años: los primeros dos mil con la Ley natural y sin la escrita; los segundos dos mil con la Ley de Moyses; y los dos mil ultimos con la Ley del Messias. El dicho del sabio es desta forma: "Se dixo en la academia, ó en la casa de Elias: Seis mil años ha de subsistir el mundo, y mil ha de quedar destruido; dos mil en vano, dos mil con la Ley de Moyses, y dos mil el tiempo del Messias."

Vease pues, como este Predicador adultera el dicho, y le acrecienta lo que no dixo; el sabio dize que los ultimos dos mil años son quando el Messias puede ó deve venir, á saber en todos ellos, ó bien en el principio ó en el fin; y

el Predicador le haze dezir, que los ultimos dos mil años serán con la Ley del Messias, para indicarnos que la Ley de Moyses devia cesar, y establecerse la de Christo. Pero el sabio Elias no hizo mencion alguna de la Ley del Messias, sino solo del tiempo del Messias. Vease que bien prueva su argumento, y que bien concluye con alterar y adulterar el texto, para con eso sacar una consequencia de que los mismos Rabbinos del Talmud creian en Christo. Los hombres que discurren de esta forma se exponen no solamente á la derision y burla de los Judios, mas aun de los mas doctos Christianos.

57. Lo mismo se responde á la otra opinion que trae de los 85 jubileos, diziendo, que no son tradiciones recebidas, sino opiniones singulares, y como tales no obligan á la creencia. Añade que tomemos el consejo de un R. Semuel, el que convencido con la razon que alega renunció nuestra creencia, y adoró á Christo. El tal R. Semuel dize que revolviendo todo lo que dizen los Prophetas, entendió claramente, que Christo fue el Hijo de Dios mandado al mundo para redimirnos. Yo creo lo que él dize, que revolvió las prophecias, pero yo digo que las estudié é hize profesion dellas algunos años, y no hallo lo que ese neophito halló; ni ninguno que quiziere estudiar las prophecias, sin revolverlas, hallará otra cosa; ni todas quantas pruebas alegó el Señor Arçobispo han servido á otro que á mostrar la flaqueza de sus argumentos, y el poco fundamento de sus opiniones.

Dixo que Rabbi Anima Voluntas, ó Rabbi Moyses de Egipto, que todo es uno, reconoció tambien esta verdad, como consta del Sanhedrim-Guazit en la distincion Helech O, porque preguntandole los Judios por el tiempo de la venida del Messias, considerando este Rabbino lo dilatado de la suya y nuestra esperança con el tiempo en que el Messias havia de venir, respondió á los Judios con este desengaño: "Vanum est atque inane à Judeis Messiam expectari, sed sola redemptio consistit in pœnitentia." No comprehendo quien es este Anima Voluntas, ó este Rabbi Moyses Egipcio que reconoció esta verdad como consta del Sanhedrin Guazit en la distincion Helech O. El Predicador comete aqui un yerro de chronologia de 700 á 800 años. El Talmud há que se concluyó de 1200 á 1300 años; y el Rabbi Moyses de Egipto há 600 años que floreció: no sé pues, cómo dize que R. Moyses de Egipto conoció esta verdad como consta del Sanhedrin en la distincion Helech. Lo que hallo en este capitulo es un dicho de un gran sabio nombrado Rab, que dize tratando de la venida del Messias: "Ya se cumplieron todos los terminos; y la cosa (á saber la venida del Messias) no depende mas que en penitencia, y en obras pias." Quiere dezir que este captiverio no tiene un termino fixo, como tuvieron el de Egipto y el de Babilonia, aquel de 400, y este de 70 años: ó bien, que aquellos terminos que havian dado, sea Daniel ú otro, havian pasado, y el Messias no havia venido, y que asi los Judios se devian desengañar; que la venida del Messias consistia y estribava en la penitencia y obras pias, y no dependia en termino fixo. No sé como de estas palabras se puede colegir que este sabio entendió que el Messias vino: si es así, cómo no se hizo Christiano? y pues siguió en el Judaismo, *ergo* no creyó que Christo era el verdadero Messias.

58 hasta 63. En estos paragraphos se cansa en relatar diferentes Pseudo-Messias que huvo en la nacion en el espacio de 1500 años; y pudiera él mismo responderse con ellos, pues aunque es verdad que la nacion corrió á abrasar algunos por engañarse creyendo podia ser el verdadero y esperado Messias, luego que vió que no se cumplieron en ellos literalmente las prophecias que del verdadero tratan los reyectó y abandonó, y fueron y son tenidos en la nacion por espureos y falsos. Y que hay que admirar que una nacion abatida y conculcada abrasase qualquiera ocasion de restaurarse, dexandose llevar de aquella confiança que siempre tuvo y tiene en Dios, y de aquella esperança que conserva en su divina y santa Palabra que no puede faltar? Por ventura no huvo y hay en Portugal hasta el dia de hoy quien espera al Rey Don Sebastian? No huvo en los pasados siglos uno que se fingió serlo? Y no se escrivieron libros en su abono? Pues si esto sucede en una nacion libre solo por el ansia de rever un Rey que estimava, qué mucho padeciese semejante engaño una nacion oprimida, con la esperança de ver un Rey que Dios le tiene prometido?

§ XII.

64. Pregunta seriamente á los Judios si esperan al Messias con aquellas mismas señales que la Escriptura y los Prophetas lo descriven, ó con otras de que no hay noticia. Respondo al Señor Arçobispo, que el Messias que esperamos es el mismo que está descripto en las Sagradas Escripturas; y si quisiere saber á que fin ha de venir y lo que ha de hazer lea las siguientes prophecias. Deut. cap. xxx. "Y será quando te sucedieren estas cosas, la bendicion y la maldicion que yo he puesto delante de ti, y reduxeres á tu corazon en todas las gentes, en las quales te expulsará el Señor tu Dios; y te convirtieres al Señor tu Dios, y oyeres su voz, conforme todo lo que te mando hoy, tu y

tus hijos con todo tu coraçon y con toda tu alma. Y bolverá el Señor tambien tu captiverio, y te apiadará y tomará, y juntarte ha de los pueblos á los quales te huviere esparcido el Señor tu Dios; y de alli te tomará y te traerá el Señor tu Dios á la tierra que poseyeron tus padres, y heredarla has, y hazerte ha bien, y te multiplicará mas que tus padres; y circuncidará el Señor tu Dios á tu coraçon, y á coraçon de tu succesion para que ames al Señor tu Dios con todo tu coraçon y con toda tu alma para que vivas. Y pondrá el Señor tu Dios todas estas maldiciones sobre tus enemigos y sobre tus aborrecientes que te persiguieron; y tu bolverás y obedecerás la voz del Señor tu Dios, y observarás todos sus mandamientos que yo te ordeno hoy. Y hazerte ha el Señor tu Dios abundar en todas obras de tus manos, en el fruto de tu vientre, en el fruto de tu bestia, y en el fruto de tu tierra para bien; porque el Señor bolverá á regozijarse en ti, en bien, de la manera que se regozijó con tus padres, si obedecieres la voz del Señor tu Dios para observar sus mandamientos y sus estatutos escriptos en este Libro de la Ley, quando te convirtieres al Señor tu Dios con todo tu coraçon y con toda tu alma." De todos estos versos se infiere, que aun despues de la venida del Messias se ha de observar la Ley de Moyses en su pueblo.

Isaias, cap. ii. ver. 2. 3. 4. "Y sucederá en el fin de los dias que será compuesto el monte de la casa del Señor por cabeça de los montes, y será exaltado sobre los collados, y correrán á el todas las gentes. Y vendrán muchos pueblos, y dirán: Venid y subamos al monte del Señor, á la casa de Dios de Jacob, y enseñarnos ha sus caminos, y caminaremos por sus sendas, porque de Sion saldrá Ley, y de Jerusalem la Palabra del Señor. Y juzgará entre las gentes, y reprehenderá á muchos pueblos; y bolverán sus espadas en asadones, y sus lanças en hoces; no bolverá espada gente contra gente, y no se ensayarán mas para la guerra."

Cap. xi. ver. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. "Y será en aquel tiempo que la raiz de Isai, la qual estará puesta por pendon á las gentes, será buscada de las gentes, y su holgança será gloria. Y será en aquel tiempo que el Señor bolverá á poner su mano otra vez para poseer las reliquias de su pueblo que quedaron de Assur y de Egipto, y de Parthia, y de Chus, y de Persia, y de Caldea, y de las islas de la mar. Y levantará pendon á las gentes, y recogerá los desterrados de Israel, y juntará los esparcidos de Judá de los quatro cantones de la tierra, y deshazerse ha la envidia de Ephraim, y los enemigos de Juda serán tajados. Ephraim no envidiará á Juda, y Judá no afligirá á Ephraim, mas volarán sobre los hombros de los Philisteos al Occidente; meterán tambien á saco á los del Oriente. Edom y Moab los servirán, y los hijos de Ammon les darán obediencia; y secará el Señor la lengua de la mar de Egipto, y levantará su mano con fortaleza de su espiritu sobre el rio, y herirlo ha en *siete riberas*, y hará que pasen por él con zapatos. Y havrá camino para las reliquias de su pueblo, los que quedaron de Assur, de la manera que lo huvo para Israel el dia que subió de tierra de Egipto."

Cap. lii. ver. 1. "Despiertate, despiertate, vistete de tu fortaleza ó Zion; viste los vestidos de tu hermosura ó Jerusalem, Ciudad Santa, porque *nunca mas* acontecerá que venga en ti *incircuciso* ni immundo."

Cap. lxv. ver. 16. "El que echare bendicion en la tierra, en el Dios de verdad se bendicirá; y el que jurare en la tierra por el Dios de verdad jurará, porque las angustias primeras serán olvidadas, y serán encubiertas de mis ojos." Y en el mismo cap. ver. 19. 20. "Y alegrarme hé con Jerusalem, y regozijarme he con mi pueblo, y jamas se oirá en ella voz de clamor. No havrá alli mas voz de lloro, ni mozo de dias, ni viejo que no cumpla sus dias; porque el mozo morirá de cien años, y el que pecare de cien años será maldito." Y asi sigue hasta el fin del capitulo.

Cap. lxvi. ver. 18. 19. 20. "Porque yo entiendo sus obras y sus pensamientos, tiempo vendrá para juntar todas las gentes y las lenguas, y vendrán y verán mi gloria; y poudré entre ellos señal, y embiaré de los escapados dellos á las gentes á Tharsis, á Pul y Lud, que tiran arco, ó Thubal y Grecia, las islas apartadas que nunca oyeron mi fama ni vieron mi gloria, y publicarán mi gloria entre las gentes. Y traerán á todos nuestros hermanos de entre todas las gentes por presente al Señor en caballos, en carros, en literas, en mulos, y en camellos, á mi sancto monte de Jerusalem, dize el Señor, de la manera que los hijos de Israel suelen traer el presente en vasos limpios á la casa del Señor."

Jeremias, cap. iii. ver. 17. 18. "En aquel tiempo llamarán á Jerusalem silla del Señor, y todas las gentes se congregarán á ella, en el nombre del Señor, en Jerusalem, ni mas irán tras la dureza de su coraçon malvado. En aquellos tiempos irán de la casa de Juda á la casa de Israel, y vendrán tambien de tierra de Aquilon á la tierra que hize heredar á vuestros padres." Y despues en el cap. xxxi. ver. 34. "Y no enseñará mas ninguno á su proximo, ni ninguno á su hermano diziendo, 'Conoced al Señor:' porque todos me conocerán, desde el mas chiquito dellos hasta el mas grande, dize el Señor, porque perdonaré á su maldad, y no me acordaré mas de su pecado."

Ezechiel, cap. xxxvi. ver. 25. 26. "Y esparciré sobre vosotros aguas limpias y sereis limpiados de todas vuestras

immundicias y de todos vuestros ídolos vos limpiaré, y vos daré coraçon nuevo, y pondré espiritu nuevo dentro de vosotros; y quitaré de vuestra carne el coraçon de piedra, y vos daré coraçon de carne."

Cap. xxxvii. desde el ver. 24 hasta 28. "Y mi siervo David será Rey sobre ellos; y á todos ellos será un pastor, y andarán en mis derechos caminos, y mis encomendanças guardarán y observarlas han; y habitarán sobre la tierra que di á mi siervo Jacob, en la qual habitaron vuestros padres; sobre ella habitarán ellos y sus hijos, y hijos de sus hijos para siempre. Y mi siervo David le será Principe para siempre, y concertaré con ellos concierto de paz, concierto perpetuo será con ellos, y los estableceré, y los multiplaré, y pondré mi sanctuario entre ellos para siempre. Y estará en ellos mi tabernaculo, y seré á ellos por Dios, y ellos me serán á mi por pueblo. Y sabrán las gentes que yo el Señor santificqué á Israel, estando mi sanctuario entre ellos para siempre."

Cap. xxxix. ver. 27. 28. 29. "Quando yo los bolveré de los pueblos, y los juntaré de las tierras de sus enemigos, y seré sanctificado en ellos en ojos de muchas gentes. Y sabrán que yo soy el Señor su Dios, quando los huviere hecho pasar en las gentes, y los juntare sobre la tierra, ni de ellos dexaré mas allá, ni mas esconderé de ellos mi rostro, porque mi espiritu derramé sobre la casa de Israel dixo el Señor Dios."

Joel, cap. ii. ver. 27. 28. 29. "Y conocereis que en medio de Israel estoy yo, y que soy el Señor vuestro Dios y no hay otro, y mi pueblo no será para siempre avergonçado. Y será que despues desto derramaré mi espiritu sobre la carne, y prophetizarán vuestros hijos y vuestras hijas; vuestros viejos soñarán sueños, y vuestros mancebos verán visiones. Y tambien sobre los siervos y sobre las siervas derramaré mi espiritu en aquellos dias." Y despues en el cap. iii. ver. 16. 17. "Y el Señor bramará desde Zion, y desde Jerusalem dará su voz, y los cielos y la tierra temblarán; mas el Señor será la esperança de su pueblo, y la fortaleza de los hijos de Israel. Y conocereis que yo soy el Señor vuestro Dios que habito en Zion, monte de mi santidad, y será Jerusalem santa, y estraños no pasarán mas por ella."

Zacharias, cap. viii. ver. 23. "Asi dixo el Señor de los exercitos, en aquellos dias sucederá que diez varones de todas las lenguas de las gentes, travarán de la halda del varon Judio diziendo: Vamos con vosotros, porque hemos oido que Dios es con vosotros." Y despues en el cap. xiv. ver. 16. "Y todos los que quedaren de las gentes que vinieron contra Jerusalem, subirán de año en año á adorar al Rey, el Señor de los exercitos, y celebrar la fiesta de las cabañas."

Daniel, cap. ii. ver. 44. "Y en los dias destos Reyes, levantará el Dios de los cielos un reyno que eternamente no se corromperá: y este reyno no será dexado á otro pueblo, el qual desmenuzará y consumirá todos estos reynos, y él permanecerá para siempre."

Este es el indeleble character del Messias, y esta es la piedra de toque sobre que se han de provar los quilates de su perfeccion. Si se afirmaren en su tiempo todas estas prophecias, é infinitas otras que omito, lo reconoceremos por verdadero, y si no, lo tendremos por espureo; y no se entiende alegoricamente sino literalmente, porque si nos tomamos la libertad de alegorisar las prophecias que no carecen de alegoria, como podremos distinguir del falso al verdadero Messias? Qualquiera que quiziere aplicarlas asi, con torcer los versos y alegorisarlos á su proposito se puede levantar por Messias; pero esta cadena y eslabon de sucesos son el solo character por donde se ha de distinguir el verdadero Messias; ha de ser conocido y manifestado á ojos de todas las naciones del mundo; han de cesar las guerras entre las gentes; todos han de seguir una sola Ley, y adorar un solo Dios; y como no hemos visto alguna destas prophecias afirmadas hasta el dia de hoy, concluimos que el Messias no es venido.

§ XII.

64. El Predicador trae aqui el verso 14 del cap viii. de Isaias, alegorisandolo como suele. Ya se tiene provado que ese capitulo, los precedentes y los subsequentes tratan del rey Ezechias, *et hoc sufficit*.

65 hasta 69. En todos estos paragraphos pretende provar que los versos 3. 4. y 5. del cap. iii. de Oseas tratan de Christo, y dize: "O profeta Oseas nos deu outro sinal por onde o Messias se havia de conhecer quando o Messias viesse: 'Dies multos expectabis me, et ego expectabo vos.' Quando vier o Messias, diz o profeta, os Judeos hão de esperar-lo, e o Messias ha de esperar aos Judeos. E porque os Judeos o não hão-de aceytar, ficarão sem rey, sem principe, sem sacrificio, e sem altar: 'Sedebunt filii Israel sine rege, sine principe, sine sacrificio, et sine altari.' Depois de ficarem neste estado os Judeos, reconhecerão o seu erro, e lá nos ultimos dias adorarão ao Mes-

sias aquem não quizerão aceytar quando tinha vindo: 'Et post hæc revertentur filii Israel ad Dominum Deum suum, et ad David regem suum.'" Para la mejor inteligencia desta prophecia, y para convencer al mundo de la poca razon que acompaña al Padre Predicador, es necesario acotar con la prophecia desde el principio hasta el fin, para ver de donde saca este ilustre Arçobispo estas consequencias tan bien deducidas.

Oseas, cap. iii. "Et dixit Dominus ad me, Adhuc vade, dilige mulierem dilectam socii et adulteram, secundum dilectionem Domini ad filios Israel, et ipsos respicientes ad deos alienos, et diligentes dolia uvarum. Et mercatus sum eam mihi in quindecim argentis, et chomer hordeorum et letech hordeorum: et dixi ad eam, Dies multos sedebis mihi; ne forniceris, et ne sis viro; et etiam ego ad te: quia dies multos manebunt filii Israel, sine rege et sine principe, et sine sacrificio, et sine statuâ, et sine Ephod et Teraphim. Postea revertentur filii Israel, et quærent Dominum suum, et David regem suum; et pavebunt Dominum et bonum ejus, in novissimo dierum." Dixome Dios, ve aun otra vez y ama una muger amada de su compañero y adultera, como el amor de Dios con los hijos de Israel, los quales miran á dioses agenos, y aman redomas de vino. La compré por quinze monedas de plata, y por un homer y medio de cevada: y dixele muchos dias estarás por mia, no fornicarás ni tomarás otro varon; ni tampoco yo vendré á ti; porque muchos dias estarán los hijos de Israel sin rey, sin principe, sin sacrificio, sin estatua, sin Ephod ni Teraphim. Despues bolverán (en penitencia) los hijos de Israel, y buscarán al Señor su Dios, y á David su rey, y temerán de Dios y de su bondad en el fin de los dias.

Mandale Dios al Propheta que tome una muger, que fixe su amor en ella como verdadero marido no obstante que esta muger sea adultera. Aqui declara el mismo Propheta la prophecia, y la comparacion es; de la misma forma amó Dios y quizo á Israel, no obstante que estavan sumergidos en la idolatria de Egipto, dioles la ley, que fue el casamiento; pero ellos ingratos se dieron á la idolatria y á los vicios, y particularmente al vino. Dize el Propheta que tomó la muger por quinze pesos de plata y un homer y medio de cevada, que pactó con ella que estuviese muchos dias sin conocer varon, ni tampoco él á ella. Declara la alegoria y la aplica diziendo: Porque de la misma forma que esta muger quedó sin marido y sin adultero en pena de su pasado adulterio; asi quedaron tambien muchos dias los hijos de Israel sin rey (de la casa de David), sin principe (de los reyes de Israel), sin sacrificio (esto es sin templo), sin estatua (esto es sin idolatria), sin ephod (á saber, sin Urim y Tumim, que era el divino oraculo en quien consultava el Principe á Dios), y sin Teraphim (esto es los oraculos de la gentilidad); de manera que está el exemplo adequado, porque de la misma forma que la muger del Propheta devia estar muchos dias sin marido y sin adultero, asi Israel en este captiverio estará sin sacrificio y sin templo que es el marido; y sin estatua que es la idolatria, y significa el adulterio; no gozará del Ephod, esto es la prophecia; pero ni tampoco se pegará á los oraculos gentiles para saber lo futuro.

Dize mas, que en pasando este tiempo en que Israel dé muestras de la mucha constancia y confiança que tiene en Dios, que entonces bolverá en penitencia de los pecados que cometió; y con eso obtendrá el que se manifieste patente la divina providencia sobre él; que le bolverá el reyno de la casa de David, y el templo; que esto sucederá en el fin de los dias. Este es el sentido literal desta prophecia: vease como la va adulterando (no ya alegorisando) nuestro Pádre Predicador, pues quiere hacer creer que Dios dize: "Dies multos expectabis me, et ego expectabo vos;" y sobre este forjado verso dize: "Quando vier o Messias, diz ó profeta, os Judeos hão-de esperarlo, e o Messias ha-de esperar aos Judeos. E porque os Judeos o não hão-de aceytar, ficaráõ sem rey," &c.

De qué parte de la prophecia se infiere que los Judios havian de reyectar el Messias? De donde colige que porque los Judios no lo han de aceptar, han de quedar sin rey, &c.? No es la pena de estar sin rey, &c. el haver adulterado, esto es idolatrado? Lo que el Propheta dize es diametralmente opuesto á lo que infiere el Predicador, pues Oseas asegura que estarán muchos dias sin rey, sin principe, sin sacrificio, &c. y que despues bolverán en penitencia, y buscarán á Dios, y á David su rey: y el Predicador afirma que estarán sin rey, &c. despues de la venida del Messias, por no haverlo admitido. De donde infiere este Predicador, de las palabras del Propheta, que viniendo el Messias ha de ser reyectado por los Judios? De donde colige desta prophecia, que el Messias ha de ser Dios y hombre?

Para hazer constar patentemente de donde saca el Predicador estas dos consequencias, es necesario poner á buena luz estas corrupciones que comete en los versos este buen Predicador, por fuerça de las quales quiere obligar á los Judios á que crean lo que el dize. Veamos como acota él los versos del Propheta, y cotegemoslos con su original Hebreo y con la translacion de Pagnino.

Original Hebreo.	*Pagnino.*	*Vulgato.*
3. ואמר אליה ימים רבים תשבי לי לא תזני ולא תהיי לאיש וגסאני אליך :	3. Et dixit ad eam, dies multos sedebis mihi, ne forniceris, et ne sis viro, et etiam ego ad te.	3. Dies multos expectabis me, et ego expectabo vos.
5. אחר ישבו בני ישראל ובקשו את יהוה אלהיהם ואת דויד מלכם זפחדו אליהוה ואלטובו באחרית הימים :	5. Postea revertentur filii Israel, et *quærent* Dominum Deum suum, et David Regem suum.	5. Post hæc revertentur filii Israel ad Dominum Deum suum, et ad David Regem suum.

Quiere este Predicador hazer dezir al Propheta, que los Judios han de esperar al Messias, y el Messias ha de esperar á los Judios; para cuyo efecto forja un verso nuevo en la Sagrada Escriptura que diga: "Dies multos expectabis me, et ego expectabo vos." Muchos dias me esperareis, y yo vos esperaré á vos; significando con esto que vino; que no fué admitido por los Judios, mas bien deshechado; y que está con paciencia muchos dias esperando por ellos, "et ego expectabo vos." Pero primeramente, este verso es forjado por la pluma del Señor Arçobispo, ó en la Vulgata, y no hay tal verso en la prophecia, y solo es una corrupcion para hazer que diga el Propheta lo que no dize, ni quizo dezir, ni le pasó por la imaginacion. Segundariamente, quando bien huviera tal verso, no era el Messias quien lo dezia, sino el Propheta, pues el Messias no habla en toda la prophecia; luego ni aun adulterando el verso, como haze, adelanta nada su systema. La prophecia no se puede entender por Christo en ninguna forma, pues dize que despues de estar los hijos de Israel muchos dias sin rey, sin principe, sin sacrificio, &c. bolverán en penitencia y buscarán á Dios y al Messias; *ergo*, despues de estar Israel por mucho tiempo sin rey, &c. es que ha de venir el Messias. Quando vino Christo, no carecia Israel ni de Rey, ni de templo, ni de sacrificio; *ergo* no podia ser Christo el prometido Messias en esta prophecia.

El otro verso que adultera es: "Et postea revertentur filii Israel ad Dominum Deum suum, et ad David Regem suum;" quando el original dize: "Postea revertentur filii Israel *et querent* Dominum Deum suum, et David Regem suum." Con faltar la diccion *querent* haze que diga el verso, que los hijos de Israel bolverán en penitencia á Dios y David su rey; con esto le parece que tiene ganado su punto, y que el Messias ha de ser Dios y hombre, pues han de bolver en penitencia tanto á Dios como á David que es el Messias. Pero sepa el Señor Arçobispo, que si no tiene otras pruevas que traer para apoyar su systema que esa, le ha de valer poco, pues en el original Hebraico y en todas las Biblias impresas y manuscriptas está la diccion que quiere dezir, *et querent*. De la misma forma está en todas las translaciones de qualquiera lengua; y lo mismo translada Pagnino, Arias Montano y muchos otros; y Jonathan hijo de Huziel, en el Targum, dize, que bolverán en penitencia, que buscarán á servir al Señor su Dios, y obedecerán al Messias hijo de David; *ergo* que no lo tiene por Dios.

Miserables pruevas son las que es necesario recurrir á la corrupcion para apoyarlas. Que lo prediquen no me admiro, pues no havria nadie que supiese ó pudiese contradezirle; pero que tengan atrevimiento de darlo publicamente á la imprenta, sin verguença de los que apruevan semejantes corrupciones en la divina Palabra, es de lastimar y aun de llorar la ceguedad de hombres que por solo el interes adulteran la divina Palabra, y despues pretenden mantenerla, sin considerar que es un crimen de lesa Magestad Divina, que no puede ser agradable aun á los mismos de su profesion que tienen el entendimiento libre para discurrir la verdad, y detestar semejantes medios de que se sirven; y mucho menos para convencer Judios, que son el archivo de la divina Palabra y la Arca del Testamento donde se conserva pura, limpia, y sin macula, con cuyo original los hombres doctos entre los Christianos cotejan sus translaciones, y por él se guian, y á el apelan en sus dudas.

70. Trae el Predicador la prophecia de Malachias, cap. i. ver. 10. 11. que dize: "No recibo contentamentos en vosotros, dixo el Señor de los exercitos, ni de vuestra mano me será agradable el presente. Porque desde donde el sol nace hasta donde se pone mi nombre es grande entre las gentes, y en todo lugar se ofrece á mi nombre perfume y presente limpio, porque es grande mi nombre entre las gentes, dize el Señor de los exercitos." El Predicador supone que este Propheta habla por el tiempo de Christo, y de alli deduce, que Dios tiene deshechada la nacion y los sacrificios; y pretende provar que tiene instituido en su lugar un nuevo sacrificio limpio, el qual se sacrifica por todo el mundo, por cuyo medio el nombre de Dios es grande en todo el orbe, y que por él habla el Propheta quando dize: "Porque desde donde nace el Sol hasta donde se pone mi nombre es grande entre las gentes, y en todo lugar se ofrece á mi nombre perfume y presente limpio." La grande objeccion que forma contra los Judios, y sobre que funda la máchina de su exposicion estriba en que en tiempo del Propheta no havia nacion que sacrificase á Dios, y

que asi era preciso que hablase del tiempo de Christo, á cuyo nombre en todas las quatro partes del mundo (dice el Predicador) le sacrifican un sacrificio limpio.

Para responder á esta formidable objeccion, es necesario saber que Malachias fue el ultimo de todos los Prophetas, y prophetizó en el principio del segundo templo, quando los sacerdotes eran sumamente ignorantes en su profesion, como consta del Propheta Aggeo su contemporaneo cap. ii. ver. 12. 13. pues preguntandole una qüestion de su profesion, manifestaron su ignorancia en la respuesta que dieron. Y no hay que admirar que haviendo estado setenta años fuera del ministerio, perdiesen no tan solamente la practica pero tambien la theorica. Ademas de su ignorancia, se corrumpieron con las naciones circunvecinas, y tanto ellos como los demas de la nacion carecian de devocion; y quando sacrificavan para Dios, buscavan el animal coxo, ciego, ó el que robavan por no darlo de lo suyo: en tan poco aprecio tenian los holocaustos y sacrificios, que el peor les parecia bastava para el altar; esto sucedia entre el vulgo. Los sacerdotes como los mas llegados y cercanos á Dios, de quienes se devia esperar corrigiesen al pueblo, y le hiziesen patente su yerro, eran los que mas encorajavan y animavan este pecado con despreciar el divino altar, con dolerse del trabajo, y con asquear el divino servicio; de forma que con su indecencia perdia el pueblo la devocion, y adquiria el divino enojo.

Irritado Dios al mayor grado de la desatencion y mal oficio de los ministros, les manda corregir por este santo Propheta, recopilando el cariño que havia mostrado á la nacion desde su origen en el Patriarca Jacob. Empieza pues su prophecia dandoles en rostro el amor que siempre les havia profesado *ab origine;* el odio que preservava contra Esau, no obstante ser hermano de Jacob; que le havia destituido de su estado y reyno, y vuelto en horrible desierto su amena y fertil tierra, y que este estado de desolacion havia de permanecer eternamente; de forma que por mas que procurase restablecerse y bolver á erigir sus conculcadas ciudades, jamas havia de conseguirlo, pues lo que ellos edificasen Dios derrocaria; de forma que su malignidad y pecados le havian adquirido la divina ira, y de tal seria conocido y apellidado entre las naciones; por el contrario, que restableceria á Israel y que los bolveria á su pristino estado.

Despues que recopila los favores que le havia hecho, y aun continuava con ellos, pasa á relatar las ingratitudes con que le pagavan estos beneficios, tanto el pueblo como los sacerdotes; los unos en traer lo mas infimo y lo mas indigno por sacrificio; los otros en sacrificarlo y menospreciar el divino servicio, por cuya razon dize, "No recibo contento con vosotros, ni de vuestra mano me será agradable el presente."

Pero sobre lo que mas aprieta el Padre Predicador es sobre qué sacrificio era este que las naciones sacrificavan en tiempo deste Propheta, que era accepto á Dios como puro y limpio? Quien havia promulgado y predicado el nombre de Dios por todo el orbe, desde donde nace el sol hasta donde se pone? Pues afirma el mismo Dios que su nombre era grande entre las naciones; por cuya razon concluye, que pues no puede ser en tiempo deste Propheta, pues en ese tiempo no tenian conocimiento los gentiles de la primera causa, *ergo* que el Propheta habla por el tiempo de Christo.

Pudiera responder al Padre Predicador facilmente, y derribar este coloso con la authoridad del Targum de Jonathan hijo de Huziel, el qual declara este presente y sahumerio limpio por las oraciones de los Judios en todas partes, pues dize: "Desde donde nace el sol, y hasta donde se pone grande es mi nombre entre las gentes, y en todo tiempo que vosotros hiziereis mi voluntad, recebiré vuestras oraciones, y mi nombre grande se sanctifica por vuestra mano, y vuestras oraciones son como un sacrificio limpio delante de mi." Luego este sabio entiende que este sacrificio son las oraciones de los Judios, y á ellas llama sacrificio limpio; y ellos (entiende este author) son los que sanctifican el Nombre grande de Dios entre las gentes. Pudiera con esta authoridad cantar la victoria contra mi antagonista, si fuera tan facil de cantarla como él; pero aunque Jonathan hijo de Huziel es un grave author, y su authoridad es grande, con todo no es suficiente para obligarnos á admitir su alegoria y dexar el literal; y asi digo que no obstante esa authoridad, el literal trata de los Gentiles y no de los Judios, y como tal á ellos se deve aplicar estos sacrificios y no á estos; procuraremos pues responder á esa objeccion literalmente.

Los authores literalistas Judios declaran este paso diziendo, que lo que significa aqui el Propheta es, que reprochando la divina Magestad al pueblo Judaico y á sus sacerdotes por el desprecio que cometian en los sacrificios, dize que estimava mas el presente de los Gentiles, que el sacrificio de los Judios, pues aunque eran aquellos idolatras, tenian conocimiento y adoravan una primera causa como anterior á todo. Le tenian por *ab eterno* aunque le daban segundas causas; que estos Gentiles quando sacrificavan tomavan particular cuidado de que fuese lo mas excelente y limpio que podian adquirir, no obstante que sacrificavan á la idolatria: quando ellos aunque sacrificavan al verda-

dero Dios, procuravan lo infimo y peor; por cuya razon dize Dios, que mas limpio era lo que presentavan los Gentiles, que lo que sacrificavan los Judios. Reparese cómo queda agora la prophecia, y vease como la adultera el buen Arçobispo, y la tuerce para forçarla á que diga lo contrario de lo que dize.

La prophecia consiste en castigar y reprehender al pueblo por el poco comedimiento con que tratavan los sacrificios; reprochales que aun los Gentiles idolatras lo que presentavan en sacrificio era lo mas acendrado y limpio, siendo asi que ellos procuravan lo peor, y concluye en el cap. iii. ver. 4. que despues de la venida del Messias, seria accepto á Dios el presente de Juda y Jerusalem como dias de antes y como años antiguos.

Para librarse el Predicador del argumento de como los Gentiles de aquel tiempo sacrificavan á Dios, le es preciso suponer que aqui trata el Propheta del tiempo despues de la venida del Messias; que por no haver admitido los Judios á este Messias no serán ellos ni sus sacrificios mas acceptos á Dios, y que en su lugar admitirá el sacrificio de la Misa (á quien él llama puro y limpio) que se sacrifica desde donde nace el sol hasta donde muere por la gentilidad convertida. Esta es la exposicion que dá á esa prophecia sin traer la coherencia y correlacion que tienen unos versos con otros, sin dar un declaro entero de toda la prophecia, mas si desmembrandola y despedaçandola, haciendose ignorante de lo que trae antes y despues solo para poder explicarla á su proposito.

Pero cómo quiere el Predicador que sirva de exemplo y comparacion, entre los Judios y Gentiles, lo que havia de suceder quatrocientos ó quinientos años despues? El Propheta dize que en aquel tiempo era grande y famoso el nombre de Dios entre las gentes que en aquel tiempo se sanctificava á la Eterna Causa, y se sahumava á ella, y se le presentava un presente limpio; y el Predicador no quiere que sea hasta quinientos años despues. Notese que la prophecia no dize, que era suave á Dios el presente y los sacrificios de los Gentiles, mas dice que Dios lo recevia y lo estimava aunque ellos no lo dedicavan á Dios; y solo afirma que despues de la venida del Messias seria agradable á Dios el presente de Juda y Jerusalem; *ergo* que no desechó Dios á los Judios ni á sus presentes, y que por lo contrario los estimará y le seran agradables despues de la venida del Messias. Los presentes de los Gentiles jamas le fueron agradables ni los estimó, y solo truxo la comparacion para minorar los sacrificios que en aquel tiempo llegavan los Judios, no para exaltar el presente de los Gentiles.

He querido traer toda la prophecia y declararla para hazer constar patentemente, al que quiziere y deseare saber la verdad, las artes y corrupciones que emplea este Predicador para mantener su systema, y que reconozca el desapasionado Lector quan poca razon tiene de cantar la victoria sobre una prophecia que él tuerce y corrompe para hazer que diga lo que le conviene, como si no huviera hijos de Israel, como si no tuviera heredero.

Pero faltanos provar que en aquel tiempo tenian los Gentiles conocimiento de la Primera Causa, y que aunque ellos suponian segundas causas, no obstante hazian una grande distincion de la Primera y Eterna. Aunque no era necesario provar lo que el mismo Dios afirma, pues quando no huviese llegado esa noticia á nosotros no por eso dexara de llevar la misma authoridad la Palabra de Dios, con todo alegaré algunas authoridades de Christianos y Gentiles para hazer constar que aun eso nos es notorio y manifiesto, y como tal se desvanece el argumento del Predicador, y queda sin fuerça ni vigor, y la prophecia clara, patente, é inteligible. No embaraçaré esta respuesta con multitud de acotaciones, bastandome con las que mas á proposito hazen, pues mi principal escopo no es otro que mostrar á los de mi nacion la poca razon que acompaña al Predicador á atribuirse la victoria sobre pasos tan contrarios á lo que quiere deducir dellos; y asi me contentaré con acotar solo aquellos que hazen al proposito, y que acuerdan poco mas ó menos con el tiempo de aquel Propheta. El que quiziere ver la verdad podrá conferir los originales.

Eusebio en su libro *De Præparatione Evangelica* dize que havia leido en un libro de Zoroaster, antiguo philosopho de los Persas, las siguientes palabras: "Dios es el primero de los incorruptibles entes, Eterno, Inconcevible; no es compuesto de partes, no hay ninguno que se le parezca ni que sea igual á él; el es el Author de todo el bien, enteramente desinteresado, y el mas exaltado de los mas excelentes entes; el mas sabio de todos los inteléctos, el Padre de la equidad, y Progenitor de todas las buenas leyes; Omnisciente, Omnipotente, y el Primer Formador de la naturaleza."

Plutarco en el tratado de Isis y Osiris nos asegura, que los magos llamavan Oromazes al grande Dios ó Principe de la Luz que produxo todas las cosas, y obra todo en todo; que admitian otro Dios pero de una naturaleza inferior, á quien llamavan Mithras, ó el Dios inferior; no lo tenian por coeterno con el mismo Dios, pero sí el primer producto de su poder. El mismo Plutarco hablando de los Egipcios (en el dicho tratado) dize: "Que llevavan por opinion, que como el sol era comun para todo el mundo, no obstante que tenia diversos nombres en diferentes

regiones, asi no hay mas que una sola suprema idea y razon, y una misma Providencia que govierna el mundo, no obstante que es adorado baxo diversos nombres y que haya substituido inferiores entes por ministros suyos."

Iamblico dize, que conforme los Egipcios, el primer Dios existió en su solitaria unidad antes que todos los entes.

El author de la Argonautica dize: "Cantemos primero un himno sobre el antiguo chaos, cómo los cielos, la mar, y la tierra fueron de él formados. Cantemos tambien á aquel eterno, sabio, y perfecto amor, que reduxo este chaos en orden."

De Thales Milesio, uno de los siete sabios de Grecia, y que floreció 600 años antes de Christo, dize Diog. Laert. en su Vida, lib. i. que creia que "Dios es el mas antiguo de todos los entes; es el Author del universo, el qual está lleno de admiraciones; es la mente que quitó el chaos de la confusion, y le puso en orden; no tiene principio ni fin, y nadie se esconde de él; no hay quien pueda resistir la fuerça del hado, pero este hado no es otro que la razon immudable y el poder eterno de la Providencia."

Pythagoras nos dá una idea de la Divinidad en las siguientes palabras: "No hay mas que un solo Dios el qual no está (como algunos imaginan) sentado encima del mundo, y sobre el ambito del universo, mas siendo él en si todo en todo. El ve todos los entes que llaman immensidad; él es el solo Principio, la Luz del cielo, el Padre de todo; el produce todas las cosas, ordena y dispone todo; es la razon, la vida, y el movimiento de todos los entes."

Platon en su Republica dize que "Dios está rodeado de una gruesa obscuridad, que ningun mortal puede penetrar, y que el inaccessible Dios solo con el silencio se deve adorar."

Para mayor prueva desta verdad y que sea incontrastable, lease en Daniel la idea que Nabucodonozor tenia de un solo Dios, pues luego que Daniel le dixo el sueño de la estatua confesó que su Dios era el supremo Dios de los Dioses; no dize que entonces supo que havia un Dios sobre todos los Dioses, mas afirma que con aquel portento conoció ser el Dios que Daniel adorava el verdadero Dios de los Dioses.

En el II Paralip. cap. xxxvi. ver. 23. se hallan estas palabras de Ciro: "El Señor Dios de los cielos me concedió todos los reynos de la tierra, y me encomendó le edificase el templo en Jerusalem que está en Judea. Quien quiera que sea entre vosotros de su pueblo, su Dios sea con él, suba á Jerusalem, y edifique la casa del Señor Dios de Israel, él es el Dios."

Los Guibhonitas engañaron á los Principes de la nacion en tiempo de Josué con aquella sabida extratagema de dezir, que havian venido de una tierra, que era seis meses de camino, al nombre y á la fama de los milagros del verdadero Dios: y aunque fue engaño, es preciso que fuese verosimil de que aquellas remotas naciones tuviesen conocimiento de la grandeza de la Primera Causa, porque si no fuera asi, ni los Principes se engañaran, ni los Guibhonitas se atrevieran á forjar el engaño fundado sobre una imposibilidad.

El mismo Dios afirma que los milagros y portentos que havia executado en Egipto, havian sido solo para que se publicase su nombre y fama por el mundo. "Y para que se relate mi nombre en toda la tierra." Exodo, cap. ix. ver. 16. *Ergo*, que el nombre y el conocimiento de la Primera Causa eran publicos y notorios en todo el orbe, y tambien adorada aunque baxo diversos nombres.

No es mucho tuviesen conocimiento de la Primera Causa, haviendo mandado Nabucodonozor pregonar diversas vezes en su vasto imperio, que no havia mas que el solo Dios de los cielos, como consta por Daniel cap. iv. ver. 1. "Nabucodonozor Rey, á todos los pueblos, naciones, y lenguages que moran en toda la tierra, paz os sea multiplicada. Las señales y milagros que el Alto Dios ha hecho conmigo, conviene que yo los publique. Quan grandes son sus señales, y quan fuertes sus maravillas! Su reyno, reyno de siempre, y su señorio hasta generacion y generacion." Y en el cap. iv. ver. 37. quando le bolvió el sentido dize: "Agora Yo Nabucodonozor alabo, engrandezco y glorifico al Rey de los cielos, porque todas sus obras son verdad, y sus caminos juizio, y á los que andan con sobervia puede humillar."

Quando se libró Daniel de los leones, Dario Medo mandó publicar un edicto que contiene Daniel cap. vi. ver. 25. hasta 28. "Entonces el Rey Dario escrivió á todos los pueblos, naciones, y lenguages que habitan en toda la tierra, Paz os sea multiplicada. De parte mia es puesta ordenanza en todo el señorio de mi reyno, que todos teman y tiemblen de la presencia del Dios de Daniel, porque él es el Dios viviente y permaneciente por todos los siglos; y su reyno que no se deshará, y su señorio hasta la fin. Que escapa y libra, y haze señales y maravillas en el cielo y en la tierra, el qual libró á Daniel del poder de los leones."

El Rey Ciro mandó se diese al sacro templo becerros, carneros, corderos, sal, vino, y aceite, para que se sacrificase

por la vida del Rey y de la casa real. El edicto contiene Esdras cap. vi. ver. 29 y 31. "Y lo que fuere necesario, becerros, carneros, ó corderos para holocaustos al Dios de los cielos: trigo, sal, vino y aceite conforme á lo que dixeron los sacerdotes que están en Jerusalem, les sea dado cada dia sin algun embargo: para que ofrezcan loores de holgança al Dios de los cielos, y oren por la vida del Rey y de sus hijos."

El Rey Arthaxerxes mandó dar al templo de Dios presentes considerables y todo lo necesario, como consta de Esdras, cap. viii. ver. 19 y 21. "Y por mi el Rey Arthaxerxes es dado mandamiento á todos los thesoreros que están de la otra parte del rio, que todo lo que os demandare Esdras, sacerdote escrivano de la Ley del Dios de los cielos, sea hecho luego. Todo lo que es mandado por el Dios de los cielos sea hecho prontamente para la casa del Dios de los cielos, por que no sea su ira contra el reyno del Rey y sus hijos."

De todos estos exemplos se infiere, que el Nombre grande de Dios, y el conocimiento de la Primera Causa estava explayado y promulgado entre las naciones, y era venerado y estimado desde donde nace el sol y hasta donde se pone, pues se havian divulgado los portentos y maravillas que Dios havia obrado por mano de sus Prophetas y siervos, por via de aquellos tres Reyes, Nabucodonozor, Dario, y Cyro; siendo el Propheta Malachias muy cerca de esos tiempos, pues prophetizó en los principios del segundo Templo, no es mucho huviese en el mundo un verdadero conocimiento de la Primera Causa; y que aquellos Gentiles informados de la verdad, le ofreciesen incienso y presentes. A ellos pues, se refiere el Propheta quando dize: "Que en todo lugar llegan sahumerio, y presente limpio á mi Nombre."

Haviendole pues provado por historias sagradas y profanas, que los Gentiles contemporaneos del Propheta Malachias tenian un entero conocimiento de la Primera Causa, y que muchos dellos le sacrificavan y davan presentes, queda inteligible que la prophecia trata de su tiempo, y no es necesario torcerla, como haze el Predicador, para inferir della lo contrario del verdadero y genuino sentido.

Exhortando el Predicador á uno de los presos que sacavan á quemar, dize estas palabras: "Ponde-vos a vós na presença de Deos, sem mais peccado, que guardar a ley de Moyses. E ponde hum Christão na mesma presença, sem outra culpa mais, que a observancia da ley de Christo. Se Deos condenar ao Christão por amor da ley, e salvar ao Judeo por amor da mesma, não podia ser jusso Deos, nem podia satisfazer as razões com que o Catholico haviade arguir a sua justiça. Porque en esse caso havia o Catholico de arguir a Deos desta maneyra: Juiz recto, eu cri em Christo, porque elle teve todos quantos sinais vos revelastes pelos vossos Profetas que havia-de ter vosso Filho. Fiz o que me mandastes, agora condenais-me por isso mesmo. Pois como me podeis condenar por eu vos obedecer? Certamente não tem reposta esta replica. Logo he impossivel que Deos condene ao Catholico por ser Christão." El Arçobispo habla muy confiado, como si fuera secretario de la divina Magestad, y como si le fuera notorio lo que en el cielo pasa, con tanta confianza y atrevimiento que dize, que si Dios condenase al Catholico por observar la Ley de Christo, y salvase al Judio parguardar la Ley de Moyses, que no podia ser justo Dios; y se adelanta mas diziendo, que no podria Dios satisfazer las razones con que el Catholico havia de arguir á su justicia. La unica razon que da es, que el Catholico cree en Christo porque tuvo todas quantas señales reveló Dios por sus Prophetas havia de tener su Hijo.

Pero si Dios respondiese á este Catholico que su divina Magestad jamas tuvo hijo, y que en Christo no se afirmaron literalmente aquellas prophecias que del verdadero Messias tratan; que ninguna dellas le supone Dios sino solo hombre; y que si huviera examinado con imparcialidad las sagradas prophecias ellas mismas le huvieran informado de la verdad; si la divina Magestad se dignase mandar las leyese para que viese quan errado iva en su idea, qué diria este buen Catholico? Que Dios era injusto por condenarle porque se havia dexado llevar de la ceguedad, porque se havia confiado de la ignorancia, porque havia creido al interes sin examinar lo que tanto importava á su salvacion, porque havia hecho lo que Dios no havia mandado ni ordenado?

Yo no tengo tanto atrevimiento como limitar las razones que Dios puede dar al Catholico para convencerle, porque podrá su divina Magestad alegar otras sin comparacion mas convincentes que mi insuficiencia no alcanza; pero solo digo que no en la presencia de su divina Magestad pero en la de qualquiera humano juez, bastarian las que yo he alegado para convencer la presumpcion del Arçobispo: y si el Judio deve dar cuenta de la manera que dize el Predicador; si yo no tuviera que dar otra cuenta mas que el haver profesado la Ley de Moyses, desta forma lo hiziera:

Dios y Señor mio, postrado ante tu divina presencia vengo genuflexo á dar cuenta de la religion que profesé en la otra vida y la razon por qué. Naci, Señor, de padres Judios, fui instruido en la Ley de Moyses, profesela por

educacion hasta que llegué á los años de discrecion, quando por la lectura de los libros de controversia me instigó la obligacion á examinar, con toda la exactitud de que mi entendimiento era capaz, las razones de una y otra parte; y haviendolas balanzeado sin el prejuicio de mi educacion, hallé, Señor, que las divinas prophecias que del verdadero Messias tratavan, no se havian cumplido en algun hombre hasta el dia de mi muerte. Hallé, Señor, que en tu divina Ley nos aseguras, que si nuestra dispersion fuese de un cabo del mundo al otro que nos has de juntar y nos has de llevar á la Tierra de Promision, y alli mismo encargas la observancia de tus divinos preceptos; cómo me trasladaria yo á otra religion que destruye y aniquila tu santisima Palabra, que se opone á tus divinos mandamientos que tu mismo pronunciaste en el Monte de Sinay, porque hay hombres que declaran algunas prophecias alegoricamente, y las aplican á cierta persona que ellos llaman tu Hijo? Y quando se ven convencidos por la fuerça de tu divina, clara, y patente Palabra que literalmente contradize lo que pretenden provar, se retiran al sentido alegorico; qué prueva hay que ese sea el verdadero sentido y no otro? Cómo haviamos de dexar aquella divina Palabra que oimos de tu santisima boca por explicaciones y alegorias de hombres que ni entre sí acuerdan, que contradizen y se oponen á la verdad recebida de tu fiel siervo Moyses, de tus santisimos Prophetas, y de toda la serie de sabios y doctos varones que en tantos siglos escrivieron conforme á aquella recebida verdad, que en todos sus escriptos confirman y nos exhortan á la estrecha observancia de tu divina Palabra? A estos, pues, he seguido, y creyendo te servia y adorava en la mejor forma y manera que posible era en el mundo, me ligué estrechamente con aquella religion que creí ser la unica y sola, y que reconocí por tu verdadera y eterna Palabra. Viví Judio y morí Judio, en lo qual creo haverte servido como mandaste; y aqui estoy ante tu divina misericordia para que ordenes se haga conmigo lo que fueres servido.

Y despues aguardaria me diese la sentencia como fuera servido, si es que en el cielo se juzga con las mismas ceremonias que en la tierra; porque á confesar la verdad no estoy tan perito en ello como el Arçobispo, ni me atrevo á llamar á Dios injusto, ni á hablarle con tanta familiaridad, pues con la divina Magestad no hay burlas, como dize Job, cap. xiii. ver. 9. "Vos burlareis con él como quien se burla con algun hombre?" Ni devemos atrevernos á tratarle con insolencia y desacato, aunque sea suponiendolo. Esto me enseña mi sagrada religion, como dize Moyses, Deuter. cap. x. ver. 20 y 21. "Al Señor tu Dios temerás, á él adorarás, y á él te llegarás y en su nombre jurarás. El es tu alabança y él es tu Dios, que hizo contigo todas las grandezas y portentos que vieron tus ojos."

El se sirva por su divina misericordia abrir los ojos de todas las naciones para que unanimes y conformes le sirvamos igualmente, llamando todos á una voz por su santisimo nombre, como asegura el Propheta Sophonias, cap. iii. ver. 9. "Entonces derramaré á los pueblos habla clara, para que todos ellos invoquen el nombre del Señor, y para que le sirvan de comun consentimiento *."

* Since the fury with which the Spanish Inquisition persecuted the Jews towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, during the entire of the sixteenth, and the earlier half of the seventeenth, has been recurred to as a strong argument to prove that the New World had in remote ages been colonized by their race, who had there attempted to verify the famous prophecy contained in the eighteenth verse of the Book of Obadiah, "And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them; and *there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau: for the Lord hath spoken it;*"—the discovery of which naturally excited the deepest feelings of indignation in the breast of the successors of Saint Peter, and led them to fulminate decrees against Judaism in a spirit of retaliation which betrayed more of hatred to the Old than love of the New Law;—we judged it not improper to insert here the Archbishop of Cranganor's Sermon, together with the Reply, in order to show that Portugal in her dealings with that people was actuated by a similar policy to that of Spain. Lest, moreover, the persecutions which they suffered in the New World should remain unknown, we subjoin two chapters from the nineteenth book of Torquemada's Indian Monarchy, which, containing a brief history of the establishment of the Inquisition in New Spain, shows that the Jews were objects of its most vigilant care. The extract which follows, from an Italian MS. entitled "*Prattica per procedere nelle Cause del S. Offizio,*" (the twentieth chapter of which relates wholly to the Jews,) will furnish a ready reply to a question which is often asked, with a view of attaching something miraculous to the history of the Jews during the ages which have intervened since the Christian æra; viz. Why, being the objects of relentless persecution, they have never forsaken the faith of their forefathers? Volney, in his Meditations on the Ruins of Ancient Cities, ridicules the idea of attaching more importance to the obstinacy of the Jews than to that of any other fanatical sect, and appeals to examples to prove the absurdity of judging of the merits of any particular religious creed from the enthusiasm of its votaries. We have, however, here another solution of this mystery; since it appears that the Church, professing only to use persuasion to proselytize the Jews to Christianity, has *by rigorous decrees* always compelled them to remain within the pale of Judaism, or to profess themselves Christians; and has by no means suffered them, by becoming infidels, to throw scandal on the faith of Abraham. The Jews are however now, what they never were in former ages, judges for themselves in matters of their religion, and if they remain still unenlightened, the fault rests alone with their own Rabbis.

Historia del Origen y Fundacion de el Santo Oficio, y de el tiempo que ha que pasó á estos Reinos de la Nueva-España.

El Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion si bien lo notamos desde sus principios, hallarémos que ha sido y es tan antiguo, que su origen viene deducido desde la creacion del primer hombre; porque á pocas horas de esta dicha creacion, hallamos, que pecó, quebrantando el mandamiento de Dios, y como transgresor fue luego buscado, y juzgado de ese mismo Dios, y sentenciado por su delito: como consta de la Sagrada Escritura. De manera que desde los principios de el hombre, poco despues de su creacion, sabemos aver avido actos inquisitorios, examinados y castigados por Dios ó por ministros suyos, asi en el estado de la lei natural, como fue en Cain, y en el general anegamiento del mundo, como despues en el mismo estado de la lei natural: y en la escrita por manos de Moyses y otros sus ministros, en la adoracion del becerro, y otros pecados, y alevosías, que tuvieron. Pero aunque es verdad, que en todas las edades del mundo los ha avido, con todo, parece averse ilustrado y engrandecido mas su autoridad en este estado de gracia y evangelico: en el qual el mismo Dios humanado, Jesu Christo Nuestro Señor, hiço entrega de él, á su Vicario San Pedro y á todos sus legitimos sucesores, como aquel que tenia comunicada de su Padre Eterno toda la potestad en el cielo y en la tierra, como él mismo lo dice de sí mismo, quando dixo á San Pedro, "Apacienta mis ovejas." Y en otra parte dice, "Tu convertido, confirma á tus hermanos." Y asi se refiere en muchos canones del derecho, por lo qual, de todas las cosas pertenecientes á la Fé, son ellos los proprios y legitimos jueces, por particular y expresa comision de Dios que para ello tienen. *Porque al Vicario universal de la Iglesia, á quien ese mismo Dios tiene cometidas sus veces, conviene castigar con penas los pecados cometidos contra Dios.*

Esta potestad inquisitoria, aunque es verdad *que es propria y legitima del Sumo Pontifice y Vicario de Dios,* que començó en San Pedro* despues de Christo Nuestro Señor, y se vá continuando en sus legitimos sucesores, *es tambien comunicada y derivada á los Arçobispos y Obispos,* deducida de la que ese mismo Sumo Pontifice tiene, de legitimo y proprio oficio: porque como dice Anacleto Papa, que rigió la Silla Apostolica á los ciento y dos años despues de la encarnacion de Christo Nuestro Señor, faltando los Apostoles, les sucedieron en su lugar los Obispos; á los quales los que los reciben y juntamente su Catolica doctrina, reciben á Dios en ellos.

De aqui tuvo principio en la primitiva Iglesia, que en todas las provincias de la Christiandad se juntaban á Concilio Provincial dos veces en el año, donde se hacia examen è inquisicion juridica de todas las cosas tocantes y pertenecientes á la Fé y cosas eclesiasticas. Este uso y costumbre santa se guardó hasta la celebracion de el sexto Concilio Constantinopolitano, que se celebró el año del Señor de 681, donde se determinó, que sola una vez en el año se hiciesen estas inquisiciones regulares en los Concilios Provinciales. Y lo mismo se confirmó en el septimo Sinodo Niceno, en tiempo de el Papa Adriano, como lo afirma Zonaras, año de 774, y está en el derecho.

* It is surprising what wilful ignorance most Protestant writers display in treating of heresy, and the period when this imaginary crime, as even they are pleased to name it, became the subject of grave inquiry and led to the enactment of sanguinary laws. They contend that it was not punishable in the early ages, but that the ambition of the Church of Rome first drew from its scabbard the spiritual sword, which was to subject to its will the thoughts and consciences of men. The first part of their assertion alone appears to be true; but not for the reasons which they would assign. In the early ages the pastors of the Church were in fact too weak to persecute, even if they had felt the inclination; nor did Christians as a public body acquire any power till the reign of Constantine, who, although a wicked prince according to the testimony of profane historians, became from policy the first Christian emperor;—one remarkable feature marking the progress of Christianity, that is to say, such a long succession of emperors refusing to recognise it, and some even to tolerate it, although the founder of that religion was born in a province of the Roman empire; whom it would be as unreasonable to suppose could long have remained ignorant of an important political event which took place in Palestine, as that any novel circumstance occurring in Egypt could long be concealed from the sovereigns of the Ottoman empire. The latter part of their assertion is prompted by the hatred which all schismatic Churches bear to the Church of Rome. It is sufficient to say that it is false, and that the charge, if advanced, must recoil back *on the primitive Church as soon as it became possessed of temporal power.* The very name αἱρεσις, which these writers profess to call a new-fangled term, which betrays its origin by its new signification, forgetting at the same time that it must be defended or condemned on the same grounds as the cognate term βλασφημια, which, like αἱρεσις, was a new name given by the early Christians to a new crime, is rather a proof of their ignorance or want of candour, than of their research and learning. The real truth of the case is, that the Church did exercise inquisitorial functions as soon as it became possessed of the power to do so; and that it did acquire that power in very early times is an historical fact: it is highly probable also, that the Jews and Christians, who in centuries immediately succeeding to the Christian æra, as well as at a later period, colonized America, introduced amongst the Indians many new modes of punishment for imaginary crimes, which gave a tincture of ferocity to the laws of the New World.

Y lo mismo dice Lucio, Papa III. que rigiò la Iglesia de Dios el año de 1181 de la encarnacion de el Señor. Asi lo enseña el Sacro Concilio Universal Lateranense, celebrado en tiempo de Inocencio III. año de 1215, y se dice en el derecho.

Aunque lo dicho se fue continuando por este modo algunos años, no permaneciò, ò por estorvos que huviese ò por negocios otros que ocurrian á ser estorvo á esta santa y general diligencia y examen. Por lo qual, el Sumo Pontifice, con madura deliberacion, acordó que otros varones doctos y sabios, Christianos y Catolicos, fuesen elegidos para que, como delegados de la Sede Apostolica, se ocupasen en este Santo y Catolico Oficio, y lo exercitasen con maduro y debido cuidado. Y de aqui parece aver tenido este Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, origen y principio de las legacías Pontificias de tiempo aca de 400 años, poco mas ó menos, como lo prueba doctamente Ludovico de Paramo en su libro del Origen de la Inquisicion y Santo Oficio, porque antes de este tiempo los Obispos lo exercian con autoridad ordinaria.

El motivo que huvo para elegir y nombrar Inquisidores (segun el mismo Ludovico) fueron las heregias de los Albigenses, que començaron en la Galia Narbonense, y dice ser el primero que se llamó Inquisidor General, el Glorioso Padre Santo Domingo; y porque he visto controversia y question entre algunos, sobre qual haya sido este primer Inquisidor General con autoridad Apostolica, lo dexo por no ser mi particular intento controversiar y contender con ellos, y paso á lo forçoso de mi raçon; y digo, que solo ha sido de mi intento decir el origen y principio de este Santo Tribunal, tan necesario en el mundo, para venir á tratar de él en estos reinos de la Nueva España, donde pasó, despues de averse pacificado por nuestros Españoles; de el qual tanto provecho se le ha seguido á la Christiandad, plantandose en estas nuevas tierras, *por aver pasado á ellas gentes manchadas*, que con su mala doctrina han querido contaminar el fortisimo muro de la verdadera Fé de Jesu Christo Nuestro Señor, que Nuestra Madre la Santa Iglesia Catolica Romana tiene, con que reconoce y confiesa à su Celestial Esposo Jesu Christo, Redemptor Nuestro; por cuya misericordia se començaron á descubrir y entender, luego que entró en la tierra las heregias *y Judaismos* que en ella se iban introduciendo; y fueron prendiendo y castigando los Señores de este Santo Tribunal á estos contaminadores y obreros de maldad, que se iban despeñando por el camino errado de su ceguera y malicia.

Vino, pues, el Tribunal de el Santo Oficio á esta Nueva España el año de 1571*, reinando en España el Catolico Rei Don Felipe II. de este nombre, de gloriosa y santa memoria, siendo Inquisidor General el Cardenal de Toledo, Don Diego de Espinosa, y governando esta Nueva España el prudentisimo Virrei Don Martin Enriquez. Recibióse este Santo Tribunal con mui grandes fiestas y aparato. Fue primer Inquisidor el Doctor Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, por aver muerto el Licenciado Juan de Cervantes que venia por Inquisidor, quedando el dicho Doctor Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, que despues fue Arçobispo de Mexico, Visitador de la Real Audiencia y Presidente de ella con voto, Governador y Capitan General de este reino (como en otra parte decimos), y bolviendo á España con la visita, le mandó su Magestad que visitase el Real Consejo de las Indias, donde pasó á su Presidencia y murió Presidente en él. Fue en su tiempo Fiscal de este dicho Tribunal de el Santo Oficio Don Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla, y el año de 1563 el Consejo de su Magestad de la General Inquisicion, Sede vacante, le dió titulo de Inquisidor, y aviendo su Magestad dado la visita de la Audiencia de Lima en el Perú, y asistiendo en ella, la misma Magestad Real le promovió á la Silla Arçobispal de Mexico, por ser hombre de singular valor y mui calificadas prendas. Diósele titulo de Fiscal al Licenciado Alonso Granero; y el año de 1574, el Cardenal Don Gaspar de Quiroga, Arçobispo de Toledo, Inquisidor General, dió titulo al dicho Licenciado Granero de Abalos, de Inquisidor de Mexico, y poco despues fue electo Obispo de las Charcas en los reinos de el Perú, donde murió algunos años despues.

Al Licenciado Santos Garcia se le dió titulo de Fiscal, y el año de 1576 titulo de Inquisidor, á quien su Magestad dió el Obispado de Guadalaxara en la Nueva Galicia, y murió en esta ciudad de Mexico, siendo Obispo de aquel Obispado. Diósele titulo de Fiscal al Doctor Lobo Guerrero, y el año de 1579 el de Inquisidor; y este mismo año, de Fiscal al Doctor Martos de Bohorques; y el de 94 se dió titulo de Inquisidor al Licenciado Don Alonso de Peralta, hombre mui calificado y eminentisimo en las cosas de este Santo Oficio, el qual en su tiempo las aumentó y autoriçó en el sér y punto que aora tienen, con grandisimo exemplo y recogimiento de personas,

* It would be a mistake to infer from this passage that the Inquisition was not known nor its power felt in New Spain before the year 1571; since it had been established at a much earlier period in the island of Saint Domingo, from whence its jurisdiction extended by delegated powers to Mexico and the other provinces of New Spain.

saber, y letras mui aventajadas. Sirviendo este dicho Oficio, le hiço su Magestad merced de el Arcedianato de Mexico, para ayuda de costa de el immenso gasto que avia tenido en la exaltacion y aumento de este Santo Tribunal. Luego fue promovido á Arçobispo de la Plata en los reinos de el Perú, donde aora vive con gran nombre y loa de todos en aquella Santa Iglesia. Siendo Inquisidor, murió el Catolicisimo Rei Felipe II. de santa memoria, y despues de averle celebrado sus honras y obsequias la Audiencia con el Virrei y ciudad, con especial magestad y grandeça en esta ciudad de Mexico, se hicieron otro dia por el Tribunal de el Santo Oficio en el insigne y religiosisimo convento de Santo Domingo, con tumulo y ornato tan autoriçado que compitió con el de la ciudad; y dexó tanto nombre, que obligó á que de él se hiciese un mui copioso libro por el Doctor Ribera, Canonigo de la Catedral de Mexico, el qual anda impreso, que es de mucha elegancia y singular artificio, por averlo sido el tumulo que el dicho Inquisidor Don Alonso de Peralta ordenó. En este acto asistió solo con el Fiscal Martos de Bohorques, por no tener á la saçon compañero; y porque anda de molde el dicho libro me remito á lo que en él se dice.

En diez y siete de Julio de 1599, Don Pedro Portocarrero, Inquisidor General y Obispo de Cuenca, dió titulo de Inquisidor al Licenciado Gutierre Bernardo de Quirós, persona de grande suerte, de mucha virtud y prudencia, grandes letras y recogimiento, singular celador de la honra de Dios contra *Judios* y heréges; ayudando con mui singular cuidado al dicho Inquisidor Don Alonso (que es aora Arçobispo de la Plata) en este Santo Tribunal, en el reparo y enmienda de grandes relaxaciones que se avian introducido en pechos poco temerosos de Dios, contra su santa lei y mandamientos, corrigiendo costumbres relaxadas, y castigando *con fuego* y otras penas, segun disposicion de el derecho, á los culpados. Aora está en el mismo oficio con nombre y fama de prudentisimo varon. Fue promovido el Licenciado Lobo Guerrero al Arçobispado de el Nuevo Reino de Granada, y por ser persona tal, pasó al de Lima en el Perú, donde al presente govierna aquella Iglesia.

El año de 1612, que vino la nueva á esta Nueva España de el fallecimiento y muerte de la Serenisima Reina Doña Margarita, muger de el Catolicisimo Rei Don Felipe III. de este nombre Nuestro Señor, se le hicieron en esta dicha ciudad de Mexico las exequias por el Virrei y Audiencia en la Iglesia Mayor, como á tan Alta Magestad convenian; y siguiendo la costumbre que en esto ha tenido este Santo Tribunal, las celebró tambien en el dicho convento de Santo Domingo el dicho Inquisidor Gutierre Bernardo, queriendose mostrar mui aventajado en ellas; y asi lo estuvo el tumulo y aparato, puesto en medio de la capilla mayor de la dicha Iglesia (que es mui grande) tan adornado de paños, de figuras, letras y geroglificos, plata y cera, que parece excedia en traça y adorno el arte humana. Asistió solo en los oficios de vigilia y misa los dos dias que duraron las honras con el Fiscal de el mismo tribunal, por averse muerto su compañero Martos de Bohorques. Acompañaronle todos los oficiales de el Santo Oficio, religiosos, clerigos, y seglares, que son en numero muchos, con otro mui grande acompañamiento de gente que hiço el acto mui lustroso. Y porque otro dirá por mas menuda cuenta y en mas larga relacion lo mucho que de este solemnisimo acto puede decirse, lo callo yo, engrandeciendo el valor y animo de su autor, donde mostrò tenerle haciendo cosa tan grandiosa, y juntamente el piadoso sentimiento de pérdida tan grande con muerte de tan santa y soberana Señora.

Fue nombrado Inquisidor por el Cardenal de Toledo Don Bernardo de Roxas y Sandoval, Inquisidor General, el Licenciado Martos de Bohorques; y murió en el oficio á pocos años despues de su nombramiento; y por Fiscal el Doctor Don Juan de Velasco, por el mismo Cardenal Arçobispo de Toledo, persona de mucha calificacion, mui docto en su facultad, mui prudente, y digno de mayores oficios. Por muerte de el dicho Martos de Bohorques, se le dió titulo de Inquisidor al Licenciado Juan Gutierrez Flores, que lo era de la Santa Inquisicion de Mallorca; é hiço subida á este Santo Tribunal de Mexico por el dicho Cardenal Don Bernardo de Roxas. Es hombre mui autoriçado, y vá con opinion de mui buen acertamiento por el mucho saber que ha mostrado en los oficios que ha tenido. Conserve Dios á los presentes en su santo servicio, y quiera que los que despues les sucedieren sean tales, como conviene, para la conservacion de su Santa Fé, exaltacion de su Santo Nombre, y acrecentamiento de sus alabanças eternas.

De los Autos Generales, que este Santo Oficio y Tribunal ha tenido en diversos tiempos en esta Nueva-España, despues que en ella entró.

El primer Auto de Inquisicion, que este Santo Oficio tuvo, fue el año de 1574: celebróse en la Plaçuela de el Marqués del Valle, entre la puerta del Perdon de la Iglesia Mayor, y casas del dicho Marqués. Fue Auto mui solemne y autoriçado; y como fue el primero, concurrieron á él muchas gentes de diversas partes y muchas leguas apartadas de esta ciudad, siendo inquisidores Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, y Don Alonso Fernandez de Bonilla. Huvo en él sesenta y tres penitentes: los veinte y uno reconciliados en persona, por la secta de Martin Lutero: y cinco, por la misma secta relaxados y entregados al braço seglar y quemados: los demas fueron penitenciados por diverso delitos.

Luego el año siguiente de 1575 huvo otro Auto público, aunque no de tanta gente. Desde este año, hasta el de 1593 se celebraron otros siete Autos, en que huvo otra mucha copia de personas por varios delitos, que fueron desde el primero en numero nueve.

El decimo Auto se celebró en la Plaça Mayor de esta ciudad de Mexico, segundo Domingo de Adviento, dia de la Concepcion Purisima de la Virgen Madre de Dios Señora Nuestra, á ocho de Diciembre, año de 1596, en que huvo sesenta y siete personas. Fue Auto mui famoso: por esta raçon se pondrán aqui algunas circunstancias de él. Celebróse siendo Inquisidor el Doctor Don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, electo Arçobispo del Nuevo Reino, y el Licenciado Don Alonso de Peralta, que ahora lo es de las Charcas, por otro nombre llamado de la Plata, siendo Virrei de esta Nueva-España Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acebedo, Conde de Monte-Rei, que estuvo presente. Vino con los Señores de la Audiencia, hasta la puerta principal de la Inquisicion, despues de aver salido los penitentes, donde le recibieron los inquisidores, y fueron en la forma acostumbrada, llevando el dicho Virrei é Inquisidor mas moderno, en medio al Inquisidor mas antiguo, yendo el Virrei á la mano derecha. La Real Audiencia, luego por su orden, y al fin della el Doctor Martos de Bohorques, Promotor Fiscal del Santo Oficio, con el estandarte de la Fé, y á su lado izquierdo Don Juan de Altamirano, Caballero del hábito de Santiago, yerno de Don Luis de Velasco, que ahora es Marqués de Salinas y Presidente del Real Consejo de las Indias, que llevaba una de las borlas del estandarte. Delante de él, el Secretario, Alguacil Mayor y Receptor del Santo Oficio. Luego el Capitan de la Guardia, y Alguacil Mayor de la Audiencia. Luego iba por su antigüedad el Cabildo Eclesiastico y Universidad; á la mano derecha, haciendo cabeça, la dignidad que preside; á la izquierda, iba el Cabildo seglar, Corregidor, Alcaldes Ordinarios, Oficiales Reales, Regidores y Ministros de la Audiencia, mezclandose los unos con los otros, y adelante mucha copia de gente, que precedió con este orden, hasta su lugar, que le eligió en las casas de Cabildo de la Plaça Mayor, donde se ordenó un sumptuoso asiento. Era su planicie un suelo, al nivel y parejo del pasamano, y baranda del alquería que formaba un bocel corrido con sus molduras graciosas. En el vivo de esta cornija se puso en forma de estrado el asiento, quedando plaça bastante para las sillas de los señores, Virrei, inquisidores, y Audiencia. Por lo alto venia el dos el del Tribunal, que con el aparato de colgaduras de seda, y alfombras ricas y labradas, que se tendieron por los espacios y suelo del estrado, hacia gran magestad.

Fue cosa maravillosa, la gente que concurrió á este célebre y famoso Auto, y la que estuvo á las ventanas y plaças, hasta la puerta y casas de el Santo Oficio, para ver este singular acompañamiento y procesion de los relaxados y penitenciados, que salieron con sogas y coroças de llamas de fuego, y una cruz verde en las manos, llevando cada uno de estos un Religioso á su lado, para que le exortase á bien morir, y un Familiar de Guarda. Los reconciliados Judaiçantes, con sambenitos y Familiares á sus lados. Los casados dos veces, con coroças pintadas significadoras de sus delitos. Las hechiceras, con coroças blancas, velas y sogas. Otros, por blasfemos, con mordaças en las lenguas, en cuerpo, descubiertas las cabeças y velas en las manos, todos en orden, siguiendo unos á otros. Los de menores delitos delante, y por este orden los demas, quedando los relaxados detras, *y los dogmatistas y enseñadores de la Ley de Moysen, como capitanes y caudillos, los ultimos con sus caudas sobre sus coroças, retorcidas y enroscadas, significando las falsas proposiciones de su falso magisterio y enseñança,* con que fueron procediendo hasta su tablado, que hacia frente con el asiento del Tribunal, á cuyos pies havia gradas, donde se sentaron los Oficiales y Ministros del Santo Oficio, por su antigüedad*.

* It is singular that the Inquisition should have decreed that green as a colour for the dress, and the Greek letter T, which resembles a cross of spurious form, although *more like* in form to the Latin than is the Greek cross, as also Saint Andrew's crosses, should be worn by Jews sentenced

El tablado de los penitenciados fue maravilloso; porque en su medio, monteaba una media pirámide (que llaman media naranja) ceñida de gradas de medio círculo, que subian hasta su extremidad, donde estuvieron por su orden los relaxados. Los Maestros dogmatistas en las mas altas gradas, y los otros asentados, como iban baxando; y por este orden las estatuas de los difuntos y ausentes relaxados. Los reconciliados y los otros penitentes en bancos en la plaça del tablado. El Alguacil Mayor del Santo Oficio tuvo silla en la planicie del tablado. Pusose púlpito al lado derecho del Santo Oficio, donde predicó el Arçobispo de las Filipinas, Don Frai Ignacio de Santivañez, de la Orden de mi Glorioso Padre San Francisco. Otros dos púlpitos se pusieron á los colaterales del Tribunal, en que leyeron los Relatores las sentencias, las quales no se ponen aqui por escusar prolixidad, que fueron varias, segun los delitos: *solo digo, que cada uno de estos porfiados Judios, podia ser Rabino en una sinagoga.* Celebróse con grande magestad, quedando el pueblo con no poco asombro de los ritos y ceremonias *de estos hereges judaiçantes*, y delitos graves que allí se leyeron.

El año de 1602, se celebró otro Auto de Fé, siendo inquisidores el Lic. Don Alonso de Peralta, y el Lic. Gutierre Bernardo de Quirós, en el mismo lugar de la Plaça Mayor de esta ciudad con el adorno y aparato dicho, dia de la Anunciacion de la Virgen Santisima Maria, á 25 de Março. Predicó el Arcediano de la Santa Iglesia de la misma ciudad, Don Juan de Cervantes, Obispo que es ahora de Antequera, por otro nombre Guaxaca, que era Consultor del Santo Oficio. Por ser el acompañamiento y adorno del cadahalso y estrados el mismo que queda dicho en el pasado, no lo refiero; solo digo, que tuvo este Auto de aumento y añadidura una procesion, que se hiço el dia antes en la tarde, trayendo una cruz grande verde, desde las casas de la Inquisicion, hasta el cadahalso, que se puso en lo alto de la media naranja y lugar de los penitenciados. Fue Acto este de grande autoridad, y célebre en grandeça: concurrió á él infinito pueblo, y fue mui solemne su acompañamiento: donde concurrieron tambien todas las Ordenes y Clerecía, con toda la Caballería Mexicana, y muchas velas de cera encendidas. Toda aquella noche tuvo á su contorno muchas hachas y blandones de cera encendidos; y la velaron Religiosos de las dichas Ordenes y otras gentes y ministros del Santo Oficio.

Huvo ciento y tantos penitenciados. Entre los que quemaron, fue un herege, que por su pertinacia y dureça le quemaron vivo. Huvo estatuas de relaxados, y muchos de ellos, por otros particulares delitos, algunos de los quales, los mas enormes y sucios que jamas se han oido; porque sabe el Demonio inventarlos, para engañar á los hombres. Despues acá ha havido otros Autos, aunque no tan solemnes como los dos dichos, y cada año, este Santo Tribunal acostumbra ya tenerlos, con la solemnidad que le parece convenir al Acto.

Está mui ilustrada esta Santa Inquisicion, porque ultra de ser el Tribunal tan Santo y estar siempre proveido de personas mui dignas del Oficio, que cada dia salen de él para Obispos y Arçobispos de diferentes iglesias, tiene Calificadores, Clerigos y Religiosos, Consultores de los Señores de la Real Audiencia y otros particulares Letrados doctos. Tiene Patrocinadores, Alguacil Mayor, Familiares, Alcalde y otros Oficiales necesarios, para el buen despacho de los negocios. *Hay carcel perpetua, cerca de las de la Inquisicion, mui cumplida, y abastecida de lo necesario.*

to be burnt alive for heresy; since the same symbols were accounted highly honourable by the Mexicans; and the question is curious, how the Inquisition, the Jews, and the Mexicans, should ever have come to share such corresponding antipathies. Sahagun informs us in the first section of the eighteenth chapter of the eighth book of his History of New Spain, not only that the Mexican priests were accustomed to wear a green vest when they offered incense to the gods, but that the dress likewise of the Mexican kings, when they were taken to the temple immediately after their election to be presented to Huitzilopuchtli, was entirely green, consisting of a green cowl or hood over the head, a green mantle, and green sandals. A cross resembling the Greek T frequently occurs in the Mexican paintings, undoubtedly as a religious symbol. The Indians of Yucatan, as well as the Mexicans, entertained a superstitious reverence for the cross named after Saint Andrew, placing it over the heads of infants in the cradle. Since there are many grounds for supposing that the Mexicans believed in a Trinity,—although whether with distinction of persons, or consubstantiation, will perhaps ever remain a mystery,—the assertion of Sahagun, in the eighteenth chapter of his eighth book, that the priests took the newly elected king of Mexico to present him to Huitzilopuchtli, and his insertion in the ninth chapter of his sixth book of the prayer which the new king addressed to Tezcatlipoca on the same occasion (being a prayer of thanksgiving for his election), render it very probable that Huitzilopuchtli was considered by the Mexicans the same god as Tezcatlipoca.

Capitulo XX. *della "Prattica per Procedere nelle Cause del S. Offizio."*

Delli Giudei et altri Infedeli in quanto alli Delitti che spettano al S. Offizio.

Essendo che alcune cose della S. Fede sono alli Cristiani e Giudei communi, quindi e, che se in esse si trovano delinquenti i Giudei, il S. Offizio procede contro di loro. Le cose communi à Cristiani et à loro sono come: Dio essere uno, eterno, onnipotente creatore del mondo; che vi siano paradiso, e inferno, angeli, demonii, scrittura sacra, anima immortale, e simili; e però se vengono nel S. Offizio indiziati di non credere, ò tutte, ò alcune di dette cose, ò di avere proferite parole indecenti, sospezione di mala credulità intorno ad esse, si procede contro di loro à cattura e perquisizione de' libri e scritture, e si tirano inanzi le cause con i termini della ragione, come si fà con altri, e confessando la mala credulità, si fanno abiurare, ò de' vehementi, ò de' levi, secondo la qualità dell' indizii, parole proferite, e condizione delle persone, cioè se sono di più ò meno intelligente; e quanto alla pena, si condannano anco, come i Cristiani che si trovano in detti capi delinquenti, ò à carcere, ò à galera, ò esilii, ò rilegazioni.

Inoltre Gregorio Decimo Terzo del 1581 fece una constituzione, che comincia: "Antiqua Judæorum improbitas," nella quale espresse alcuni altri capi particolari, ne' quali ritrovandosi delinquere i Giudei et altri Infedeli, dà facoltà all' Inquisitori di procedere nelle cause della Fede, secondo la forma de' sacri canoni e constituzioni dell' Offizio della S. Inquisitione. Il primo caso, se alcuno di loro asserisse cosa contraria alle suddette, che sono communi alli Cristiani et à loro, ò l' averanno predicata ò instillata ad alcuno anco privatamente. 2°. Se averanno invocato e consultato i Demonii, procurato risposte da loro, fattoli sacrificii, espostoli preghiere, ò per divinazione, ò per altra causa, overo che abbino immolato cosa alcuna, ò prestatogli qualsivoglia altro empio ossequio. 3°. Se con le parole, fatti, esempio, ò in altro qualsivoglia modo averanno insegnato ò indotto li Cristiani, ò tentato d' indurli à fare le suddette cose. 4°. Se averanno in ignominia, sprezzo, e corruttela della Fede Cristiana empiamente detto che il Salvatore nostro sia puro uomo, overo che sia stato peccatore, la Madre di Dio non sia stata vergine, ò altre simili bestemmie, che si sogliono chiamare ereticali per se stesse. 5°. Se per opera, aiuto, consiglio, ò favore di qualsivoglia di loro, alcun Cristiano averà apostatato dalla S. Fede, overo sarà passato, ò ritornato alli riti, ceremonie, superstizioni, e sette de' Giudei, et altri Infedeli, overo sarà caduto in alcuna eresia. 6°. Se averanno impedito, overo esortato in qualsivoglia modo alcun cattecumeno, ò qualsivoglia altro di loro, ò d' altre sette d' Infedeli, quali per inspirazione di Dio volesse venire alla Fede Cristiana, doppo aver dichiarato con cenni, parole, fatti, ò in qualsivoglia modo la sua volontà à non pigliare il sacro Battesimo, ò venire alla S. Fede. 7°. Se averanno scientemente ricettato nelle case loro, nutrito, aiutato ne i viaggi e passaggi, apostati et eretici, ò in qualsivoglia modo e luogo l' abbino provisto di cibi, datoli ò mandatoli doni e presenti, condottili da un luogo all' altro, ò accompagnatili, overo procurato che fossero condotti ò accompagnati, ò somministrandoli spese, guide, fattoli ò datoli compagnia, ò se averanno procurato che le cose fatte da detti apostati e eretici non si siino potute penetrare ne investigare, e di più chi li averà in qualsivoglia modo occultati ò difesi, ò prestatoli aiuto, consiglio, ò favore. 8°. Se averánno tenuto, custodito, overo divulgato in qualsivoglia luogo, ò portato libri eretici, overo Talmudici, ò altri libri Giudaici in qualsivoglia modo dannati, e proibiti, overo in far questo, averanno prestato l' aiuto et opera loro. 9°. Se averanno deriso e schernito i Cristiani, et in sprezzo e ludibrio dell' Ostia salutare di nostra redenzione Cristo Jesu Signore Nostro immolato nell' Altare della Croce, in qualsivoglia modo ò tempo, mà specialmente nel Venerdi Santo averanno affisso et appeso in Croce agnello, ò pecora, ò altra cosa, et in essa sputato, e fatto altri atti di disprezzo. 10°. Se averanno, contro l' instituto de' sacri canoni, et altre constituzioni e decreti de' Sommi Pontefici, tenuto Nutrici Cristiane, ò tenendole, le averanno sforzate à gettare il latte nelle latrine, ò cloache, ò altri luoghi, in quel giorno che si saranno communicate, ne' quali casi trovandosi alcun Giudeo ò altro Infedele colpevole, vuole il detto Pontefice, che l' Inquisitori castighino, secondo la qualità, moltiplicatione, e consuetudine de' delitti, condennandoli à fruste, ò à galere, eziamdio perpetue, ò à publicatione de' beni, bandi, et altre più atroci pene, che possino servire ad esempio per spaventare gl' altri scelerati ad astenersi da simili errori, delitti, e sceleraggini.

Vengono anco alle volte denonciati i Giudei d' avere percorso ò deturpato imagini de' Santi, e non è dubbio, che quando il Santo Offizio ò l' Ordinario previene, non vi si deve ingerire il Foro Laico, mà il dubbio stà, se quando il Laico previene, possa egli procedere nelle cause; si è fatto sopra di ciò alcune volte matura riflessione nel

Santo Offizio, e con quest' occasione è stato ancora discorso, se la Bolla suddetta, "*Antiqua Judeorum*" nella quale si dà facoltà à gl' Ordinarii et Inquisitori di procedere nelli casi in essa espressi, s' intenda *privativè* "quoad Judices Laicos," ò pure *cumulativè* secondo la ragione commune. Li più voti anno inclinato sempre al *privativè*, contenendo i detti capi materie meramente sacramentali et ecclesiastiche; non è però mai uscito decreto deffinitivo di questa questione, mà il più si è pratticato il *privativè*. Ha dato occasione alle volte di maggior dubbio il caso dell' Imagini offese e deturpate, perchè non si trova veramente espresso in detta Bolla; per gl' esempi nondimeno che si hanno nel Santo Offizio, si vede essere stato molto più pratticato conoscere simili cause *privativè* quoad Laicos, che altrimenti, benchè per degne cause qualche volta si sian permesse simili cognizioni al Laico. In simili casi l' Inquisitori inferiori per fuggire le contenzioni in Laici, e caminare più sicuro, devono sempre dar conto quà al supremo Tribunale di que. che occorre, et aspettare l' ordine.

Vengono inoltre tal volta denunziati li Ebrei, che si faccino accendere il fuoco da Cristiani il Sabbato, e provandosi il fatto li castiga il S. Offizio. Il fondamento di ciò pensano alcuni essere, perchè sia superstizione de' Giudei il non volere accendere il fuoco in quel giorno, e però il servirsi de' Cristiani per questo effetto superstizioso sia delitto spettante al Santo Offizio, mà veramente non è superstizione, anzi è commandamento espresso della loro legge nell' Esodo cap. xxxiv. "*Non succendetis ignem in omnibus habitationibus vestris per diem Sabbathi*"; e dice Lirano sopra il cap. xii. dell' Esodo, che era proibito loro l' accenderlo in tal giorno eziamdio per mano de' Gentili, natione tenuta da loro per alienigena e serva, della quale si servivano in esercizii vili, per ludibrio e contempto di essa e sua religione, e perchè anche oggi dì tengono i Cristiani per Gentili e servi, però il servizio di essi in esercizii vili, come appunto è l' accendere il fuoco, si presume che ciò faccino in contumelia e sprezzo del nome Cristiano, mostrandosi in quel poco che possono, superiori e signori à noi, come altre volte erano, quando dominavano i Gentili, e tenevano captivi: conseguentemente si puniscono anco i Cristiani, che fanno alli Giudei simili esercizii vili, perchè vengono à cooperare all' empie intenzioni del Giudeo, et à fare atto indecentissimo alla dignità della Religione Cristiana, non essendo decente, che *filii liberæ serviant filiis ancillæ*. Clemente Ottavo poi nell' anno 1593 publicò contro de gl' Ebrei un' altra Constituzione, che comincia, "*Cum Hebræorum malitia;*" nella quale alle Constituzioni di Gregorio IX., d' Innocenzo IV., di Honorio IV., di Giovanni XXII., di Giulio IV., di Paolo IV., e Gregorio XIII., i quali più volte avevano dannato il Talmud, et altri scritti e volumi detestabili, e proibito che non si tenessero, esterminandoli da tutte le provincie e regni della republica Cristiana, aggiunge la proibizione in perpetuo, che non possino tenere sotto qualsivoglia colore ò pretesto, nè leggere, ò comprare, nè vendere qualsivoglia libro ò codice Talmudico, et altri Cabalistici vanissimi tante volte dannati; nè l' opere, commentarii, trattati, volumi, ò qualsivoglia scritto cosi in lingua Ebrea, come in qualsivoglia altra; nè scritti traslati, nè tradotti, stampati, ò che per l' avvenire fossero per scriversi, tradursi, overo stamparsi, contenenti tacitamente, ò espressamente eresie, ò errori contro la Sacra Scrittura dell' antica legge, e Vecchio Testamento, contumelie, empietà, e bestemmie contro Dio, la Santissima Trinità, il Salvatore nostro Jesu Cristo, la sua Santa Cristiana Fede, contro la Beata Vergine, Angeli, Beati, Patriarchi, Profeti, Apostoli, et altri Santi, contro la Santa Croce, Sacramenti della nova legge, Sacre Imagini, la Chiesa Cattolica, la Sede Apostolica, e contro li Fedeli Cristiani, e specialmente Vescovi, Sacerdoti, et altre persone ecclesiastiche, et anco contro i novellamente convertiti alla Fede di Cristo, e Neofiti, ò che contengono narrazioni impudiche et oscene, eziamdio sotto pretesto che siano espurgati, overo sino che si espurghino, ò che siano stati stampati di nuovo, ò mutati li nomi, ò sotto pretesto di tolleranza, ò commissione (come essi pretendono) del Secretario, ò di qualsivoglia altra persona del Concilio di Trento, ò dell' Indice de' libri proibiti di Pio IV., e di qualsivoglia altro indulto Apostolico, overo licenza concessa in qualsivoglia modo da Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa, eziamdio Legati, overo dal Camerlengo, ò Camera Apostolica, ò Nunzii eziamdio, che habbino la potestà di Legato à latere, overo de gl' Ordinarii de' luoghi, overo de gl' Inquisitori; e revoca ogni e qualsivoglia facoltà, lettere, permissioni, indulti, tolleranza di leggere, ò tenere, ò à certo tempo sotto qualsivoglia pretesto, i suddetti scritti, volumi, libri, et altre opere proibite sopranominate concesse à qualsivoglia Giudeo in genere, overo in specie da suoi Predecessori, e dalla detta Santa Sede, overo da suoi Legati etiamdio à Latere, ò Nunzii, ò Inquisitori, overo Ordinarii, commandando alli Giudei di Roma, che frà dieci giorni doppo la pubblicazione di detta Constituzione dovessero consegnare all' Offizio della Santa Romana, et universale Inquisizione, e fuori di Roma frà due mesi à gl' Ordinarii et Inquisitori dei luoghi, quei libri suddetti, che si trovano avere, ordinando à gl' Ordinarii, et Inquisitori, che subbito senz' altro ordine della Santità Sua, e senza interposizione di alcuna dimora, si brucciassero.

Commanda anco di più così à Giudei, come à qualsivoglia stampatore, librajo, mercante, et ad ogni altro Cris-

tiano, sotto pena della perdità de' libri, e publicazione di tutti i beni, da applicarsi al fisco del Prencipe nel suo stato si fossero trovati detti libri, et altre più gravi pene, etiam corporali ad arbitrio dell' Ordinario et Inquisizione, et anco quanto alli Cristiani di scommunica maggiore di lata sentenza, che non possono avere, leggere, evulgare, stampare, descrivere, copiare, portare, vendere, comprare, donare, commentare, ò in qualsivoglia altro modo distraere overo alienare gli suddetti libri, et altri scritti; e che niuno ardisca di dare ajuto, consiglio, ò favore in qualsivoglia modo alli Giudei per avere, scrivere, ò stampare li detti libri, ò per portarli, ò farli venire d' altrove, ò per impetrar loro licenza di poterli leggere, sotto le suddette et altre pene, imposte da Sacri Canoni, et altre Constituzioni Apostoliche, contro li fautori delli Eretici et Apostati dalla S. Sede: e commanda à tutti gl' Ordinarii et Inquisitori de' luoghi ove abitano Giudei, che faccino diligentissima perquisizione, così nelle sinagoghe, e luoghi publici, come privati, case, et officine loro, e trovando alcuno colpevole di ritenzione de' suddetti libri, procedino all' esecuzione delle suddette pene, e più gravi à loro arbitrio, castigando di più li contradittori, e qualsivoglia inobbediente, e chi à questo prestasse ajuto, consiglio, e favore, con ogni opportuno rimedio di ragione, e di fatto posposta ogni appellatione, domandando anco per quest' effetto (se fosse bisogno) il braccio secolare. E veramente è tanto perniciosa e contaggiosa la lezzione de' suddetti libri, che nell' occasione il Santo Offizio vi procede con ogni ragione di giusto rigore, ne si ammette la scusa, che ordinariamente adducono, che siino espurgati, ò che si possino espurgare; perchè sono inseriti frà essi con tanta artificiosa et astuta maniera gl' errori e le calunnie contro la Religione Cattolica, che non si puonno separare, ò restano affatto inespurgabili, e non si possono espurgare.

HISTORIA

DEL ORIGEN DE LAS GENTES QUE POBLARON LA AMERICA SEPTENTRIONAL,

QUE LLAMAN LA NUEVA-ESPANA;

CON NOTICIA DE LOS PRIMEROS

QUE ESTABLECIERON LA MONARQUIA QUE EN ELLA FLORECIÓ DE LA NACION TOLTECA,

Y NOTICIAS QUE ALCANZARON DE LA CREACION DEL MUNDO.

SU AUTOR

EL LICENCIADO DON MARIANO FERNANDEZ DE ECHEVARRIA Y VEITIA,

CABALLERO PROFESO DEL ORDEN MILITAR DE SANTIAGO.

DISCURSO PRELIMINAR.

DIFICULTOSO empeño ha sido siempre escribir para la prensa dando á luz novedades de la antigüedad solidamente fundadas en monumentos seguros que las apoyen y satisfagan á los erudítos, mayormente en aquellos asuntos en que han trabajado y escrito muchos y graves autores que deven suponerse bien instruidos, y mucho mas en la era en que vivimos, en que exaltada la critica á su mas alto punto, no dan paso tan facilmente los críticos modernos á las novedades, como le dava la sencillez inculta de los antiguos. Cuanto pues crecerá esta dificultad en una materia en que el principal objeto de los que han puesto en ella la pluma, ha sido conciliar la atencion y deleitar los ánimos de los lectores con referir noticias enteramente nuevas, raras y singulares, ya descubiertas por ellos, ó ya adquiridas de buenos originales? Tal es la historia de la Nueva España que emprendo escribir, de la cual desde que la nacion Española logró su feliz conquista, son innumerables las plumas, tanto nacionales como estrangeras, que se han dedicado á satisfacer la curiosidad y el buen gusto de los literatos, ya con discursos y combinaciones de tiempos y costumbres para averiguar el origen del gran numero de naciones que poblaron este continente, de donde salieron y por donde pasaron, ya de sus monarquias, gobierno y religion, ó ya finalmente de otros acaecimientos raros y prodigiosos de que han tenido noticias los que hasta ahora han pasado á estas regiones, y los misioneros que por razon de su ministerio se han intimado mas con los indios, y pudieron adquirir por este medio algunas noticias de su antigüedad. Siendo pues tanto lo que sobre este asunto se ha escrito, parece temerario mi empeño de escribir una nueva historia de este reino, dando á luz en ella, noticias nuevas y singulares ignoradas hasta ahora. Mas sin embargo hallará mi lector en el discurso de ella, una prodigiosa coleccion de noticias singulares, que ó no han salido hasta ahora á la luz publica, ó han salido totalmente desfiguradas de su verdadero ser. Los monumentos de donde las he sacado tienen toda aquella autoridad, solidez y recomendacion que es posible en el asunto, y son los mismos en que se han fundado los autores nuestros y extrangeros en las noticias que han publicado desfiguradas y dislocadas por falta de esplicacion ó cautela de aquellos nacionales de quienes las huvieron.

Fué muy público desde los principios de la conquista que los naturales de este reino conocian y ejercitavan el arte de la pintura, y se servian de ella para figurar los sucesos, y asi hablan los autores de aquel célebre lienzo en que Teotlili, gobernador de Cempohualan hizo pintar las naves en que vinieron Cortés y sus compañeros, los trages y armaduras, los caballos, las armas de fuego y todo lo demás que le pareció necesario, para dar cuenta á su señor Motezuma con la mayor puntualidad y especificacion. Mas no llegaron á comprender con toda claridad por entonces los españoles que estas pinturas eran las que conservavan las noticias de su historia, los códigos de sus leyes, las ejecutorias de su nobleza, los títulos de sus posesiones, el reglamento de su religion, la cartilla de sus fiestas, los calendarios de sus computos astronómicos; y finalmente que las figuras de estas pinturas les servian á ellos de letras y caractéres como á nosotros los que usamos, y que el saber formar y entender estos mapas, era una facultad que entre ellos se enseñava y se aprendia como entre nosotros el leér y escribir. Componianse estas pinturas, no solo de todos los objetos visibles y corporeos, sino tambien de muchos invisibles é incorporeos que ellos figuravan con diversos caractéres para esplicar los sucesos. Veianse en ellas el sol, la luna y las estrellas: la tierra con sus montes, valles, rios y lagunas: todo genero de aves y animales, sin exceptuar los mas despreciables insectos: muchas figuras humanas de entrambos sexos, unas vestidas, otras desnudas: unos blancos, otros negros, otros matizados de varios colores: los mas de ellos adornadas las cabezas con innumerable variedad de insignias, unas parecen tiaras, otras mitras, otras coronas, otras penachos, borlas ó fluecos, muchisimas de ellas con orejas de varios animales, cabezas de aves y fieras, y otras finalmente con adornos aun mas extravagantes, como son una pierna ó mano de hombre, una calavera, una flecha y otras semejantes, que todas son símbolos ó geroglificos que esplicavan el nombre,

ó la dignidad de la persona sobre cuya cabeza están. Como por exemplo la efigie del emperador Xolotl que tiene un ojo sobre la cabeza, la de Nezahualcoyotl que tiene unas orejas de lobo, la de Acamapichtli, una mano empuñando unas cañas, la de Tizotzin una pierna atrevasada de una saeta, que son la esplicacion de los nombres de estos personages. Los negros eran los sacerdotes, y á los supremos ó gefes principales les ponian una como tiara que denotaba su dignidad. Las borlas ó cintas rojas denotaban á los caballeros Tecuhtlis: los pintados de colores eran los prisioneros de guerra, ó aquellos miserables que destinavan á los sacrificios y á este modo tenian su propio, significado todas las demas cosas que en ellos se veian.

Figuravan las locuciones, las quejas, las deprecaciones y otras cosas incorporeas al modo que nosotros figuramos á los angeles y al viento: señalavan los años, los meses y los dias, y para todo esto tenian sus caractéres propios que colocavan en sus pinturas con orden y método segun su arte; de manera que todo este conjunto de figuras era significativo é intelegible: y asi por medio de estas pinturas conservavan las noticias de su historia, de las fundaciones de sus monarquías y ciudades, los títulos de propiedad de sus posesiones. De este modo tenian escritas sus leyes y las ordenanzas de su policía y gobierno: los reglamentos para la exaccion de tributos segun lo que devia pagar cada pueblo y lo que iva pagando: y asimismo el orden y gobierno en la distribucion de la hacienda real: todo lo concerniente á su religion, fiestas y sacrificios: y finalmente todo cuanto les era necesario para su gobierno; de suerte que estos mapas, ó pinturas eran sus libros y cartillas: no todos sabían formarlos, ni entenderlos y muchos de ellos paraban en poder de personas que no los entendian, aunque los havian heredado de sus mayores, al modo que entre nosotros hay muchisimos que no saven leer, ni escribir, y se hallan en poder de ellos los títulos de propiedad de sus posesiones, ó papeles de nobleza, ó de otros negocios y comercios de sus antepasados, de quienes los heredaron; mas ellos ni los saben leér, ni los entienden.

No era tampoco uno mismo el método y orden que guardavan en la formacion de estos mapas, ó pinturas, porque los históricos se formavan de un modo, de otro los titulos de posesiones, de otro los de nobleza, de otro los de tributos; y finalmente cada uno tenia su particular forma, de suerte que los inteligentes á la primera vista de un mapa conocian el asunto de que tratava. Lo que faltava de esplicacion á las pinturas, lo suplia la voz viva del maestro, instruyendo á los discípulos en las tradiciones que juntas con los mapas, formavan una completa historia, ó davan un entero y perfecto conocimiento del asunto. Para conservar estas tradiciones inventaron los cantares que se decian en todas las fiestas solemnes y en los bailes públicos, por medio de los cuales se instruia bastantemente en los sucesos de la historia, y en los acaecimientos mas notables la gente vulgar, que no entendia el significado de las pinturas.

Los primeros Españoles que pasaron á estas partes, y principalmente los ministros evangélicos llenos de fervor por la religion, y por la conversion de esta gentilidad, firmes en el concepto de que estas gentes eran grandes idólatras, viendo en los templos los bultos de sus ídolos, y confrontandolos con estas pinturas, en que efectivamente se hallavan copiados muchos de ellos, especialmente en las que tratavan de sus ritos y fiestas; creyeron que toda aquella multitud de figuras eran otras tantas falsas deidades que adoravan, cuyas efigies tenian en sus casas para tributarles culto: y sin mas averiguacion condenaron á las llamas estos mapas, dedicandose con el mayor esmero á recoger cuantos pudieron para ejecutar en ellos el ultimo suplicio, haviendo sido los primeros en sufrirlo los mas preciosos, que eran los que se guardavan en los archivos públicos de las ciudades principales, como eran los de Mexico y Tezcuco. Mucho sentian los indios este estrago; pero acobardados por una parte del terror de las armas, y por otra de las exôrtaciones de los misioneros que persuadidos á que eran figuras idolátricas y supersticiosas, incompatibles con la verdadera religion que les predicavan, les vedavan su uso y retencion; no se atrevian á defenderlos, y aunque algunos lo intentaron no les davan oido, ni crédito; de que tenemos pruevas irrefragables en la obra del R. P. Fr. Juan de Torquemada, que con el título de Monarquia Indiana, escribió casi un siglo despues de la conquista, en que familiarizados ya los Españoles con los indios, havian adquirido muchas noticias de su antigüedad, y de que el modo que tuvieron de conservarlas fueron estos mapas y pinturas, y sin embargo confiesa el P. Torquemada, que cuando comenzo á escribir esta obra, no le parecia posible que en estas pinturas pudieran contenerse tantas noticias de mas de mil años de antigüedad, y con tal orden y metodo: de donde podemos rectamente inferir cuan lejos estarian de creerlo aquellos primeros misioneros, que poco instruidos en el idioma, no pudiendo esplicarse mas que lo muy preciso para instruirlos en los misterios de la religion, carecian de todas las noticias que al cabo de un siglo havian ya adquirido los Españoles, y mucho menos perceptible les podia ser el que estas figuras fuesen los títulos de sus posesiones, las ejecutorias de su nobleza, el volumen de sus leyes, sus libros de cuentas, sus calendarios y demas que contenian.

Sin embargo de esta sencilla confesion que hace el P. Torquemada en el lugar citado, tratando al capitulo siguiente de la arte divinatoria que usaban estos naturales, habla de la cuenta que seguian en la ordenacion de los periodos de á trece dias que tenian en lugar de nuestras semanas, y figuravan en sus mapas y ruedas cronológicas con los geroglíficos y caractéres que dice, y porque no llegó á comprender enteramente el artificio con que la usavan, la califica de adivinatoria y supersticiosa: y aunque asienta que algunos decian que esta cuenta de trece dias eran semanas, dice que no se deve creer, y se afirma en su dictamen de que es ilícita, muy perjudicial, muy supersticiosa y llena de idolatría, sin mas motivo que el de no haverla comprendido, como se hará manifiesto en su lugar. Semejantes á estos pudiera producir otros muchos pasages, asi en este autor como en otros que han escrito en cosas de Indias pasados muchos años de su conquista, dandonos varias noticias que asientan ser sacadas de sus pinturas; y sin embargo niegan otras que no alcanzaron á penetrar, y por lo comun no deponen el concepto de que estos mapas eran supersticiosos é idólatras. No niego por esto que los indios se sirviesen de la combinacion de estos geroglíficos y figuras para hacer sus pronósticos y adivinaciones, al modo que en el mundo antiguo se han servido para ello de ruedas, de lineas, de letras y de numeros, y aun de las mismas palabras y textos de la Sagrada Escritura: pero asi como estos no han contraido por eso infeccion alguna que les degrade de su sagrado caracter y santa inteligencia, ni los números, letras y ruedas de aquel sano y lícito uso para que fueron formados nada tampoco contraian de supersticioso é idolátrico los mapas, puramente astronómicos de los indios, porque los adivinos ó sacerdotes se sirviesen de ellos formando las combinaciones de sus figuras y geroglíficos para sus adivinaciones, pronosticos y oráculos, y mucho menos los mapas históricos, los de sus leyes, nobleza, tributos y otros que no se servian los sacerdotes y adivinos para sus cóbalas y supersticiones.

Viendo pues los indios la desecha tormenta que corrian de sus escrituras, y la eficacia y actividad con que buscavan estas pinturas los ministros que no eran muy advertidos para quemarlas, procuraron ocultar algunas de ellas, especialmente aquellas que contenian repartimientos de tierras, y les servian de títulos de sus posesiones, y las que hallavan de tributos, y eran como nóminas de los tributarios de las provincias y pueblos, y por esta causa son de estas especies la mayor parte de los que se encontraron y han llegado hasta nuestros dias. Pusieron tanta diligencia en ocultarlos que muchos no se contentaron con encerrarlos en arcas y alhacenas, sino que los sepultaron debajo de tierra y en los huecos de las paredes, dejando con gran sigilo la noticia á sus descendientes, del lugar en que estavan, y de este modo halló muchos de los que recogió el Caballero Boturini, que me aseguró havia sacado un caxon de ellos del hueco encubierto de un paredon antiguo en el pueblo de Huamantla, cuya noticia tuvo de uno de los descendientes del que los ocultó allí: y el año de mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho estando yo en dicho pueblo me lo certificaron algunas personas que fueron testigos de este hallazgo, y me mostraron el paredon viejo de donde los sacó. El invento de estos y los demas instrumentos antiguos que recogió, fue á costa de mucha diligencia, intimandose y familiarizandose mucho con estos naturales hasta conseguir que se confiasen de él, y le descubriesen el gran tesoro de antigüedades que recogio en nueve años continuos que gastó en esta dificil y molestisima empresa, viajando de unos pueblos á otros con imponderable trabajo ó incomodidad, porque aun despues de los muchos años que han pasado desde la conquista, se ha perpetuado de padres á hijos el encargo de ocultar con el mayor esmero y sigilo estos mapas y pinturas, para que no lleguen á manos de los españoles; sin embargo de que el dia de hoy ya no hay entre ellos quien los entienda, ni sepa esplicarlos, y de uno y otro tengo yo bastante experiencia en las diligencias que he practicado para descifrar los que pudiesen serme útiles para esta historia.

No solo han ocultado con suma diligencia estas pinturas, sino tambien muchos manuscritos en nuestros caractéres, tanto en su idioma, como en el nuestro. Porque algunos de aquellos primeros convertidos que en los primitivos tiempos de la conquista aprendieron á escribir en ellos, y otros en los tiempos posteriores, formaron varias relaciones de aquellas noticias que adquirieron ó ya por tradicion de sus mayores, ó ya por las canciones históricas que componian y cantavan en sus fiestas que de padres á hijos se ivan conservando, y era uno de los modos de historiar que tenian estas gentes, ya finalmente por los mismos mapas que ocultavan, que sabian entender é interpretar y descifrando su inteligencia por medio de nuestras letras en su idioma ó en el nuestro: pero esto fue precisamente para dejar á sus hijos una instruccion privada con el mismo encargo de ocultarlos de los españoles, y guardar el mayor sigilo en su contenido. De aqui se han originado algunos errores y noticias trastornadas ó dislocadas que se hallan en los autores que han escrito de la historia antigua de este reyno, porque en los tiempos posteriores á la conquista, ilustrados ya los españoles de que estas gentes tuvieron en su gentilidad policía y gobierno, reynos y monarquías poderosas, instrucciones científicas, pericia militar y ejercicio de varias artes, han intentado algunos

curiosos en diversos tiempos indagar de los indios estas noticias: pero unos se dirigieron á sugetos, que ó por malicia, ó por ignorancia, ó por pasion, ó por falta de esplicacion les llenaron de fábulas ó noticias trastornadas de su verdadero sentido, ó dislocadas de sus tiempos y circunstancias. Otros aunque se dirigieron á personas capaces de instruirles, ó por su edad, ó por las pinturas y manuscritos que guardavan, no quisieron hacerlo, ó lo hicieron muy superficialmente y de paso.

De esto nos da un testimonio constante D. Fernando de Alba Yxtlilxochitl en sus Relaciones Históricas que tengo entre manos para la formacion de esta obra. Era este sugeto descendiente de los emperadores de Tezcuco, y ejercia el empleo de intérprete del vireynato por los fines del siglo decimo sexto en que escribió estas relaciones, y sin embargo de tener presentes los mapas y pinturas antiguas que sabia interpretar, y de estar muy instruido en las noticias de su antigüedad, asi por los cantares que havia aprendido desde niño, como por otras tradiciones de sus mayores, dice que para escribir sus relaciones confirió con muchos sugetos ancianos y bien instruidos de ochenta, noventa y ciento y mas años de edad, de quienes hace mencion con toda individualidad por sus nombres y circunstancias en la Relacion Quinta, quienes dice haver adquirido buenas y bien fundadas noticias: pero para prueva de mi asunto concluye esta Relacion con el parrafo siguiente que copio á la letra.

"Muchas historias he leido de españoles que han escrito cosas de esta tierra, que todas ellas son tan fuera de lo que está en la original historia, y las de todos estos, y entre las falsas la que en alguna cosa conforma, es la de D. Francisco Gomara, clerigo, historiador que fué del emperador D. Carlos, N. S., que tenga Dios en su gloria; y no me espanto que como son relaciones de pasado, unos dicen cestas y otros ballestas, como se suele decir, por demas por decir una cosa dicen otra, hablando unos de pasion, otros de aficion y otros cuentan fábulas compuestas por palabras sucedidas y ciertas, y otros no entendiendo bien la lengua y lo que los viejos les dicen, como á mí me ha sucedido muchas veces con los naturales, siendo nacido y criado entre ellos, y tan conocido de todos los principales caciques de la Nueva España, asi Aculhuas, Chichimecas, como Mexicanos, Tlascaltecas, Tecpanecas y Tultecas y otras naciones; y es que como tengo dicho, unos hablan de aficion y otros de pasion: me sucedió lo que ahora contaré, sin otras veces que me sucedió casi lo propio, pero esta fue la mas notable. Yendo al pueblo de Cohuatepec, dos leguas de la ciudad de Tezcuco hacia la banda del sur á respecto de la ciudad, á ver á cierto amigo y caballero llamado D. Lope Zeron que tiene una labor muy buena en este pueblo, despues de haver llegado, holgandome en su casa toda aquella tarde, otro dia siguiente preguntando al D. Lope de la gente principal del pueblo, y de algunos viejos, me dio alguna razon de esto diciendome: que no havia ninguno sino era un mozo que á la sazon era gobernador, y un viejo que havia treinta ó cuarenta años que siempre lo hacian gobernador, por ser criado con los religiosos y muy ladino, aunque villano de nacion. Tomada esta razon me despedi de este caballero, y fui á su casa por preguntarle ciertas cosas de su pueblo, especialmente de una que en la original historia está, que este pueblo fue cabezera de provincia, y de donde descendieron ciertos señores que fueron de ciertas partes de esta tierra como adelante haré relacion; y llegado que fui pregunté, el cual me dijo tantos disparates como los que nuestros españoles han escrito, diciendome que aquel pueblo siempre fue corte y cabezera de reyno, y Azcaputzalco y Chalco, y las demas partes eran pueblecillos sujetos á Cohuatepec, y que el primer señor llamado Toxomilhuatzin que vino de los Chichimecas con otros vasallos suyos, siendo tan al revés; porque este señor era tataranieto de Cuachuatlapal, uno de los seis señores vasallos del gran Chichimecatl Xolotl, y los trajo consigo, y que era ya el cuarto señor de este pueblo: y mas me dijo que Acamapichtli, señor de Mexico, era hijo de Yllancueytl, una esclava, trasladada, á lo que los historiadores escriben, y que Nezahualcoyotl, sino fuera por los de Cohuatepec que le ayudaron, nunca libertara su ciudad y los señores de Mexico sus tios, del poder del gran Maxtli tirano. Estas y otras fábulas, asi á los que los historiadores han escrito, y contradiciendole con las historias y cantos antiguos que le mostré y dije, y trayendole otras cosas á la memoria, no huvo remedio de conceder en lo que le decia, y mostrandole la original tampoco aprovechó, antes se tenia muy tieso, al fin como villano; y conociendome él quien soy y que no ignoro cosa ninguna de lo que es esto, siempre me contradijo; lo cual todo como tengo dicho eran palabras de aficion y de pasion dichas de un villano, que si fuera noble, luego con la razon cayera en su falta. Estas y otras muchas cosas me han sucedido, y tambien muchos principales no quisieron decir el hecho de la verdad, viendo que cada dia les preguntavan, y jamas ven cosa que salga á luz como sucedió á cierto caballero descendiente de la casa de Tezcuco, que preguntando á un viejo principal de una historia de Tepetlaoztoc, que quien fueron los padres y abuelos de Yxtlixochitl padre del rey Nezahualcoyotl, él respondió diciendole, Yxtlixochitl no tuvo padre ni madre, sino que vino una águila muy grande é hizo un nido en un árbol grande que estava en la ciudad y puso un huevo muy grande, y de alli á cierto tiempo lo

quebró y sacó un niño y lo bajó del nido poniendolo en medio de la plaza de la ciudad, y viendo esto los Aculhuas lo criaron, y como no tenian rey lo alzaron por rey y le pusieron el nombre llamandole Yxtlixochitl: este caballero oyendo el disparate le dio grandisima risa diciendole al viejo que era necedad decir tales palabras, y el viejo le respondió que á él y á todos los que le preguntaran á cerca de esto, les havia de responder esta y otras cosas tales como estas, especialmente á Españoles, y asi como tengo dicho los historiadores no tienen la culpa, que por haverles dado falsas relaciones hán escrito lo que tengo declarado, y cierto que con tener las historias en mi poder y saber la lengua como los mismos naturales, porque me crié con ellos, y conocer á todos los viejos y principales de esta tierra, para haver de sacar esto en limpio me há costado harto estudio y trabajo, procurando siempre la verdad de cada cosa de estas que tengo escrito y escribiré en la historia de los Chichimecas."

Si á un sugeto pues á quien (como él dice) todos conocian, sabían su estirpe, y que estaba bien instruido en las noticias de su antigüedad, asi pretendieron burlarle sus mismos compatriotas, solo porque le consideravan adicto á los Españoles, que no havian con estos á quienes hán mirado siempre y miran hasta el dia de hoy el comun de los Indios con desconfianza? Esta és la razon de haverse difundido tantos errores en los escritos de nuestros autores. El principal asunto de la obra de Francisco Lope de Gomara es la conquista de este reyno, y por incidencia trata de las costumbres, leyes y ritos que observavan los Indios al tiempo del ingreso de los Españoles, y de esto deve entenderse la espresion de Alba, por que por lo respectivo á su historia antigua escribe muy sucinta y superficialmente, pero con mucho juicio como puede verse en dicha obra desde el capitulo 190, hasta el 224; no carece de errores, pues rara historia havia sin ellos, sino en la sagrada. El P. Torquemada, sugeto erudíto y curioso, se empeñó grandemente en descubrir las noticias de la historia antigua de este reyno, y con la brecha que le abria su ministerio apostolico logró recoger muchisimas mas que otro alguno de los que hasta ahora hán escrito; y efectivamente es el que se acerca mas á la verdad de la historia, pero sin embargo faltan muchas, y otras se hallan mezcladas de fabulas y se advierten no pocas contradicciones y anacronismos. Algunos apunto en el discurso de esta obra, y otros puede ver el curioso en la suya confrontandola con esta. Pero sin embargo es el unico que hasta ahora há emprendido el empeño de escribir la historia de este reyno, porque todos los demas autores que escriben de ella, és á retazos superficialmente y los mas por incidencia, publicando cada cual aquellas noticias que adquirió, y copiandose unos á otros, y con todo es mui sucinto lo que escribe el dicho P. Torquemada de la fundacion y establecimiento del reino Tulteca, sus progresos y destruccion, que todo le comprende en un capitulo corto, que es el 14 del libro 1°, mezclando los sucesos verdaderos con otros fabulosos é inverosimiles, como veremos.

El mismo D. Fernando de Alba que se lamenta de que no hayan salido á luz estas noticias de la historia antigua de este reino, escribió diferentes obras en diversos tiempos, que todas las tengo entre manos, de las cuales una en forma de memorial dirigida al Virey D. Luis de Velasco: el 2°, es bastante difusa y bien ordenada, y otra que intituló, Compendio de la Historia General de la Nueva España, tambien está bien coordinada y autorizada al fin por el gobernador y alcaldes de la ciudad de Otompan ó Otumba, y de los de los pueblos de Ahuatepec, Tizayucan, Amaquemecan y otros, todas personas distinguidas en su nacion, ancianos é instruidos en su historia, y peritos en la interpretacion de sus pinturas que testifican que todo lo contenido en dicho compendio es sacado de las dichas pinturas que están bien y fielmente traducidas é interpretadas, y con todo ninguna de estas obras dió á la luz publica, sino que siguiendo el exemplar de sus compatriotas las dejó sepultadas en manos de sus descendientes, de donde logró sacarlas al cabo de casi un siglo el celebre matematico D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora.

Este sugeto floreció en Mexico á los fines del siglo pasado 17, y dejó una gran fama de erudicion en todo genero de buenas letras, pero mas particularmente en la instruccion de la historia antigua de este reino, por los muchos monumentos antiguos que logró juntar, y habiendo trabajado sobre ellos con esmero, se sabe que escribió algunas obras, pero ninguna llegó á darse á la luz publica, á escepcion de sus pronosticos y calendarios anuales, que en algunos de ellos inserta tal cual noticia de la antigüedad. En su muerte parece que se tocó á rebato con sus papeles, y cada uno se apoderó de los que pudo, de los cuales hán resultado algunos en las bibliotecas de varias comunidades religiosas, y en poder de personas particulares, de donde los sacó la curiosa investigacion del Caballero Boturini; pero me persuado á que hán perecido bastantes de los que recogió, y seguramente faltan muchos de los que él escribió, que de unos solamente se hán encontrado algunos fragmentos, y de otros nada mas que sus titulos y la noticia de haverlos escrito, sin embargo de las esquisitas diligencias que practicó el citado Boturini, y yó posteriormente por haver á las manos dos con especialidad que se save haver escrito, una con el titulo del *Fenix del Occidente*, probando la venida y predicacion del apostol Santo Tomás en estas regiones, y la otra *Esplicacion del Calendario*

Tulteca. Ninguna de las dos llegó á la prensa no sé por que motivos, pero yo hé conocido dos sugetos que alcanzaron á Sigüenza y le trataron, y me afirmaron haberlas visto y leido.

El año de mil setecientos treinta y cinco pasó á estos reynos, despues de haver girado una gran parte de los de Europa, el Caballero D. Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, señor de la Torre y de Hono, natural de la ciudad de Milan, de cuya gran literatura, profunda erudicion y alto talento, es un indice seguro de la obra que imprimió en Madrid el año mil setecientos cuarenta y seis, con el titulo de Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional, que meditava escribir sobre el copioso material de monumentos antiguos que recogió en el discurso de nueve años que empleó en esta penosa empresa, haciendo muchos y trabajosos viages por diversas partes de este reyno. No le atrajo á él tanto el deseo de adquirir caudal, que há sido y es el comun estimulo de algunos que á él hán pasado, como su genio curioso deseoso de ver y de saver, y haviendo llegado á el celebre Santuario de N. S. de Guadalupe, una legua distante de la imperial ciudad de Mexico, instruido del suceso de su milagrosa aparicion, concibió desde luego una tiernisima devocion á Maria santisima en esta su soberana Ymagen, supo al mismo tiempo que del admirable portento de su aparicion no havian quedado en el dia instrumentos autenticos que la comprobasen, aunque con sobrados fundamentos, y por las informaciones que posteriormente se han hecho juridicamente y con el mayor esmero, se creé que los huvo en aquellos primeros tiempos inmediatos á él, pero por una alta disposicion de la inescrutable providencia, se ignora absolutamente en el dia su paradero. Esto fervorizó su devocion y le hizo resolverse á tomar sobre él empeño de escribir una nueva historia de esta milagrosa aparicion, que con solidos fundamentos afianzase la verdad de este portento. Para esto se dedicó con el mayor esmero á solicitar y descubrir papeles antiguos y libros viejos coetaneos ó inmediatos al suceso, que pudieran ministrarle las pruevas de la notoriedad publica en aquellos primitivos tiempos, y de la constante y continuada tradicion hasta los nuestros, sin la menor variedad ni discordancia, no solo en lo substancial de la milagrosa aparicion, sino tambien en todas las demas circunstancias del dia, mes, año, nombres y calidades de las personas, y hasta de los mas pequeños adminiculos, y del sucesivo y permanente culto de la santa Ymagen; y en efecto en el elegante prologo galeato que dejó comenzado en lengua latina, y se halla entre sus papeles, asienta treinta y un fundamentos en que meditava solidar la verdad de este portento.

La solicitud de estos documentos, le puso en las manos algunos mapas y manuscritos de la historia antigua, que le incitaron á investigar con mayor eficacia y empeño cuanto pudiera ilustrarle é instruirle en esta materia, sin perdonar trabajo, molestia, ni gasto para adquirir el copioso cumulo de monumentos antiguos que recogió, y exîsten en su archivo. Trató y conversó con todos aquellos sugetos asi Españoles, como Indios, que creyó podian darle algunas noticias ó luces para encontrarlas, emprendió jornadas de veinte, de treinta y mas leguas por caminos estraviados, solo por tratar con un sugeto que creia podia darle alguna noticia, ó por la esperanza de hallar un mapa ó un manuscrito, con tales incomodidades por lo aspero de los caminos, por los temperamentos, especialmente calidos y abundantes de mosquitos y otros insectos molestos, y por la inopía de bastimentos, que aseguró que en una ocasion se mantuvo ocho dias enteros con chirimoyas, en otras con tortillas de maiz duras, y en otras con solo maiz tostado; albergandose en las infelices chozas y tugurias de los Indios, y no pocas veces con temor y peligro de la vida, porque desconfiados ellos de su intencion sospechavan que esta fuese de robarles ó hacerles otros perjuicios.

Haviendo pues recogido ya una gran parte de este tesoro, se retiró á Guadalupe, y con la venia de los capellanes del Santuario, que aun no se havia erigido en colegiata, se fué á vivir á una pequeña capilla que entonces havia en lo alto del cerrillo, en el mismo sitio donde posteriormente se fabricó la que hoy exîste. Tres años se mantuvo en aquella soledad y retiro empleado todo en estudiar estos mapas, que segun me decia los tendia en el suelo y echado de pechos sobre ellos, teniendo á la mano los manuscritos de los Indios que los interpretavan y los apuntes que él havia formado de las noticias verbales que adquirió, pasava muchas horas del dia en su meditacion y estudio, particularmente en los que tratavan de sus computos astronomicos y cronologicos para comprender sus sistemas; pero como su principal objeto y el punto de vista á que se dirigian todas las lineas de sus deseos, era la historia de la aparicion de N. S. de Guadalupe, en la meditacion de ella y en hallar documentos solidos que la apoyasen, gustava la mayor parte del tiempo.

Pero por uno de aquellos supremos juicios de la inescrutable providencia, que los hombres ven, y no pueden comprender, dispuso que la misma fervorosa devocion y afecto para con la Santisima Virgen, y del alto concepto que formó del estupendo prodigio que obró la Omnipotencia en la Soberana Imagen de Guadalupe, se le originasen todos sus trabajos y quebrantos. Deseava su fervor promover mas el culto y devocion de esta milagrosa Imagen, haciendola mas celebre y plausible, y para esto creyó que fuese medio proporcionado el coronarla con la corona de

oro que acostumbra conceder el Ilustrisimo Cabildo de la Sacrosanta Basilica Vaticana á imagenes taumaturgas, por legado y disposicion del conde Alejandro Sforcia Palavicino con ciertas ceremonias y solemnidades. A fin de obtener esta gracia para la sagrada copia de Guadalupe, hizo al dicho ilustrisimo cabildo un informe en que empeñó su literatura y erudicion, nada vulgar, para provar con validos argumentos la certeza del milagro, la constancia de la tradicion, la continuacion no interrumpida del culto y la multitud de milagros que por medio de ella há obrado la Santisima Virgen Maria. El informe surtió el efecto que deseava, porque luego le fue concedida la gracia por el ilustrisimo cabildo, y se espidió el despacho con fecha de once de Julío de mil setecientos cuarenta, dirigido ál Señor Arzobispo de Mexico; con la instruccion del orden y metodo con que devia practicarse esta funcion. Luego que llegó á manos del caballero Boturini, la presentó á la real audiencia pidiendo su pase, que con efecto se le dio en primero de Marzo de mil setecientos cuarenta y dos.

Gozoso con el feliz exîto de su proyecto, se dedicó á preparar lo necesario para la solemnisima funcion que meditava hacer, pero careciendo de caudales que pudiesen sufragar á los costos de ella, determinó pedirlos de limosnas, no solo dentro de la ciudad, sino en todo el reyno por medio de cartas circulares. Aqui estuvo su error, porque procedió á ejecutar su pensamiento sin captar la venia á los superiores; y como nadie vive sin emulos hallaron ocasion los de Boturini para acriminar la accion pintandola con odioso aspecto, cuando en el fondo nada tenia de malicia, sino de falta de instruccion, uniendo á ella la de haver pasado á estos reynos sin licencias siendo estrangero: Se le mandó exîvir lo que huviese recolectado de limosnas que hasta entonces solo era un poco de oro y unas esmeraldas para la corona que havia de labrar, se le mandó embargar sus bienes que todos se reducian á su museo, se arrestó su persona en las casas de ayuntamiento, y despues de algun tiempo de prision, se le mandó regresar á España.

Corria el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y cuatro, en que con el motivo de la guerra que teniamos con Inglaterra, estavan los mares infestados de corsarios; embarcose en un registro mercante nombrado la Concordia, que acometido de dos fragatas Inglesas bien armadas en la altura del Cabo de S. Vicente, hizo alguna resistencia, pero finalmente huvo de ceder á la mayor fuerza y la apresaron: llevaronla á Gibraltar, y alli echaron en tierra á los pasageros y tripulacion, despojados no solo de los caudales y equipages que llevavan, sino tambien de la ropa que tenian vestida. Perdió Boturini unos curiosos mapas que llevava en pieles de animales, y algunos manuscritos especiales que havia podido escapar del embargo, porque á la sazon los tenia fuera de casa, prestados á varios amigos, y algunos apuntes que havia formado de las noticias verbales que adquirió en los viages que hizo, y observaciones curiosas en ellos, y en cambio de la ropa decente que llevava sobre si, le dieron una camiseta y calzones marineros de lona.

No pudo escapar otra cosa de esta tormenta que un escudo de oro de valor de dos pesos, y una carta que llevava de mi padre para mi, en que refiriendome por mayor sus apreciables prendas, y el motivo de su desgracia, me ordenava que le atendiese en cuanto necesitase. Con este equipage tomó el camino para Madrid, á pie con los trabajos é incomodidades que es facil comprender: recivile y hospedéle en mi casa donde se mantuvo casi dos años, en los que con la ultima y familiar comunicacion contrahimos una estrecha y verdadera amistad que duró hasta su muerte; sin embargo de que por motivos de sus conveniencias huvo de separarse de mi compañia. Lo mas del dia estavamos juntos, y regularmente girava la conversacion en los asuntos de esta historia; con lo que logré aprovecharme de cuanto havia trabajado en ella, porque nada me reservava su amistad, antes por el contrario sentia no tener á manos sus documentos para instruirme con toda puntualidad en algunos asuntos en que le flaqueava la memoria, y para auxiliar la mia escribió varios apuntes de su puño, que conservo en mi poder, los que despues le sirvieron á él para formar el libro que imprimió en Madrid el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y seis, con el tituló de *Idea de una nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional.*

No se proporcionaron las cosas segun sus deseos, para poder volver á este reyno como se le permitia á escribir la historia, no pudo conseguir la orden para que se le llevase á España su archivo, y haviendo dispuesto la Providencia que á mi me fuese preciso restituirme á este reyno, el año de mil setecientos cincuenta, me hizo el encargo de que solicitase con el mayor empeño sacarle copias de algunos instrumentos de los que encerrava su archivo, de que me dió minuta de su puño, y de otros de que tenia noticia, y no havia podido haver á las manos, por si yó pudiese conseguirlas, con los cuales se lisongeava poder escribir desde alli la historia. Luego que llegué á Mexico y me dieron algunas treguas las ocupaciones del grave negocio que fué movil de mi viage, procuré satisfacer su encargo, y valido del favor del Señor D. José Gorraez, secretario de gobierno, en cuyo oficio se halla depositado el museo embargado, y previa la orden y licencia del Excelentisimo Señor Virey, Conde de Revilla-Gigedo, logré verle

y reconocerle á toda mi satisfaccion, y sacar de él las copias que me pedia Boturini; mas como esto era dentro de la misma oficina donde yo no podia multiplicar amanuenses, y los instrumentos eran hartos y algunos confusos, duró mucho tiempo la operacion. No le perdia yó en solicitar los otros documentos que él no havia podido adquirir, de los cuales consegui algunos, pero antes de concluirse las copias y poderselas remitir, tuve la sensible noticia de haver fallecido.

Fustrada con esto mi esperanza de ver salir de su pluma esta historia, con todo el adorno de erudicion que prometia en su Idea, y huviera cumplido con ventajas su gran talento, hallandome yo con aquel cumulo de documentos que havia copiado y recogido, y lo que es mas instruido en sus doctrinas y reglas que de viva voz aprendí, me acometieron los primeros impulsos de tomar sobre mi, el empeño de escribirla. No me lisongeava mi amor propio de poder suplir la falta de Boturini, antes por el contrario, me acordava lo arduo del empeño muy superior á mis fuerzas, pero me era sumamente sensible, que estas noticias, que á costa de tantas fatigas y penalidades llegué á adquirir, y de que yo me hallava en tanta parte instruido, quedasen otra vez sepultadas en el olvido. Batallando pues, entre estos afectos, venció el segundo, y huve finalmente de resolverme á trabajar en este asunto. El se havia propuesto la idea de repartir la historia Indiana en tres edades: la primera la de los dioses; la segunda la de los heroes, y la tercera la de los hombres, siguiendo la celebre division de los tiempos que inventaron los Egipcios en obscuro, fabuloso, é historico, como los nombra Varron, comprendiendo en el primer periodo desde la creacion del mundo hasta el diluvio, al que por ignorado llamaron adelon: en el segundo desde el diluvio hasta la primer olimpiada, al que por lo fabuloso llamaron mityco; y en el tercero desde la primer olimpiada hasta nosotros, que és el que verdaderamente comprende los sucesos de los hombres, y por esto le llamaron historico. Mas yó muy desigual á Boturini en el talento y erudicion no me propuse otro plan que el de una sencilla narracion historica, fielmente sacada de los documentos antiguos que hé recogido, sugetandola en cuanto me fuese posible á las leyes y preceptos que deve observar un historiador sincéro é imparcial; valiendome de las reglas y advertencias que de él aprendí para discernir lo fabuloso de lo real, y las noticias ciertas de las inciertas; porque tanto los historiadores nacionales antiguos que escribieron en sus geroglificos, como los modernos que los interpretaron, fueron hombres y de diversas naciones, entre quienes havía emulaciones y enemistades, ambiciosos de gloria cada uno respectivamente por la suya, y asi procuraron desfigurar los sucesos que no les son ventajosos, y pintar con mas relevantes colores los que les favorecen.

Una de las materias que estimava por mas dificiles, y en que me decia que tenia mucho que trabajar, era la de los sistemas astrologicos y cronologicos para la perfecta inteligencia y esplicacion de las ruedas y calendarios de estos naturales; y á la verdad tenia razon y hablava con esperiencia, como quien havia tomada el pulso á la dificultad, pues sin embargo de girar yó sobre las luces y conocimientos que él adquirió, és imponderable el trabajo y tiempo que hé espendido en el estudio, confrontacion y combinacion de muchas de sus ruedas cronologicas y astronomicas de siglos, años y meses, con las esplicaciones sucintas y confusas de sus interpretes, y de las epocas y fechas mas seguras de toda la historia, para llegar á comprender estos asuntos en el modo que los esplicó, que me parece el mas genisimo, siguiendo los mismos principios y reglas que aprendi de Boturini, y aunque me veo precisado á contradecir algunas de sus observaciones por los motivos que espongo sinceramente al juicio de los lectores, no lo hago con presunciones de maestro, de quien me considero discipulo, sino que por una parte protesto con ingenuidad que no alcanzo otra cosa, y seria gran necedad empeñarme en esplicar lo que no comprendo; y por otra me consta plenamente, que él estava persuadido, á que no havia llegado todavia á entender en toda su perfeccion este y otros puntos de esta historia; por lo que me repetia con frecuencia que aun tenía harto que trabajar en ellos. Agregase á esto, que la obra que dió á luz en Madrid, y yó cito en los reparos que hago, se la vi escribir dentro de mi propia casa, sin tener á la vista documento alguno de los que recogió por donde gobernarse, sino por una restitucion que le hacia su memoria de las especies que en ella havia depositado, en que és tan facil como regular padecer equivocacion. Mas no por esto quedo tan pagado de mi dictamen ni tan satisfecho de mi trabajo, que lisongeandome plenamente del acierto, me persuado á que no havia otro ingenio que pueda adelantar mucho en esta materia; pero siempre creo que no lo será inutil mi trabajo.

No há sido poco el que hé empleado tambien en ordenar la cronologia, adorno tan esencial de la historia, que sin ella se desluce en mucha parte la relacion de los sucesos, y le falta una cierta armonia que la dé su mas pulido complemento. Fueron muy exâctos estos naturales en señalar en sus mapas y pinturas los geroglificos y caractéres de los años en que acaecieron los mas famosos sucesos, y en muchos de ellos los de los meses y dias, y aun de las

estaciones del dia, que suplen á la division y reparticion de las horas que ellos no alcanzaron. Por esta causa los escritores que interpretaron estos mapas, por lo general concuerdan la asignacion de estos caractéres, pero varian infinito en la correspondencia de sus años, que son los de nuestros computos, porque no teniendo un siglo mas que cincuenta y dos años, señalados con unos mismos geroglificos, de trece en trece, como esplico en su lugar, era preciso que el caracter del año que señalan en la relacion de un suceso, se halle identico en cada siglo. Saber pues á que siglo corresponde, y por consiguiente á que año de los nuestros, esta es la dificultad en que se han enredado los interpretes, variando sus computos en dos, tres ó mas siglos de á cincuenta y dos años, que quieren decir doscientos, ó trescientos respecto á nuestra cuenta. Para averiguar pues la verdad, y proceder en este punto con la mayor exâctitud, havia resuelto Boturini formar tablas generales sobre el sistema cronologico de estos naturales, comprensivas desde la creacion del mundo, hasta la conquista, las que con efecto comenzó y se hallan en borrador entre sus papeles archivados. Valime de su doctrina, y haviendo copiado lo que él tenia travajado, las continué hasta el año de mil quinientos treinta y uno, y van puestas al fin de este tomo para satisfacer al buen gusto de los curiosos que puedan por si mismos reconocer mis calculos, y por ventura enmendarlos y adelantar los pensamientos, advirtiendo que la regla que yo hé seguido para los que hé formado, há sido valerme de las epocas ciertas para contar aquellos periodos que los Indios asientan haver pasado de unos á otros sucesos, atento siempre al caracter del año en que señalan aquel de que se trata, omitiendo los quebrados que resultan cuando cuentan por siglos hasta encontrar el año que anotan. No solo hé seguido este calculo, corriendo desde la creacion hacia nuestros tiempos, por aquellas epocas y periodos fijos que establecen, sino tambien al contrario, contando desde el año de que llegó Hernán Cortés á estas tierras, que fue el de mil quinientos diez y nueve, que contestan todos unanimes, que fué señalado en la Xiumolpia ó Calendario de estos naturales con el geroglifico de la caña, en el numº 1º, y por tanto es una epoca muy fija para girar hacia atras el calculo.

Mas como quiera que en muchos acaecimientos notables, no solo señalan los Indios los años, sino tambien los meses y dias, no eran bastantes estas tablas para averiguarlo, y asi me fué preciso formar otras tres: la primera del orden en que colocavan los geroglificos de los veinte dias de cada mes, segun el caracter del año; la segunda de los dias de nuestros meses en que comenzava cada año de los suyos, siguiendo la opinion que me há parecido mas cierta entre la gran variedad que se halla en sus autores en asignar el primer mes de su año, y á cual de los nuestros correspondia; y la tercera de los signos con que comenzavan y acavaban de contar los dias de todos los cincuenta y dos años de cada siglo, inclusos los intercalares y bisextos, con respecto á el periodo de trece dias que tenian en lugar de nuestras semanas, cuya numeracion unian á los simbolos de los dias. Estas las hé colocado en el capº 8º, porque para su inteligencia y uso es preciso estar instruido en todo su sistema cronologico, no solo del giro de los años en el siglo por la repeticion de los cuatro caractéres iniciales, sino del de los meses, semanas y dias, cuya esplicacion se halla en aquel y los anteriores capitulos.

Los sucesos historicos que nos refieren hé procurado exâminarlos á la luz de una juiciosa critica, para asentar unos como ciertos y otros como falsos, ó fabulosos, trabajando en indagar el origen que pudieron tener estas ficciones por la combinacion y confrontacion de unos escritos con otros, y de unos con otros sucesos, exponiendolo todo con sinceridad segun lo concibo y sin vanidad del acierto. Muchas cosas parecerán estrañas y poco verosimiles, especialmente á aquellas personas que no conocen estos paises y sus circunstancias, que ignoran el caracter de los naturales de ellas, ó que viven todavia encaprichados en el concepto de que eran absolutamente barbaros; pero sin embargo se hallan contestadas por los escritores nacionales de aquellos tiempos mas inmediatos á la conquista, apoyadas en mucha parte por las relaciones de aquellos primeros Españoles que pasaron á estas partes, como son Hernan Cortés en sus cartas al Emperador, Bernal Diaz, Francisco Lopez de Gomara y otros que vieron su gobierno, supieron sus leyes y costumbres, su religion y ritos, sus artefactos y manufacturas, y aunque hablan de todas estas cosas de paso, superficialmente y con algunas equivocaciones, y muchos errores por falta de instruccion, es muy sobrado lo que dicen para autorizar las historias de los nacionales que comprendieron traducir sus pinturas, y conservar en nuestros caractéres las noticias de su antigüedad, tanto por lo respectivo á los sucesos, como por lo que mira á sus conocimientos cientificos, egercicio de las artes y regimen de su gobierno: y finalmente los mismos monumentos antiguos son unos testigos irrefragables, que no solo corroboran poderosamente las relaciones historicas, sino que las acusan de diminutas, haciendonos creér, que en algunos asuntos omitieron muchas cosas dignas de saberse, y cuya noticia ilustrandonos mas ampliamente excitaria mas vivamente la admiracion.

Las arengas y razonamientos que pongo en boca de los heroes y personages, son sustancialmente las mismas

que hallo en los escritores, y algunas literalmente copiadas; en otras solo hé corregido el estilo de un tosco y mal usado castellano, que por ser de aquellos naturales que no le hablavan con perfeccion están mal coordinadas y llenas de repeticiones, pero estas mismas en los autores que escriben en su propio idioma, son muy elegantes á juicio de los sugetos peritos en él, de quienes me hé valido, porque mi instruccion en el Mexicano es muy corta, sin embargo de que con el ausilio de artes y vocabularios hé trabajado en la version de muchos nombres y frases para la inteligencia y averiguacion de la verdad en algunos pasages de la historia, como se verá en ella, sugetando despues mis producciones á el exâmen de los inteligentes, sin cuya aprobacion no me huviera atrevido á sentarlas en esta obra.

No seme culpe de que traiga en ella muchas voces de la lengua Nahuatl ó Mexicana, porque me há parecido conveniente hacerlo asi para la mejor y mas clara esplicacion, pero todas las cosas las traduzco á nuestro idioma y repito muchas veces la traduccion para que el lector no tenga que ir á buscar á otra parte el significado. En muchos vocablos doy la etimologia, especialmente en los compuestos de que abunda mucho este idioma, particularmente en la nomenclatura de personas y lugares, que todos son significativos, y por tanto me hé valido muchas veces de ellos para la averigüacion de algunos puntos de la historia, y no puedo negar que fué esta una de las reglas que aprendi del Caballero Boturini que se havia propuesto á seguir en su obra esta maxîma. Algunas de estas tradiciones, ni son mias, ni de los sugetos inteligentes de quienes me hé valido, sino de los mismos escritores nacionales, y asi las pongo, sin embargo de que los peritos del idioma con quienes las hé conferido no las comprenden, y todos contestan en que el idioma Nahuatl há variado mucho de lo que era en tiempo de la gentilidad, pero discordan en el motivo, porque los unos creen que esta diferencia proviene de corrupcion de él, y otros defienden que nace de haverse pulido y perfeccionado. Lo cierto es que las canciones del Emperador Nezahualcoyotl que pongo en su idioma, no hé hallado alguno que perfectamente las traduzca, porque hay muchas voces que absolutamente se ignora el día de hoy su significado, sin embargo de haverme valido del vocabulario del P. Fr. Alonso de Molina del orden de N. P. Serafico S. Francisco, que le tengo por el mas antiguo y se imprimió en Mexico el año de mil quinientos setenta y uno, en el cual se hallan muchos verbos, nombres y frasismos que el dia de hoy no están en uso, ni hay alguno de los naturales que los entienda.

LIBRO I.

ORIGEN DE LAS GENTES QUE POBLARON LA AMERICA. NOTICIA DE LAS PRIMERAS QUE SE ESTABLECIERON EN LA NUEVA ESPAÑA, Y DE LA PRIMERA MONARQUIA QUE EN ELLA FLORECIO' DE LA NACION TOLTECA.

Capitulo I.

Situacion de la Nueva España, venida de sus primeros Pobladores y noticias que alcanzaron de la Creacion del Mundo.

El rico y fertil reyno de la Nueva España, cuya Historia antigua emprendo á escribir, fue llamado de sus antiguos havitadores Anahuac, esto es, tierra que está entre las aguas, por ser su situacion entre los dos mares, llamados hoy del Norte y del Sur. Esta tierra pues es una considerable porcion de la America, y está una de las cuatro partes en que los geografos dividen el orbe terraqueo, dando á todo el vasto continente que se describe en la mitad del globo el nombre de America, tomado de Americo Vespucci, Florentino que descubrió su costa Septentrional el año de mil cuatrocientos noventa y siete, y sin embargo de que cuatro años antes havia descubierto Cristoval Colon las tierras Meridionales, se llevó Americo la gloria de dar su nombre á todo el continente, el que en el uso comun de hablar llaman las Indias; y en la dicha division que hacian del orbe en cuatro partes, la señalan por una de ellas, sin embargo de que comprendiendo en ella sus yslas, casi iguala en su tamaño á las otras tres juntas, Asia, Africa y Europa,

á las que llaman algunos el mundo viejo, y á la America el nuevo mundo, por haverla tenido oculta la Divina Providencia al conocimiento de los Europeos hasta estos ultimos siglos. Si los nombres de America è Indias son propios ó impropios, impuestos con justo motivo, ó sin él, es asunto en que se funden algunos escritores. Yo prescindo enteramente de la cuestion como nada conducente á mi asunto, y acomodandome al uso comun de hablar y entender la daré cuando se me ofrezca la ocasion los nombres de America ó Indias, y á sus naturales antiguos y descendientes de ellos, llamaré Indios á diferencia de los hijos y descendientes de los Europeos que hán nacido en estos paises despues de su descubrimiento y conquista, á quienes llamaré Indianos ó criollos, siguiendo tambien el uso comun de hablar.

Este, pues, dilatadisimo pais de la America se estiende por el Sur hasta el Estrecho de Magallanes, en 52 grados y $\frac{1}{2}$ de altura del polo antartico, por el Norte aun no se sabe fijamente su termino: las cartas modernas nos demarcan los ultimos descubrimientos, hasta en altura de 70, ó 75 grados del artico, en cuya suposicion su largo de Norte á Sur aborda á dosmil y doscientas leguas; de ancho por donde mas se estiende, tiene mil doscientas setenta y siete del Este al Oeste, que es desde Terranova al cabo de Mendocino, y por lo mas angosto tiene diez y ocho leguas, que es desde Panamá à Nombre de Dios. Dividen pues todo este terreno en dos partes ó grandes peninsulas, que cerca de Panamá se unen en un istmo de tierra que és lo mas angosto y estrecho de ella entre los dos mares: A la parte que corre desde alli hasta el Estrecho de Magallanes, llaman America Meridional, porque la mayor parte de sus tierras están situadas desde la equinocial al antartico, y en ellas se comprenden los reynos del Perú, Brasil y Chile. Desde Panamá para el Norte, en la otra parte ó peninsula á que llaman America Septentrional, porque todas sus tierras están situadas desde la equinocial al Norte, y esta és la que abraza las dilatadas provincias que hoy se conocen por Nueva España; aunque algunos quieren que el reyno del Perú se estienda hasta Quauhtemalan; pero no admite disputa que Hernando Cortés, conquistador de la Nueva España, penetró hasta Honduras, y hasta alli estendió su descubrimiento y gobierno, ni menos el que hasta alli llegava el pais que los Indios llamaron Anahuac por estar situado entre los dos mares, y las noticias que de estas tierras dieron á Cortés en Mexico, fueron las que le movieron á emprender su descubrimiento; y siendo constante en la historia que voy á escribir, que Quauhtemalan y toda su dilatada provincia fueron feudales de los emperadores de Tezcuco, supremos monarcas de este pais, con justo titulo devo yo comprender bajo del nombre de Nueva España todo el terreno que se demarca desde el istmo de Panamá para el Norte.

Si toda la America fué ó no habitada antes del diluvio, es otra cuestion muy agitada entre los autores que hán escrito, ó de todo su continente, ó de algunas de sus partes. Tampoco tomo partido en la disputa, porque no hallo razon que me convenza en favor de la una ó de la otra opinion, y aunque los defensores de la afirmativa se fundan en los textos sagrados, "Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram (a)," "Repleta est terra iniquitate á facie eorum (b)," y otros semejantes que exponen á su proposito, me parece que para su verdad y perfecta inteligencia no es preciso que toda la tierra materialmente estuviese habitada y llena de gentes, ni que de haver sido en toda ella universal el diluvio que la anegó, se infiera bien que toda estava poblada, pues aun en sola aquella parte que nos consta por el texto sagrado que estava habitada, havia muchos montes y dilatadisimos desiertos enteramente inhabitados, como los hay el dia de hoy. Ni por el contrario seme ofrece dificultad en que asi como hallaron paso á estas tierras los que las poblaron despues del diluvio, le huviesen encontrado otros hombres antes de él, y poblado copiosamente estas regiones; pero ni por uno ni por otro lado se presenta razon ni fundamento solido que convenza; ni en los monumentos antiguos de los Indios, de que hé de valerme en el discurso de esta historia, se halla noticia alguna en este asunto, y como quiera que el mio no es otro que dár al publico las que hé podido recoger y alcanzar de su historia antigua en la multitud de naciones que poblaron estas regiones y grandes monarquias, que florecieron en el recinto de la Nueva España, las que con tanto cuidado, esmero y primor procuraron ellos conservar en sus pinturas y mapas historicos, poniendolas con la mayor claridad y pureza que me sea posible, para deshacer los errores, implicancias y confusiones en que hán incurrido los autores, en lo poco que hasta ahora hán escrito en esta materia, me és de poca importancia que la America estuviese ó no poblada antes del diluvio.

La gran dificultad entre los autores há sido el averiguar por discursos ó ilaciones cual fué el origen de tantas y tan diversas naciones como se hallaron pobladas en estas regiones, de donde vinieron y por donde pasaron; si por mar ó por tierra, si con destino cierto, ó incierto. Unos los hacen Judíos de las diez tribus dispersas en tiempo de

a Gen. i. b Gen. vi.

Salmanázar Rey de Asiria, qué los sacó de Samaria para poblarla de Babilonios: otros los hacen Españoles que pasaron á estas tierras de las Islas de Barlovento, que dicen estavan pobladas de Españoles en tiempo del rey Hespero que las poseyó; otros dicen que vinieron de Irlanda los primeros pobladores; otros que fueron Tartaros, y en fin cada uno discurre á su modo y produce las pruevas y congeturas que apoyan su opinion, que puede ver el curioso casi en todos los autores que hán escrito de Indias, y con mas facilidad lo hallará recopilado en el erudito libro que escribió el P. Fr. Gregorio Garcia, Dominicano, con el titulo de Origen de los Indios, donde verá todo cuanto en este asunto se há dicho, los fundamentos de cada opinion, y las dificultades y obgeciones que se le oponen. Que yó entre tanto sin tomar partido en ninguna, por especulaciones y discursos, sino arreglado á los manuscritos y monumentos antiguos que hé recogido en interpretacion de los mapas historicos de los Toltecas (que entre todas estas naciones fueron los mas sabios), digo que el origen y primeros padres de todas ellas fueron siete familias, que en la dispersion de gentes por la confusion de lenguas en la Torre de Babél, se unieron por hallarse de un idioma que llamaron Nahuatl, y se conoce por lengua Mexicana, y peregrinaron hasta estas partes, donde se establecieron y multiplicaron, y se fueron dividiendo en pueblos y naciones.

La nacion Tolteca, entre todas las que poblaron estos paises, fué la mas instruida, y la que mejor supo retener las memorias de su origen y antigüedad, hallando su talento el modo de conservar y pasar á sus sucesores las noticias de su historia, ya inventando geroglificos y caractéres, que ordenados con metodo y regla los figuraban en sus mapas que formavan sobre pieles de animales, sobre papel de maguei ó de palma en diferentes maneras, ya con nudos en hilos de diferentes colores, á que dieron el nombre de Nepohualtzitzin, que quiere decir cuenta de los sucesos; ya finalmente con cantares, unos sencillos y otros alegoricos, y pasando de unos á otros el arte de historiar, entender é interpretar estos mapas, nudos y cantares há llegado hasta nosotros su noticia, porque esta era entre ellos facultad que se enseñava á los niños del estado noble, como entre nosotros á leer y escribir. Estos pues alcanzaron con claridad el verdadero origen y principio de todo el universo, porque asientan que el cielo y la tierra y cuanto en ella se halla, es obra de la poderosa mano de un Dios supremo y unico, á quien davan el nombre de Tloque Nahuaque, que quiere decir Criador de todas las cosas: llamavanle tambien Ypalnem-chualoni, que quiere decir, por quien vivimos y somos, y fue la unica deidad que adoraron en aquellos primitivos tiempos, y aun despues que se introdujo la idolatria y el falso culto, le creyeron siempre superior á todos sus dioses, y le invocavan levantando los ojos al cielo, y en esta creencia se mantuvieron constantes hasta la llegada de los Españoles, como afirma Herrera *, no solo los Mexicanos, sino tambien los de Mechoacan, y lo que es mas se halló la misma noticia en todo el reyno del Peru, aunque el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega niega que este fuese el Viracocha, y atribuyó este y otros errores de los escritores Españoles en orden á la multiplicidad de dioses, su culto, é idolatrias, á falta de noticia y poca inteligencia del idioma, que es muy verosimil porque lo mismo les sucedió en mucho de lo que escriben de Nueva España, y dice, que el verdadero nombre que le davan al Dios criador era Pachacamac, que significa el hacedor y sustentador del universo, de donde se colige que fue uno mismo el origen de todos los pobladores de ambos reynos, como afirman los Toltecas; y en aquella primera edad no tuvieron mas adoracion y culto que al Tloque Nahuaque, porque la idolatria y multiplicidad de dioses nació mucho despues entre estas gentes, como se verá en su lugar.

Asientan igualmente que este Ente supremo crió un hombre y una muger en un ameno jardin, y que de estos dos solos individuos se propagó todo el linage humano, y los pintan en sus mapas casi del mismo modo que nosotros; pero en cuanto al pecado que cometieron y porque fueron desterrados de aquel delicioso sitio, en ninguno de cuantos escritos tengo en interpretacion de estos mapas historicos, se halla mencion alguna, mas no por eso me persuado á que los antiguos Toltecas lo ignoraron, antes bien tengo positivo fundamento para creer que conservaron esta noticia, y fue una de las que con mayor cuidado intentaron que pasase á la de su posteridad por medio de la pintura, porque entre los mapas que hé visto hay uno que denota ser muy antiguo, formado sobre papel muy basto de maguey, en que se figura un huerto, y en él un solo arbol, desde cuyo pie se enreda una culebra que en medio de su copa descubre la cabeza con rostro de muger, y esta misma figura se halla en otros mapas, y los que esplican su significado dicen que es una de las diosas que adoraron despues en el tiempo de su idolatria, á quien dieron el nombre de Cihuacohuatl, que quiere decir la muger culebra. Torquemada asienta como sabida esta noticia, y concuerda con las historias de los Indios que dicen que esta fue la primer muger que parió en el mundo, y de quien proceden todos los hombres, y asi la davan el nombre de Oxomozco que otros escriben Otzomozco y le traducen la preñada golosa, hacien-

* Herr. dec. 3, lib. 2, cap. 15, pag. 85, col. 2. ite: dec. 3, lib. 3, pag. 119, col. 1. ite: dec. 5. lib. 4, cap. 4. pag. 114, col. 1, lib. 6, cap. 30, lib. 1, cap. 4.

dole compuesto de la voz otztli, que significa preñada, y moxipthuani golosa. Davanle tambien los nombres de Titiel que significa nuestra madre, ó el vientre de donde salimos, y Teoxaomuiqui, que quiere decir la diosa que recoge las almas de los difuntos: á su honor dedicaron uno de los meses del año en que celebravan una fiesta en commemoracion de sus difuntos y se erigieron famosos templos, como verémos en su lugar. Todo esto me hace creer que los antiguos Tultecas tuvieron perfecto conocimiento del pecado del primer hombre, cometido á sugestion de la muger engañada de la serpiente, que la brindó con la fruta del arbol vedado, que fué el origen de todos nuestros males, y por donde entró la muerte en el linage humano, y que esto fue lo que ellos quisieron esplicar en estas pinturas simbolicas, para que por medio de ellas pasase esta noticia á sus descendientes; mas desfigurandola despues la ignorancia introdujo fabulas y errores con que ofuscó la verdad y trastornó el verdadero culto: I acaso la confusion y horror con que en aquellos principios miravan estas figuras simbolicas, que les traian á la memoria la culpa del primer hombre, causa de la mayor desgracia del linage humano, raíz de todos los males que sufre, y origen de la muerte, dió motivo á la ignorancia para que degenerando en idolatria el justo horror de esta desgracia, se fingiesen esta deidad que recogia las almas de los muertos. Tambien hallo otra congruencia en el nombre que desde lo antiguo hasta el dia de hoy le dán á la serpiente, que es Cohuatlahueliloc, que quiere decir culebra demonio, y este es nombre mas general que dán á la serpiente en lengua Mexicana.

Dicen que en aquellos principios del mundo se mantenian los hombres solamente con frutas y yerbas, hasta que uno á quien llaman Tlaomuiqui, que quiere decir el que mató con flecha, halló la invencion del arco y la flecha, y que desde entonces comenzaron á egercitarse en la caza, y mantenerse de carnes de los animales que matavan en ella, y asi lo acostumbraron en adelante, hasta la venida de los Españoles, todos los habitantes de este vasto continente; de suerte que aunque despues se dedicaron al cultivo de varias semillas, y á criar algunos animales y aves para su alimento, no por eso dejavan de hacerlo igualmente de la caza, y en todos los pueblos tenian dias señalados en que hacer sus batidas y cazas generales para proveerse de este mantenimiento, usando para ello el arco y la flecha, pues aunque despues para sus guerras inventaron otras armas ofensivas y defensivas, para la caza no usaron jamas de otra que el arco y la flecha.

Capitulo II.

De la noticia que alcanzaron del Diluvio y de la Torre de Babél, y Confusion de Lenguas, y de las Siete Familias del idioma Nahuatl, que vinieron á poblar estas Regiones.

Establecida pues la creencia de que el mundo fué criado por el Tloquenahuaque, comenzaron á numerar sus epocas desde el año de su creacion. A este le señalaron con el geroglifico de un pedernal en su sistema cronologico, de que daré noticia adelante, y desde él comenzaron la cuenta de los tiempos y numeracion de los años, y dicen que pasados treinta y tres siglos de los suyos (que eran de cincuenta y dos años) de la creacion del mundo, que hacen mil setecientos veinte y seis años, en otro que fué tambien señalado con el mismo geroglifico de un pedernal, padeció el genero humano una horrible calamidad de copiosisimos aguaceros con rayos y truenos, que anegaron toda la tierra, quedando sumergidos en las aguas los mas altos montes, caxtolmelictli, que quiere decir quince codos, y que de esta general calamidad solo escaparon ocho personas en un tlaptlipetlacalli que quiere decir casa como arca cerrada, y en sus mapas la figuran á semejanza de una barquilla con toldo, por encima del cual asoman ocho cabezas, y asi están que de estas ocho personas volvió á propagarse el genero humano.

Segun las tablas cronologicas que dejó comenzadas el Caballero Boturini, (las que yo hé continuado hasta el año de mil* . . . . . cuarenta y tres de Cristo y van al fin de este tomo) sobre el sistema que seguian estos naturales contando los siglos de cincuenta y dos años, deve fijarse el diluvio en el año de mil setecientos diez y siete de la creacion del mundo, que és el primero que se halla señalado con el geroglifico de un Pedernal, pasados (como ellos asientan) los treinta y tres siglos de la creacion. Bien sé, que el comun sentir de los expositores coloca este suceso en el año de mil seiscientos cincuenta y seis del mundo, pretendiendo deducir esta cuenta del mismo texto sagrado por las edades de los patriarcas antediluvianos, en que solo se nota la diferencia de sesenta años de uno á otro computo, que no es de la mayor consideracion: no me parece muy dificil concordar uno con otro, mas no siendo mi animo en esta obra ingerirme en estas disputas, ni menos imponerme en conciliar su cronologia con la nuestra, como

* This blank occurs in the original MS.

parece que la intentava hacer el Caballero Boturini, solo referiré con pureza y fidelidad lo que hallo escrito en sus historias, colocando los sucesos en los años que corresponde en dicha tabla segun las epocas que ellos asignan, y el numero de años que cuentan de unos sucesos á otros, atendiendo siempre al caracter ó geroglifico con que señalan los años, porque haviendo sido ellos en esto muy exâctos, no puede haver en ello variacion, y es preciso colocar los sucesos con los que corresponden al caracter que señala. Y devo advertir aqui para lo que voy á tratar en los parrafos siguientes, que en las dichas tablas, que como ya dije dejó comenzadas de su propio puño el dicho Caballero Boturini, anota el diluvio al margen del mismo año de mil setecientos diez y siete del mundo, sin duda porque en todos los manuscritos que recogió halló uniforme y contexte esta noticia, como á mi me há sucedido, sin embargo de que en muchas de las epocas posteriores hay notable variacion en la cronologia, no solo de unos á otros monumentos y de unos á otros autores, sino en uno mismo, que és D. Fernando de Alba Yxtlilxochitl, uno de los mas bien instruidos y mas autorizado en las diferentes relaciones que escribió en diversos tiempos, en las que refiriendo los mismos sucesos en todas, sin la menor alteracion en los hechos y en los caracteres ó geroglificos en que los Tultecas señalaron los años en que acaecieron, es notable la variacion que tiene en la confrontacion con nuestros computos, nacida sin duda de no haver formado tablas, y sin embargo el diluvio en todas le coloca en el mismo año de mil setecientos diez y siete, y lo mismo egecutan los demas autores que hé visto.

Del celebre matematico D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, sugeto muy instruido en las antigüedades de los Indios, y en sus calendarios, tengo un pronostico ò lunario que imprimió para el año de mil seiscientos ochenta y uno, en que pone una nota cronologica que comienza asi: Corre este presente año de cincomil seiscientos cuarenta y uno de la creacion del mundo; despues del diluvio tresmil novecientos ochenta y cinco; del descubrimiento de las Indias Occidentales hecho por Colon ciento ochenta y nueve; de la fundacion de esta ciudad de Mexico por los Aztecas Mexitzin trescientos cincuenta y cuatro, siendo el presente en su xiuhmolpia ó calendario el año Chicuazen Tecpatl, ó sexto de la segunda indiccion ó triadecaterida de Acatl. Segun esta nota, no podía colocar Sigüenza el diluvio en el año de mil setecientos diez y siete del mundo, porque desde este á el cincomil seiscientos cuarenta y uno de la creacion que asienta concurrir en el de mil seiscientos ochenta y uno de Cristo, solo hay tres mil novecientos veinte y cuatro años, y es la diferencia de sesenta y un años, que haviendoles de descontar de los mil setecientos diez y siete para completar los tres mil novecientos ochenta y cinco que asienta haver corrido desde el diluvio, corresponde colocar este en el año de mil seiscientos cincuenta y seis del mundo, que es la opinion comun de los expositores, mas este en las tablas cronologicas seguidas sobre el sistema de estos Indios, fué señalado con el geroglifico de la caña en el nº. 5º. y asi no puedo comprender como concordava este computo con los caracteres del calendario de los Indios que asientan contestes que el caracter del año en que acaeció el diluvio fue Ce Tecpatl, un pedernal. Tambien se manifiesta en dicha nota que dava al mundo menos edad de la que ya le asigno en mis tablas, cuando encarnó el Verbo divino, porque segun estas el año de cincomil seiscientos cuarenta y uno concurrió con el de mil seiscientos y ocho de la era cristiana, y desde este al de mil seiscientos ochenta y uno con que el asienta haver concurrido, hay setenta y tres años de diferencia, que estos menos devia tener el mundo segun su computo, y por consiguiente deveria colocar el nacimiento de Cristo en el año de tres mil novecientos sesenta y uno, que segun las tablas fué señalado por los Indios en el geroglifico del pedernal en el numº.9, y sin embargo de esta gran diferencia dice en la misma nota, que el dicho año de mil seiscientos ochenta y uno fue señalado en el xiuhmolpia ó calendario Indiano con el simbolo Chicuazen Tecpatl (seis pedernales) en que por lo respectivo al caracter del año, solo hay uno de diferencia de sus computos à los mios, segun los cuales el dicho año de mil seiscientos ochenta y uno fue Chicome Calli (siete casas) que es el que immediatamente se sigue al Chicuazen Tecpatl como puede verse en las tablas: pero en esto mismo hallo otra grave dificultad, porque colocado el nacimiento de Cristo en el año de tres mil novecientos sesenta y uno del mundo, y contando desde el de dosmil seiscientos ochenta y uno de la era Cristiana, se concluyen estos en el año Matlatliomome Tecpatl, esto es, doce pedernales, que concurrió con el cincomil seiscientos cuarenta y uno del mundo, como manifiestan las tablas, y desde él al primero que se halla señalado con el caracter de Chicuazen Tecpatl ó seis pedernales, que es el de cincomil seiscientos sesenta y uno, hay veinte años de diferencia. Vuelvo á decir que por mas que hé trabajado no hé podído comprender esta cuenta, ni el modo en que formava estos computos, mas haviendo sido un sugeto tan docto y bien instruido, que su fama dura y durarà en esta Nueva España, no me lisongeo de enmendarle y puede estar en mi el error, por la limitacion de mi talento, y otro mas elevado podra decidir: pero advierto que la mayor parte de las epocas que iré señalando en los sucesos de la historia, arregladas á mis computos, están conformes con las de Sigüenza, y esto me hace sospechar que huviese padecido algun equivoco en esta.

Volviendo pues á cobrar el hilo de nuestra historia digo, que multiplicado considerablemente el linage humano, dicen que temerosos los hombres de otro diluvio, y queriendo hacer su nombre famoso, emprendieron la fabrica de una torre muy alta, á que dán el nombre de Zacualli, y que pasadas cuatro edades (que son ocho siglos de los signos de á cincuenta y dos años) desde el diluvio, en un año que señalan tambien con el geroglifico de un pedernal, cuando mas empeñados estavan en la fabricacion de su torre, de repente se les confundieron las lenguas, de modo que unos á otros no se entendian, con lo que cesó la fabrica y todos se dividieron, esparciendose por toda la redondez de la tierra. Esta noticia tan puntualmente anotada por la nacion Tulteca, de cuyos mapas historicos la sacaron los autores que escribieron en estas monarquias de Mexico y Tezcuco, se halló conforme y sin variacion entre los Indios de Chiapa, como lo asegura el Señor D. Fr. Francisco Muñoz de la Vega, obispo de aquella diocesi, en el prologo de sus Constituciones diocesanas, que afirma guardarse en su archivo un antiguo manuscrito de los primeros naturales de alli, que supieron escribir en nuestros caractéres, en el cual consta que mantuvieron siempre la memoria de que el padre y progenitor primero de su nacion se llamó Teponahuaste, que quiere decir el Señor del palo hueco, y que este se halló en la fabrica de la gran pared, que asi llamavan à la torre de Babél, y vió por sus ojos la confusion de las lenguas, despues de lo cual lo mandó el Dios Criador venir á estas dilatadas tierras á repartirlas entre los hombres.

Este suceso segun sus computos y confrontacion de las tablas, deve colocarse en el año de dosmil ciento treinta y tres del mundo, y cuatrocientos diez y seis despues del diluvio, porque contando los ocho siglos de á cincuenta y dos años, desde el de mil setecientos diez y siete en que asientan haver sido el diluvio, el primer año que se halla señalado por el geroglifico del pedernal en el numº. 1º., es el de dosmil ciento treinta y tres, como puede verse en dichas tablas: en esta epoca varían algo mas de nuestros computos, porque la opinion comun de los expositores no establece esta confusion de lenguas de Babél tantos años despues del diluvio, pero todos fundados en meras congeturas. El Caballero Boturini en la obra que dió á luz en Madrid el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y seis con el titulo de Idea de una nueva Historia de la America Septentrional, que meditava escribir por los monumentos que recogio, y de que yo me hé valido para esta, toca este punto en el parrafo 16, folio 124; y parece que se inclinava á seguir la opinion de los Setenta que fijan el diluvio en el año dosmil doscientos cuarenta y dos del mundo, y contando las cuatro edades que llaman ciclos en el modo en que las cuenta y esplican las fojas anteriores establece como la que mas le agrada la opinion de haver sido esta confusion de lenguas el año de dosmil cuatrocientos noventa y siete del mundo. Yó me hé instruido y tenido entre manos todos los monumentos antiguos que él recogió, y ni en ellos, ni en los que despues hé juntado, hé podido encontrar la esplicacion que él hace á la foja 122, ni hé podido entenderla ni acomodarla á las epocas de los sucesos de la historia. Dice pues, "que cuando los Indios cuentan en sus calendarios por este numero de ce uno v. g. Ce Tecpatl un pedernal, se entiende una vez cada cuatro ciclos, por que hablan entonces de los caractéres iniciales de cada ciclo, y asi segun el artificio de sus ruedas pintadas, entra Ce Tecpatl tan solamente una vez en los principios de los cuatro ciclos; por cuyo motivo puesto en la historia algun caracter de estos iniciales, es fuerza que pasen cuatro ciclos Indianos de á cincuenta y dos años cada uno, que hacen doscientos ocho años antes de poderse hallar en adelante, porque de esta manera no se cuenta por los caractéres que están en el cuerpo de los cuatro ciclos, y aunque se encuentren en ellos los mismos caractéres no hacen al caso. Digo pues, que en ninguno de los monumentos antiguos, que el recogió, y hé reconocido, hé hallado semejante esplicacion, ni se me hace perceptible este sistema, ni alguno de los historiadores Indios se vale de este computo para señalar las epocas de los sucesos de la historia, por mas celebres que sean, sino del que esplicaré adelante, sobre el cual hé formado yó los mios para la confrontacion de sus años con los nuestros, como se verá en el discurso de esta obra. Y porque despues hé de volver á tocar este punto cuando esplique sus calendarios, baste por ahora lo dicho para establecer que segun los computos de estos naturales, el diluvio acaeció el año de mil setecientos diez y siete del mundo, y la confusion de lenguas en Babél, cuatro cientos diez y seis años despues del diluvio, que corresponde al de dosmil ciento treinta y tres del mundo como dejo sentado, y me parece muy verosimil porque es un medio entre los dos computos que el mismo Boturini trahe en el lugar citado; esto es el comun de Hebreos y Latinos y el de los Setenta.

Segun el primero acaeció la confusion de lenguas el año mil ochocientos setenta y tres del mundo, y segun el segundo el año dosmil cuatrocientos noventa y siete, y asi el de dosmil ciento treinta y tres en que yo la establezco segun el sistema de los Indios, es un medio proporcionado entre uno y otro.

Este suceso de la confusion de lenguas le figuravan en sus mapas, pintando un cerro redondo en cuyo frontispicio

se vé colocada una medalla, y en ella gravado un rostro como de un anciano con barba larga, y por fuera de la medalla muchas lenguas que la rodean y forman orla. Este modo de pintarla en forma de cerro, conviene bien con las noticias que nos dán los viageros antiguos y modernos, que asientan haver visto los restos que hán quedado de ella, y sobre la autoridad de estos asienta el P. D. Agustin Calmet en su disertacion de la torre de Babél, al principio de su Comentario sobre el Genesis, y en su Diccionario Biblico en la voz Babél, que esta torre era maziza por dentro y mas parecia un monte que un edificio. Subsiste en estos tiempos un monumento irrefragable, asi de la constante y perfecta noticia que tuvieron estas gentes de la fabrica de esta famosa torre y el artificio de su construccion, como descendientes de aquellos que intentaron poner en practica tan arrogante proyecto. Esta és la famosa torre de Choloyan fabricada por la nacion Ulmeca, una de las primeras que poblaron el pais de Anahuac, con el mismo sobervio fin de hacer famoso su nombre, y dura en nuestros dias porcion considerable de sus ruinas en dicha ciudad de Choloyan á una legua de la Puebla de los Angeles en figura de cerro mazizo con la subida por la parte esterior.

En esta confusion pues de lenguas, dicen que se hallaron siete familias de un mismo idioma que era el Nahuatl, y hoy se conoce por lengua Mexicana, y como entre si se entendieron se unieron, y juntos emprendieron su peregrinacion por diversas tierras y paises, á la ventura y sin destino cierto, hasta hallar terreno que les pareciese acomodado y á proposito para hacer asiento, y haviendo caminado una edad que entre ellos era el espacio de ciento cuatro años, atravesando entonces montes, rios y brazos de mar que señalan en sus mapas, llegaron al sitio donde hicieron su primera poblacion à la parte septentrional de este reyno, à que llamaron Tlapalan, que se interpreta la bermeja, por ser aquella tierra de este color, y efectivamente dán en todos los mapas modernos el nombre de Mar Bermejo à el que sitúan entre la costa oriental de la California, y la occidental de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico y Sonora; y al rio que desagua en él por la parte septentrional llaman el Rio Colorado. A esta ciudad la llamaron en los tiempos subsecuentes Huehuetlapalan, que quiere decir Tlapalan la vieja, á distincion de otra que se fundò muchos años despues con el mismo nombre, como diremos en su lugar.

Los montes, rios, valles y mares por donde pasaron, es punto menos que imposible señalar individualmente cuales fueron, porque careciendo sus mapas de rumbo y dimensiones, como que ignoravan el uso de la aguja y el compas*, no es facil acertar á decirlo. El nacimiento del sol era todo su gobierno; esto no en todos los mapas se halla demarcado, y en los que se halla no es suficiente á inducir la situacion de los paises, ni el terreno cierto por donde caminaron. Pero con todo, la uniformidad de los mapas de itinerario de tantas diversas naciones que quisieron conservar la memoria de su origen y peregrinaciones hasta estas tierras, la universal asercion de todos los interpretes de estos mapas que eran descendientes de ellos mismos, la exîstencia de muchos lugares y terrenos que hasta nuestros dias conservan los mismos nombres, la generalisima noticia que los Españoles hallaron en todas estas gentes de señalar su antigua patria á la parte del norte de la Nueva España, la exîstencia de la poblacion de Tlapalan, sea la primera ó la segunda de este nombre, que en esto hay variedad como diré despues, y finalmente el no hallarse rastro alguno de que puedan haver venido por otro lado, convencen plenamente que la venida de estas siete familias (que supongo ya entonces numerosas) desde el campo de Senaar á estas regiones, fue por la Tartaria, á entrar por lo mas septentrional del continente de la America, siguiendo unas cuadrillas el rumbo por la tierra firme, y otras por la peninsula de California, de donde pasaron al continente atravesando el estrecho que intermedia, y en los mapas de estas señalan el sitio donde aportaron de este otro lado, que le llaman Culchuacan, que significa lugar de la Culebra, en el que despues fundaron una poblacion del mismo nombre, que aun permanece, y es la primera de la tierra firme, situada en frente de la dicha Peninsula de California†, y conservaron tanto la memoria de esta poblacion de

* The Mexicans described concentric circles, especially in their representations of the sun, with so much precision that it would be difficult to decide that they were unacquainted with the compass.

† Boturini imagined that the Tultecas colonized the western coast of North America, having crossed the narrow straits which separate that continent from Asia; and that continually migrating to the south, some of them penetrated into California, and others reached the more central provinces situated to the north of Mexico. He was of opinion that the Aztecas, the ancestors of the Mexicans, were those who settled in California, who, like the children of Israel, beginning their migration by crossing the Red Sea, (for the Gulf of California was otherwise named Mar Bermejo by the Spaniards, perhaps with the design of veiling by an equivocal adoption of names the real history of the Mexicans), proceeded on their pilgrimage to the land of Anahuac. He also presupposes a long journey undertaken by the Tultecas through Tartary from central Asia, such as other authors have believed that the Jews of the lost tribes took to arrive at America. To this supposition it may be objected, that Montezuma assured Cortes in the presence of all his nobles, that his ancestors had arrived at Mexico from a country situated towards the rising sun: that Sahagun declares in the general preface to his History of New Spain, that a colony which had navigated the ocean in early ages disembarked in the port of Panuco, which is situated on the shores of the Mexican Gulf: that the native traditions of the people of Guatemala, (who claimed, as being descended from the Tultecas, consanguinity with the Mexicans,) recorded that their ancestors were Jews who had quitted Palestine, or that part of Arabia which is

Culchuacan, que despues fundaron los Tultecas una famosa ciudad del mismo nombre, que llego á ser corte y capital de un reyno que se llamó tambien de Culchuacan, de la que igualmente permanecen las reliquias en nuestros dias en una pequeña poblacion, que mantiene el nombre cerca de Mexico, á orillas de la laguna de Chalco, como lo esta la otra á las riberas del mar de California.

Dice Boturini en su citada obra, que D. Fernando de Alba Yxtlixochitl en sus relaciones historicas refiere los nombres de los gefes ó padres de estas siete familias que se unieron en la dispersion de Babél, y peregrinaron desde el campo de Sennaar hasta estas regiones. Yó tengo todas las relaciones historicas de Alba, copiadas de las que recogió dicho Boturini, y no hé hallado en ellas esta noticia; à mi me parece que padeció equivoco y lo confirmo de sus mismas espresiones, porque dice que siete Tultecas que asistian á la fabrica de la Torre, viendo que no se entendian con los demas, se apartaron con sus mugeres é hijos, y despues de haver peregrinado en Asia vinieron á establecerse á la tierra de Anahuac, y esto es confundir las siete familias de la dispersion de Babel, con las siete que despues de establecidas ya estas gentes en la parte septentrional de estas regiones, se rebelaron contra sus soberanos, y haviendo salido huyendo en demanda de otras tierras en que poblarse, vinieron á establecer su monarquia en Toyan y todo el territorio que hoy comprende la gobernacion de la Real Audiencia de Mexico, de cuyos gefes de familia trahe los nombres el referido Alba como diré en su lugar.

Los rios, estrechos ó brazos de mar que describen en sus mapas haver pasado en toda su dilatada peregrinacion desde el campo de Sennaar hasta llegar á la California, son sin duda los mismos que se hán ido descubriendo en estos

contiguous to the Red Sea, and had crossed the Atlantic to America; that Votan is said to have come from the old to the new continent; and that Quecalcoatl, when meditating his return to the country from which he came, proceeded in an eastern direction, and arriving at Coazacoalco, a province of New Spain which borders on the Atlantic Ocean, there embarked. To the reasons which have been enumerated for dissenting from the opinion of Boturini and Echevarria that America was colonized on its north-western side by tribes crossing from Tartary, and that the ancestors of the Mexicans were descended from them, we shall add another, which, if it be of a negative description, will still be found to possess as much weight as any of the foregoing: it is contained in the following passage, which is taken from a work of Torribio de Benavente Motolinia preserved in manuscript in the library of the Escurial, who there says that the inhabitants of Tlascala and many other provinces of New Spain had a tradition that their ancestors had migrated from a province situated to the north-west of Mexico, but that that tradition, *wanting the corroborative evidence of the Mexican language being spoken in any of the provinces discovered by the Spaniards as far north as Sibola*, was not entitled to credit, and that it was therefore to be inferred that the Mexicans were "of a strange and unheard-of race." "Los de Tezcuco, que en antiguedad y señorio no son menos que los Mexicanos, se laman hoy dia Aculuaques, y toda su provincia junta se lama Aculua; y este nombre les quedo de un valiante capitan que tubieron, natural de la misma provincia, que se llamó por nombre Aculi, que asi se llamo aquel hueso que va desde el codo hasta al hombro, y del mismo hueso llaman al hombro aculi. Este capitan Aculi era como otro Saul, valiente y alto de cuerpo, tanto que de los hombros arriba sobrepujaba á todo el pueblo, y no habia otro a él semejante. Este Aculi fué tan animoso y esforzado y nombrado en las guerras, que de él se llamó la provincia de Tezcuco Aculuaca. Los Tlaxcaltecas que recibieron y ayudaron á conquistar la Nueva España á los Españoles, son de los Nauales, esto es de la misma lengua que los Mexicanos: dicen que sus antecesores vinieron de la parte del norueste, y para entrar en esta tierra navigaban ocho ó diez dias; y de los mas antiguos que de alli vinieron tenian dos saetas, las cuales guardaban como preciosas reliquias, y las tenian por principal señal para saber si habian de vencer la batalla, ó si se debian de retirar con tiempo. Fueron estos Tlaxcaltecas gente belicosa, como se dirá adelante en la tercera parte: cuando salien a la batalla llevaban aquellas saetas dos capitanes los mas señalados en esfuerzo, y en el primer reencuentro herian con ellas á los enemigos arrojandolos de lejos, y procuraban hasta la muerte de tornarlas à cobrar, y si con ellas herian y sacaban sangre tenian por cierta la victoria, y animabanse todos mucho para vencer, y con aquella esperanza esforzabanse para herir y vencer à sus enemigos; si con las dichas saetas no herian à nadie ni sacaban sangre, lo mejor que podian se retiraban, porque tenian por cierto aguero que les habia de suceder mal en aquella batalla. Volviendo al proposito, los mas ancianos de los Tlaxcaltecas tienen que de aquella parte del norueste, y alli señalan y dicen, que vinieron los Nauales, que és la principal lengua y gente de la Nueva España, y esto mismo sienten y dicen otros muchos: hacia esta misma parte del norueste están ya conquistadas y descubiertas cuatro lenguas, hasta la provincia de Cibola, y yó tengo carta deste mismo año hecha, como de aquella parte de Cibola han descubierto infinita multitud de gente, en las cuales no se há hallado lengua de los Nauales, *por donde parece ser gente estraña y nunca oida*. Aristoteles en el libro De Admirandis Naturæ dice, que en los tiempos antiguos los Cartagineses navigaron por el estrecho de Gibraltar hacia el occidente navigacion de sesenta dias, y que hallaban tierras amenas, deleitosas y muy fertiles; y como se siguiese mucho aquella navigacion, y allá se quedasen muchos hechos moradores, el senado Cartaginense mandó só pena de muerte que ninguno navegase ni viniese la tal navigacion por estas tierras ó islas. Pudieron ser las que están antes de San Juan, ó la Española, ó Cuba, ó por ventura alguna parte desta Nueva España: pero una tan gran tierra y tan poco poblada por todas partes, mas parece traer origen de otras estrañas partes, y aun en algunos indicios parece ser del repartimiento y division de los nietos de Noè. Algunos Españoles, considerados *ciertos ritos*, costumbres y ceremonias de estos naturales, los juzgan sèr de generacion de Moros; otros por algunas causas y condiciones que en ellos se vèn, dicen que son de generacion de Judios; mas la mas comun opinion és que todos ellos son gentiles, pues vemos que lo usan y tienen por bueno. Si esta relacion saliere de mano de vuestra ylustrisima señoria, dos cosas le suplico en limosna por amor de Nuestro Señor: la una que el nombre del autor se diga ser un fraile menor y no otro nombre ninguno: la otra que vuestra señoria la mande *examinar* en el primer capitulo que en esa su villa de Benavente se celebrase, pues en él se juntan personas asaz doctisimas; porque muchas cosas despues de escriptas aun no tube tiempo de las volver á leer, y por esta causa sé que và algo vicioso y mal escrito. Ruego á nuestro Señor Dios que su santa gracia more siempre en el anima de vuestra excelentisima señoria. Hecha en el Convento de Santa Maria de la Concepcion de Teozaan, dia del glorioso Apostol San Mattias, año de la redencion humana 1541. Epistola proemial de un fraile menor al Ilustrisimo Señor Don Antonio Pimentel, Conde sexto de Benavente."

ultimos tiempos, y nos demarcan las cartas mas modernas, y cada dia vemos que se van descubriendo por este lado nuevas tierras, que asi como nos hán desengañado de no ser isla la California, espero que verifiquen ser estas regiones continentes con aquellas de que se creian tan apartadas y estar separadas de ellas solamente por cortos estrechos. Afirman los Indios el modo que tuvieron para pasar estos estrechos, brazos de mar y rios que demarcan, fue en balsas cuadradas formadas de carrices, ó palos ligeros y en canoas chatas, á que dan el nombre de acalli que significa casa de agua, y asi las pintan y sobre ellas las personas que pasan, unas sentadas y otras echadas ó tendidas á lo largo de la balsa ó canoa; pero en ninguno de cuantos mapas hé visto, demuestran el modo con que las gobernavan, porque ni se vé persona que á nado la guie, ni remo ó pala con que desde encima de ella la gobernasen, ni sobre esto hé hallado noticia alguna en los manuscritos; pero no siendo creible que se arrojasen al arbitrio de las aguas, ni que sin remo ó remolque pudiesen pasar, debemos suponer que de uno u otro modo lo egecutaron, aunque no lo describen, sino es que se sirvieron de los brazos en lugar de remos, que á esta sospecha me guia el ver, como hé dicho, que las personas que pintan en la balsa, unas están sentadas y otras tendidas, y de estas hé visto en tal cual mapa, que parecen tener los brazos estendidos por fuera de la balsa, con lo que quieren acaso denotar que estos les servian de remos para guiarla.

Llegados al sitio que les pareció mas comodo para su habitacion, fundaron su primera ciudad, á que dieron el nombre de Tlapalan, que quiere decir colorada, y despues la llamaron Huehue Tlapalan, esto es, Tlapalan la antigua, para distinguirla de otra que huvo mas moderna: señalan su fundacion en un año del mismo caracter ó geroglifico de un pedernal, que segun las tablas parece haver sido en el de dos mil doscientos treinta y siete del mundo, porque es el primero que se halla en las tablas con el caracter de un pedernal, pasados los dos siglos desde la confusion de Babel. Esta ciudad dice que subsiste en nuestros tiempos, aunque reducida á corta poblacion conocida por Huetlapalan de Cortes, porque asientan que hasta ella penetró este conquistador, movido quiza de las noticias de ellos, que conservaron siempre en su memoria haver sido esta la primer ciudad que fundaron despues de su destierro: pero me parece que en esto puede haver equivóco, y que Cortes no llegase á esta antigua ciudad, sino á la otra del mismo nombre que despues fundaron los Tultecas, porque la situacion de aquella es, segun asientan los mismos interpretes muy al norte, mas allá de las naciones Apaches, donde no se sabe que internase Cortes: la otra parte que está muy hacia la costa del sur, no lejos de la boca del rio colorado, y hasta aqui puede que llegase. Fijados pues, en aquella su primitiva poblacion, comenzaron á multiplicarse y en aquellos primeros tiempos fue populosisima ciudad. Fueron despues estendiendose en toda aquella vasta region, y fundando otras muchas poblaciones de que se formó el grande imperio Chichimeca, á que dieron el nombre de Chichimecatlali, esto es, tierra de los Chichimecas. Unos dicen que el motivo de haver tomado este nombre de Chichimecas, fue porque el principal caudillo que los condujo desde el campo de Sennaar se llamó Chichimecatl; otros quieren que este haya sido su primer rey, despues que se establecieron en este continente, y despues de haverse separado algunas cuadrillas de gentes que internaron por varias partes de el; otros piensan diversamente como diremos adelante. De este imperio, pues, fué Huetlapalan la famosa corte, y de él fueron despues saliendo en bandadas ó cuadrillas en diversos tiempos para poblar dilatadisimas regiones, tomando cada una diverso nombre, segun el gefe ó padre de familia que la gobernava, y haciendose con el discurso del tiempo naciones distintas, con diferentes lenguages ó dialectos. De manera, que segun la creencia de estos naturales y su historia, de estas siete familias tienen su origen y principio todos los habitadores de este Nuevo Mundo, y esta ciudad de Huetlapalan tiene la gloria de haver sido la primera fundacion que en él se hizo despues del diluvio, y cuna de todos sus pobladores, cuya memoria conservaron siempre los de la Nueva España, llamandola la antigua patria.

Capitulo III.

Dase noticia de dos memorables sucesos que fueron el origen de dos fabulas.

Poblada la ciudad de Huetlapalan, y notablemente aumentados sus moradores, no cabiendo ya en ella comenzaron como hé dicho á estenderse por todos sus contornos, dividiendose en pueblos y vecindarios, y comenzó á nacer el gran imperio Chichimeco, del cual procedieron despues tantas poderosas monarquias. Las casas en que habitavan, asi en la ciudad como en las demas poblaciones, no eran otras por entonces y muchos siglos despues, aun cuando tuvieron ya reyes y gobiernos, que las cuebas que hallaron hechas por disposicion de la naturaleza, á cuya semejanza

formavan otras, y estas eran todas sus habitaciones. Su mantenimiento las frutas, yervas y caza, y su vestuario las pieles de los mismos animales que cazavan, dispuestas á manera de un braguero que llamaron maxtli, con que precisamente cubrian las partes mas vergonzosas de su cuerpo.

Pasadas tres edades de la fundacion de su ciudad capital de Huehuetlapalan, hacen mencion de un singular suceso, cuya memoria quedó entre ellos tan viva, que le tomaron por epoca en la relacion historica de los futuros. Dicen pues, que en año que fué señalado con el geroglifico de siete conejos, se quedó el Sol suspenso en su carrera por espacio de un dia natural, de que se originaron tan excesivos calores, cuales jamas havian esperimentado, y de esto mismo tal abundancia de mosquitos que no les dejavan en sosiego. Sobre este suceso fabricaron despues una fabula diciendo, que viendo el mosquito tan suspenso el Sol se le presentó y le dijo: Señor del mundo, porque estás tan suspenso y pensativo y no haces tu oficio como és de tu obligacion? Acaso quieres destruir al mundo con tu fuego y reducirlo á cenizas haciendote sordo á las suplicas de los hombres? Anda, muevete y cumple con el cargo del oficio que tienes. Mas como el Sol no se moviese á sus razones, se le acercó y picandole en una pierna le obligó á moverse y á continuar su acostumbrado giro.

Una edad entre ellos constava de ciento cuatro años, y asi las tres edades que dicen havian pasado desde la fundacion de su ciudad hasta este suceso, componen trescientos doce años, que contados desde el de dos mil doscientos treinta y siete del mundo, en que dejo establecida la dicha fundacion, vienen á concluirse las tres edades en el año dos mil quinientos cuarenta y nueve, que fue señalado con el geroglifico de un pedernal, como se vé en las tablas, mas diciendo ellos espresamente que el caracter del año en que acaeció esta suspension del Sol, fué el de siete conejos, parece que debe colocarse en el año de dos mil quinientos cincuenta y cinco del mundo, que es el primero que se halla señalado con este geroglifico, despues de las tres edades. Este suceso que los Indios conservaron en su historia, se semeja mucho á lo que nos refiere la escritura al cap. 10 del lib. Josue asi en el tiempo como en la duracion de la suspension del Sol, pues esta segun se dice al n. 13 del mismo cap. "Stetit sol in medio cœli et non festinavit occumbere spatio unius diei;" y en cuanto al tiempo los mas autores la señalan con poca diferencia en el mismo que los Indios. Vease la erudita disertacion del P. Calmet á el principio de su Comentario sobre el libro de Josue donde pone esta suspension del Sol en el año dos mil quinientos cincuenta y tres del mundo, que solo hay dos años de diferencia del computo de los Indios.

A los mil setecientos diez y seis años del diluvio, y pasadas ocho edades de la suspension del Sol, en un año que señalan con el mismo geroglifico de un pedernal, refieren haver padecido otra terrible calamidad de unos furiosos uracanes que derribando multitud de arboles en los montes, y derrocando las peñas hicieron en los hombres un horrible estrago, muriendo muchos miles de ellos, y escapando solo los que se mantuvieron encerrados en sus cuebas, y acabado el temporal dicen que saliendo de ellas hallaron la tierra cubierta de monos, animal que hasta entonces no havian visto ni conocian, y como al mismo tiempo echasen de menos tanto numero de personas como habian perecido con el uracan, inventaron otra fabula de que los hombres se havian convertido en monos, y en los tiempos posteriores lo creyó tan de veras la ignorancia, que hasta el dia de hoy no faltan algunos del necio vulgo que lo afirmen, y añadieron que estos eran los ociosos y vagamundos que en castigo de su olgazaneria fueron convertidos en monos. Creian que sabian hablar y que el no hacerlo era porque no les obligasen á trabajar. Segun la confrontacion de las tablas con sus computos parece que debe fijarse este suceso en el año tres mil cuatrocientos treinta y tres del mundo. Dicen que en esta calamidad pereció la mayor parte de los gigantes que habitavan el pais de Anahuac, y que solo escaparon algunos pocos de los que mas se havian internado en la tierra, y vivian hacia las riberas del rio Atoyac, entre la ciudad de Tlaxcalla y la de la Puebla de los Angeles.

Algunos de nuestros autores Españoles que escribieron de cosas de Indias, y llegaron á tener la noticia de haver havido gigantes en estos paises, se empeñan en probar con razones y autoridades sagradas y profanas la real existencia de ellos, tanto en este nuevo mundo como en el viejo: mas yó siguiendo el metodo propuesto, y separado de discursos y especulaciones refiero sencillamente lo que hallo en las historias de estos naturales. Asientan todos contestes la existencia de ellos y haver habitado en varias partes de este continente. Si su origen és el mismo que el de las demas naciones que le poblaron, esto es, aquellas sicte familias que se unieron en la dispersion de Babél, ó es diverso, no es facil de averiguar. Algunos de los historiadores nacionales dán el mismo origen y dicen, que en la dilatada peregrinacion de las siete familias desde el campo de Senaar, se adelantaron algunas cuadrillas de ellos, que por ser mas corpulentas y fuertes caminaron con mas velocidad y llegaron antes á estas regiones, y que los demas siguieron sus vestigios, y por las señas de su caminata llegaron á él muchos años despues y los hallaron ya estable-

cidos en estas partes. Boturini parece que les dá diverso origen, porque dice que son de los descendientes de Can, hijo de Noé, que en la confusion de lenguas se esparcieron por varias partes, y algunos de ellos peregrinaron hasta establecerse en la America. Sea como fuere, lo cierto es, que cuando llegó á estas tierras el grueso de gente oriunda de aquellas siete familias despues de su dilatada peregrinacion por el Asia, hallaron ya establecidos en ellas á los gigantes que en muchas partes les resistieron el paso y les impidieron ocupar la tierra. Y porque despues hé de volver á tocar este asunto cuando trate de su total extincion, baste ahora decir que esta calamidad y destruccion que padecieron los gigantes con los uracanes, les fué muy plausible á los demas moradores de estas regiones, porque siendo (como los describen) gente fiera, barbara y brutál, que solo vivía de lo que robava, haciendoles otros muchos daños, trahia á estas otras gentes en un continuo movimiento para ver de repelerlos y ponerse á cubierto de sus insultos. Este fué el origen y principio de su milicia y donde comenzaron á hacer de soldados y capitanes.

La repentina aparicion de los monos (animal que hasta entonces no havian conocido) immediatamente despues de los uracanes, manifiesta con evidencia haver sido efecto de los vientos, ó ya que su impetu los arrojase á estas tierras de las otras comarcanas inhabitadas de donde hasta entonces no havian salido, ó ya que este animal como de tanto instinto huyendo de esta intemperie fuese á buscar sitios mas abrigados donde guarecerse. Pero no me persuado á que la fabrica de estas dos fabulas sobre los dos sucesos referidos fuese invencion de estos tiempos, sino de los posteriores, en que se señaló en habilidad y talento la nacion Tulteca; porque al mismo tiempo que fueron muy sabios é industriosos, fueron tambien muy trabajadores y tan enemigos de la ociosidad y holgazaneria (que es el vicio que reprende la moralidad que de una y otra fabula se deduce) que perseguian acerrimamente á los ociosos y vagamundos echandolos de sus ciudades y poblaciones, y asi no dudaria yo creer, que al modo que inventaron otras fabulas de que daré noticia en sus propios lugares sobre otros hechos, asi ciertos como fabulosos, para reprender varios vicios, inventasen estas sobre estos hechos ciertos de su historia, para condenar la ociosidad. Y tanto estas como las demas fabulas las adoptó despues la ignorancia en su material sentido con una ciega credulidad, á que contribuyó mucho la supersticiosa persuasion de sus hipocritas sacerdotes, como se verá en adelante.

Capitulo IV.

De la junta que hicieron para la correccion de su Calendario y enmienda de los tiempos, y se dá noticia de otras dos fabulas que inventaron del origen del Sol y la Luna.

Con la destruccion de los gigantes quedaron en reposo estas gentes libres ya de unos enemigos tan molestos que les obligaran á vivir en un continuo sobresalto, y comenzaron á dedicarse con mayor esmero al cultivo de la tierra y á la observacion de los astros. No nos dicen puntualmente cual era el sistema que seguian ni el orden que por entonces guardavan en su calendario, pero es constante que haviendo observado atentamente desde los primeros tiempos que el año natural comenzava al mismo tiempo que los campos empezavan á poblarse de nueva yerva, que esta mantenia su verdor hasta que los frios del invierno la marchitavan y destruian, y que pasados estos volvia á vestirse de nuevos retoños, fijaron el curso del año natural desde una á la otra nueva produccion, y le dieron el nombre de xihuitl, que significa la yerva nueva, numerando los años y midiendo el curso solar por el retoñez de la yerva, y el nombre xihuitl, que desde entonces dieron á el año, es el que siempre mantuvo y conserva hasta nuestros tiempos, sin que tenga en la lengua Nahuatl otro con que esplicarlo: y ensenandoles la esperiencia tantas veces repetida cuantos años corrian, que del orden invariable y regulado movimiento de los astros se originava la variedad de estaciones, temperamentos y producciones de la tierra, comenzaron á dedicarse á la observacion de ellos, y con especialidad al sol y la luna, cuya magnitud á su vista les presentava con mas facilidad la observacion de su movimiento.

No entiendo por esto que hasta estos tiempos huviesen vivido tan brutos, que ignorasen totalmente el curso de estos astros y sus influencias en la tierra, cuyas producciones y diversidad de estaciones se hacen sensibles hasta á los irracionales, sino que por estos tiempos comenzaron á sobresalir entre ellos algunos hombres mas especulativos y atentos al estudio de los astros, que se dedicaron á arreglar los computos anuales. Y siendoles mas perceptible el giro de la luna por sus visibles diarias mutaciones, por él arreglaron su año, repartiendole en neomenias de á veinte y seis dias, que las dividian en dos partes iguales, cada una de á trece dias: contavan la primera desde el dia

que la luna aparecia en el cielo y la llamavan Meztozoliztli, esto es desvelo de la luna. Fenecidos los trece dias, comenzavan á contarla segunda parte que llamavan Mezochiliztli, esto es, sueño de la luna. No hallo autor que diga de cuantas de estas neomenias se componia entonces el año, pero es indubitable que las tuvieron en lugar de meses, y asi despues de su correccion no dieron otro nombre al mes que el de metztli, que significa la luna, y aun en su nuevo reglamento continuaron la cuenta de los dias de trece en trece como se verá, conservando aunque en diverso modo la division de la neomenia que hicieron al principio. Tambien creen algunos que yá desde estos tiempos numeravan los años por olimpiadas, esto es de cuatro en cuatro, señalandolos con los cuatro geroglificos simbolos de los elementos, de que usaron despues para sus computos, y esto parece verosimil que fuese asi, á lo menos en aquellos tiempos immediatos antes de la correccion y reglamento de que voy á hablar; pero con certeza nada puede asegurarse, ni saberse á punto fijo cual era el sistema que seguian, ni hasta donde havian llegado sus conocimientos y reglamentos cuando se hizo la correccion.

Lo que nos dicen es, que nueve siglos despues de los uracanes, en un año que fue señalado en el geroglifico de un pedernal, que segun las tablas parece haver sido el de tresmil novecientos y uno del mundo, se convocó una gran junta de astrologos en la ciudad de Huehuetlapalan, que ya era famosa y numerosa poblacion para hacer la correccion de su calendario, ó reformar sus computos que conocian errados, segun el sistema que hasta entonces havian seguido. Concurrieron á esta junta no solo los muchos sabios astrologos que havia en aquella ciudad, sino muchisimos otros que vinieron de las demas poblaciones que ya á este tiempo tenian en considerable numero, haviendose estendido mucho por toda aquella region. Y haviendo conferido largamente sobre los errores que havian reconocido en sus computos, quedó en esta junta establecido que la duracion del mundo devia dividirse en cuatro espacios ó edades, que cada uno havia de fenecer á violencia de uno de los cuatro elementos. La primera desde su creacion hasta el diluvio, en que al desenfreno de las aguas havia padecido tan gran calamidad, y asi llamaron á esta edad Atonatiuh, que literalmente quiere decir sol de agua, y alegoricamente espacio de tiempo que acabó con agua. La segunda desde el diluvio á los uracanes, en los que al impetu terrible de los vientos havian padecido la segunda calamidad, y asi la llamaron Echecatonatiuh, que literalmente quiere decir sol de ayre, y alegoricamente espacio de tiempo que acabó con ayre. La tercera en que estavan, digeron, que havia de acabarse con furiosos terremotos en los que padeceria el genero humano la tercera calamidad, y asi le llamaron Tlachitonatiuh ó Tlaltonatiuh, que quiere decir sol de tierra ó espacio de tiempo que há de acabar con terremotos; y que despues de esta seguirá la cuarta y ultima edad del mundo, que havia de acabar á violencia de fuego, en que todo quedaria consumido, y asi la llamaron Tletonatiuh, que quiere decir sol de fuego ó espacio de tiempo que acabaria con fuego.

Las voces Tonatiuh, que significa el sol, ó tonalli, que significa el calor del sol, fueron las primeras de que se valieron para esplicar el dia, de suerte que contavan tantos dias cuantos soles, y aunque despues se inventaron las voces tlacatli, que significa dia, ó cehilhuitl, que quiere decir el espacio de un dia, siempre quedaron con poco uso y hasta nuestros tiempos lo general del vulgo no entiende ni se esplica por otras voces que las de Tonatiuh ó Tonalli. Estas mismas voces las estendieron despues á significar un periodo como se vé en las referidas arriba, del mismo modo que se valieron de la voz xihuitl, que significa la yerva nueva, para nombrar el año, como dejo dicho, y de la voz Metztli, que significa la luna, para nombrar el mes hasta el dia de hoy: de estos espacios de tiempo en que dividieron la edad del mundo, dieron á los dos primeros como preteritos duracion fija, señalando á cada uno mil setecientos diez y seis años, pero no hallo en cuantos monumentos hé reconocido que señalasen ni predigesen la duracion de los dos futuros; mas sin embargo yo me persuado á que ellos creyeron que havia de ser igual á la de los dos pasados. En los tiempos succesivos hacen memoria de haver padecido otra gran calamidad de horrendos terremotos de que tratarémos en su lugar, pero la señalan seiscientos treinta y tres años despues del uracan, y no se halla que hagan memoria de otro alguno universal hasta nuestros tiempos, con que si huviesemos de creer su predicacion y fijar en él la duracion de la tercera edad, huviera sido esta mucho menor que las dos precedentes.

El Caballero Boturini en su citada obra al parrafo 1°, pag. 3, habla de esta division de los tiempos, colocando diversamente los periodos. Pone el primero sol de agua, desde la creacion al diluvio; desde este á los terremotos, sol de tierra; de este á los uracanes, sol de ayre; y el ultimo sol de fuego. Confieso y siempre hé confesado su grande inteligencia y profundo conocimiento en esta historia, adquirido con indecible trabajo y continuo estudio, que recaia en una no vulgar erudicion en todo genero de buenas letras: confieso igualmente que las primeras luces que tuve de esta materia, y lo poco que de ella puedo hablar, lo devo á su instruccion verbal, y á los documentos que él recogió con tanto trabajo y esmero, pues aun de aquellos que yo hé aumentado para poder escribir esta histo-

ria, le devo la noticia. Pero asi como no puedo acomodarme á su sistema de que hablé en el capº 2º, no puedo seguirle en este punto, ni en otros que verémos. Para no seguirle en este tengo otras razones: la primera que en todos los manuscritos que tengo, hallo colocados estos periodos del modo que los hé puesto, escepto en dos de ellos, que son el uno unas apuntaciones historicas muy sucintas de autor anonimo, que son de poco momento y tiene otros errores manifiestos; el otro es la Historia Chichimeca del celebre D. Fernando de Alba Yxtlilxochitl, que verdaderamente tiene mucha autoridad en el asunto, pues de este mismo autor tengo las relaciones historicas de la nacion Tulteca, en que las pone como yo las hé colocado, y es de notar que esta obra es, para mi, la mas apreciable de este autor, porque dice haverlas sacado de los mismos mapas historicos que sabia interpretar, y asi están muy circunstanciadas y espresivas, y al fin de la quinta relacion trahe un catalogo de sugetos ancianos y bien instruidos y de monumentos de que se valió para perfeccionar su interpretacion, refutando los errores de los autores Españoles, especialmente á Gomara, que habla de esta division de edades, y coloca el periodo de sol de tierra en segundo lugar como Boturini. Agregase á esto, que en dichas relaciones trata Alba espresamente esta materia, y en la historia Chichimeca la trahe en el primer capitulo sucintamente y de paso como noticia preli minar, para entrar ásu asunto, y pudo padecer equivocacion: la segunda razon que tengo para no seguirle, es el que colocados los periodos como los coloca Boturini, se oponen á la misma narracion historica y cronologica de los sucesos, como se vé en el capitulo anterior; pues la primer calamidad de que hacen mencion despues del diluvio, és el uracán que destruyó tantas gentes que creyeron haverse convertido en monos, y este és el periodo Ehecatonatiuh, ó sol que acabó con ayre, y muchos siglos despues hacen mencion del terremoto que es el Tlaltonatiuh, ó sol que acabó con terremoto. Por esto me persuado á que el Caballero Boturini padeció equivocacion (como há padecido en otras cosas) que no es de admirar haviendo escrito dicho libro sin tener á la vista los documentos que havia recogido para la formacion de su historia; y asi dice en el prologo, que este su trabajo es una restitucion que hace la memoria de lo depositado en ella; y propiamente escribió de memoria el dicho libro del cual soy testigo, y selo ví escribir en mi propia casa, donde le tenia hospedado. Antes bien me admiro, y me admirará siempre su gran retentiva con que pudo referir, no solo tanto cumulo de noticias, sino lo que és mas, tantas voces, nombres y frases de la lengua Mexicana, para él tan estrangera, y que no la poseia, sino que aquellas voces y sus significados los havia aprendido en los manuscritos que recogió.

La tercera és el que como vamos á ver luego se sirvieron estos naturales de los geroglificos de los cuatro elementos para clavo de todos sus computos y calendarios, y colocaron en primer lugar el fuego, en segundo á la tierra, en tercero al viento, y en cuarto al agua; y la razon de haverlos colocado en este orden fué porque estimaron al fuego por el mas sublime y poderoso; despues de el y en inferior grado de poder á la tierra; menos que á esta á el viento, y ultimamente al agua, y á proporcion del poder de cada uno creian que devia ser el estrago que causase la naturaleza hasta que el fuego como mas poderoso lo aniquilase todo. Contando pues estos mismos elementos en el mismo orden *vice versa*, deve colocarse primero el periodo de la calamidad que ocasionó el agua; despues la del viento; en tercer lugar la de la tierra, y ultimamente la del fuego; y no siendo asi, se invierte este orden contra todas las razones que dejo espuestas, y no hallo alguna en todos sus monumentos que indique, ó persuada esta inversion.

Gomára* alcanzó alguna noticia de esta division de edades, pero tan confusa y desfigurada, que manifiesta bien, ó que la huvo de persona vulgar, nada instruida en su historia, ó en él falta de inteligencia del verdadero sentido de la noticia. Porque entendiendo la voz tonalli por el sol material, nos dice que estas gentes creian que havia havido cinco soles, que el primero pereció en las aguas, el segundo cayendo el cielo sobre la tierra, el tercero se consumió en el fuego, el cuarto se acabó con ayre, y que cuando apareció el quinto, se murieron los Dioses, con otras fabulas que mezcla, cuya creencia es muy posible que estuviese introducida entre algunos de la gente vulgar é ignorante, pues de esto tenemos hartos egemplos en nuestro siglo, sin embargo de la mayor ilustracion á que há llegado: oygase el vulgo como habla cuando se trata de eclipses, cometas y otros fenomenos del curso de los astros, de las figuras y colores, de las nubes, de iris y otras cosas semejantes, y se hallará que estan imbuidos y encaprichados en una infinidad de fabulas y cuentos ridiculos. Pues que, si se habla de historia de noticias antiguas y casos prodigiosos? no se halla cosa mas comun en cada nacion y en cada pueblo aun de los mas pulidos, sin esceptuar las cortes, en que la gente vulgar no esté preocupada de inumerables fabulas y disparates increibles. Tambien pudo ser que de intento engañasen los Indios á el que de ellos quiso informarse, como lo hicieron en otras muchas cosas, y esto fué muy comun en aquellos primeros tiempos inmediatos á la conquista, de que trae algunos egemplos el mismo D. Fernando de Alba en la citada quinta relacion.

* Cron. de la Nueva España, cap. 32.

Antes de pasar adelante me há parecido conveniente dar aqui noticia de otra celebre fabula que inventaron sobre el origen del sol y la luna. Hicieron estas gentes un alto concepto del sol, considerandole como á centro del fuego, el mas estimado de los elementos entre ellos. Miravanle como á fuente de la luz que la creian una con él, como á padre de todos los vivientes animados, y como á principio activo principalisimo en todas las producciones de la tierra, y asi para celebrarle inventaron una fabula heroica, diciendo, que agradados los Dioses de las virtudes que algunos mortales egercitavan en alto grado, quisieron premiarlas para excitar á los demas á su imitacion. Para esto, dicen, que en un gran campo en medio del cual havia una hoguera ó boca que vomitava formidables llámas, convocaron é hicieron juntar á todos los sabios, virtuosos y valientes de la tierra, y les digeron, que los que tuviesen animo y esfuerzo para arrojarse en aquella hoguera, serian transformados en dioses y seles darían los honores divinos. Oida la propuesta por los hombres quedaron suspensos y comenzaron á disputar entre si á quien le tocava arrojarse primero. Entre tanto que ellos disputavan, el dios Cinteotl, dios de los maizes, á quien davan tambien el nombre de Ynotpiltzin, esto es, el dios huerfano solo y sin padres, se acercó á uno de los concurrentes que havia muchos años que padecia de bubas ó mal galico, tolerando con gran paciencia y constancia sus dolores, y le dijo: Que haces tu aqui? como no te apresuras á echarte á las llamas, mientras tus compañeros se detienen en disputas inutiles? Arrojate en esa hoguera para dar fin a tus males, que con tan heroyca constancia supiste tolerar tantos años, y lograrás gozar perpetuamente tus honores divinos. Alentado el buboso con esta esperanza, arrastrandose como pudo se acercó á la hoguera y se arrojó en ella. Grande fué el pasmo y admiracion que causó en todos los circunstantes accion tan generosa, y mucho mayor fue al ver que lentamente se iva derritiendo su cuerpo y transformandose en las mismas llamas, hasta no quedar vestigio alguno dé él. A este tiempo vieron bajar del cielo una aguila muy hermosa y corpulenta, que metiendose dentro de la hoguera y asiendo con las garras y el pico el globo de llamas en que se havia transformado el buboso, le llevó á colocar á los cielos.

Animado con este egemplo uno de aquellos sabios que se hallavan presentes, deseoso de lograr aquella felicidad, se arrojó tambien en la hoguera, mas haviendo empleado ya sus llamas el mayor vigor en la transformacion del buboso, era mucho menos su actividad, y asi solo pudieron reducirle á cenizas que quedaron visibles en el fondo de la hoguera, y el sabio era transformado en la luna y colocado en el cielo, pero en inferior lugar que el sol. Boturini siente que estas fabulas fueron obra de la segunda edad que llama de los heroes, y corresponde á estos tiempos de que hablamos, de que entre estos Indios comenzaron á sobresalir algunos mas sabios, prudentes y esforzados, que gobernando con justicia, moderacion y discreccion sus familias, se hicieron respetables, agregandose á ellos los vagabundos y huerfanos, ya movidos de la fama de estos heroes, ó ya obligados de sus propias necesidades, les entregaron su libertad dandoles la obediencia, de donde tomaron principio los reynos y monarquias. Pero yo me persuado á que la invencion de estas fabulas, fue en los tiempos posteriores, por que de ellas mismas se colige que ya havia nacido la idolatria y davan culto á varias deidades, y es constante en todas sus historias, que ni en estos tiempos, ni en muchos despues, adoraron mas deidad que al Dios Criador, como se verá adelante.

Capitulo V.

Del modo en que repartieron el tiempo, y el sistema que establecieron para contar los signos.

Hecha esta division de la duracion del mundo en las cuatro edades referidas, entraron los de la gran junta á enmendar sus computos y corregir su calendario, dividiendo el tiempo en edades, siglos, indicciones, años, meses, dias y noches, y aunque no alcanzaron la subdivision de las horas, señalaron las cuatro estaciones del amanecer y medio dia, del anochecer y media noche. A la edad llamaron Huehuetiliztli, que quiere decir, duracion vieja, y constava de dos siglos. Al siglo llamaron Xiumolpia, ó Xiuhtlalpilli, que ambas voces significavan atadura, ó manojo de años, y constava de cuatro indicciones, no de á quince sino de á trece años que llamaron Tlalpilli, que quiere decir nudo ó atadura, que siendo cada Tlalpilli de trece años, tenia el siglo cincuenta y dos años, y la edad ciento cuatro. Al año llamaron Xihuitl, que como queda dicho, significa la yerva nueva, y le dividieron en diez y ocho meses de á veinte dias, que entre todos componian trescientos sesenta, al fin de los cuales añadieron otros cinco que llamavan Nenontemi, que quiere decir aciagos ó fatales, por el motivo que diré despues; y conociendo que aun con todo esto no llegavan á igualar el anual curso del sol, inventaron los bisiestos, añadiendo un día mas cada cuatro años, que se contava entre los Nenontemi ó fatales. Continuaron á contar los dias de trece en trece, segun su metodo antiguo de

neomenias, pero sin arreglarse á la aparicion de la luna, sino que estos periodos de trece dias les servian como de semanas, y asi cada año constava de veinte y ocho semanas y un dia, y en este dia sobrante que en la revolucion de una indiccion componia una semana entera, consistia la mayor puntualidad de su cuenta.

Todo el artificio de sus calendarios está fundado en la repeticion continuada de cuatro simbolos, ó geroglificos, que no eran los mismos en todas partes, aunque era uno mismo el sistema. Daré primero la esplicacion del calendario segun le ordenavan y anotavan los del imperio de Tezcuco, reyno de Mexico y demas comarcanos, y despues diré la variacion que havia en otro. Los simbolos pues de que se servian en las dichas monarquias para la numeracion de sus años eran estos cuatro: Tecpatl, que significa el pedernal, Calli, la casa; Tochtli, el conejo; y Acatl, la caña de carrizo, y los figuravan en la forma en que se ven en las estampas que siguen. Los significados materiales de las voces son los referidos, pero los alegoricos que en estos simbolos querian esplicar eran los cuatro elementos que conocieron ser principios de todo compuesto material y en que todos havian de resolverse. Dieronle al fuego la primacia, estimandole por el mas noble de todos, y le simbolizaron en el pedernal, sin duda porque aunque al golpe y confricacion de otras piedras y aun de un madero con otro resulta fuego, ninguno le arroja mas facilmente que el pedernal. En los tiempos posteriores de su idolatria y falsa religion, celebraron á este elemento dandole culto de deidad, bajo del nombre de Xiuhteutli. En estos mas sencillos se contentaron con dar el primer lugar entre los cuatro caracteres iniciales, que hicieron clave de todos sus computos astronomicos y cronologicos. En el geroglifico de la casa quisieron significar el elemento de la tierra, y le dieron el segundo lugar en los caracteres iniciales, y en el tiempo de la idolatria le dieron tambien culto de deidad, celebrandole con varios nombres y en diversas figuras, especialmente la de su famoso dios Tlaloc, que decian ser ministro del supremo Tezcatlipoca, simbolo de la Divina Providencia. En el conejo simbolizaron el elemento del ayre, y están muy discordes los escritores en dár la razon de haver escogido este animal por simbolo del viento; unos dicen que por la viveza de su olfato, otros que por su ligereza en correr, otros que porque anuncia el viento saliendo de sus bocas á retozar cuando há de haver ayre. El Caballero Boturini en su citada obra dice, que acaso és porque la voz tochtli, que significa el conejo, la derivaron del verbo toca que significa caminar ó correr el viento: yo creo que en esto padeció equivocacion, porque no es lo mismo toca que otoca. Los verbos otoca y ozlatoca significan correr, pero toca, no significa sino enterrar, y por estos significados los trahe Fr. Alonso de Molina en su celebre y estimado vocabulario antiguo, y sin duda sería mas natural y genuina la derivacion de la voz tochtli del verbo *toca* por enterrar, porque el conejo vive siempre enterrado en las cuevas subterraneas, que cava para su habitacion. Finalmente si á mi me es licito adivinar el motivo que tuvieron los Indios para simbolizar el viento en el conejo, diria que acaso fue por que en aquellos primitivos tiempos no le distinguieron de la liebre ligera como el viento en su carrera, como lo sintieron muchos de los antiguos naturalistas, teniendo por una sola entrambas especies, y asi Plinio el segundo dice, que hay en España una especie de liebres que llaman conejos. El mismo nombre les dán Eliano y Estrabon llamandolos lepusculos por ser mas pequeños que las liebres. A este elemento del viento tambien le dieron culto de deidad en el tiempo idolatrico con el nombre de Quetzalcohuatl y le representaron en diversas maneras, entre las cuales fue una la sagrada señal de la Santa Cruz, por las razones que diré en su lugar. El cuarto caracter inicial, que es la caña de carrizo, que es la que propiamente significa la voz Acatl, es geroglifico del elemento del agua y muy natural, porque es esta planta tan amante á ella que regularmente son los carrizales la seña de hallarla. Tambien la celebraron despues entre sus deidades con el nombre de Chalchiuhzuetl.

Eligieron pues estos cuatro simbolos para clave general de todos sus computos astronomicos, y para ordenar con ellos los años, repitiendolos por el orden en que van referidos, sin admitir jamás variacion, ó alteracion, pero variando el guarismo desde uno hasta trece, y asi señalavan perfectamente y sin equivocacion todos los años de un siglo. Este le dividian como hemos dícho en cuatro indicciones ó triadecateridas, señaladas con los cuatro simbolos dichos, de suerte que en todo siglo la primera indiccion se señalaba con el Pedernal, la segunda con la Casa, la tercera con el Conejo, y la cuarta con la Caña. Veanse las tablas en que cada columna es un siglo de cincuenta y dos años dividido en cuatro partes iguales de á trece años, que cada una corresponde á uno de los cuatro simbolos con el qual comienza y acaba de señalar los trece años de su indiccion. En esta manera comenzavan á contar los trece años de la primera indiccion del siglo que devia señalarse con el primer caracter del pedernal y decian asi*.

* The concluding portion of this chapter and the five following chapters treat of the Mexican method of computing time, of the division of the year into eighteen months of twenty days each, and of the various signs allotted to them. They are here omitted for the sake of brevity, and because a full explanation of the Mexican Calendar will be found in the second book of Sahagun's History of New Spain.

Capitulo XI.

De las otras tres maneras de Calendarios de que usaban los Indios.

No se gobernaban estos naturales por solo el Calendario solar ó astronomico, sino que á mas de él usaban de otros tres, que eran el ritual, el politico, y el rural. Boturini le da al politico los nombres de civil y cronologico, y al rural, le llama natural. Estos tres Calendarios giraban siempre sobre los computos del año solar, variando solamente en algunas cosas, y asi para ellos no formaban separadamente ruedas ni quadros, sino que siempre los mismos que servian para el gobierno del año solar hacian sus signos y ponian sus geroglificos, y asi puede decirse que estos no eran propiamente Calendarios, sino cartillas para su gobierno tanto en lo ritual como en lo politico y rural.

El ritual señalaba todas las fiestas del año, de las cuales unas eran fijas y otras movibles; pero respecto al Calendario solar todas eran movibles, porque el año ritual solo constaba de trescientos y sesenta y cinco dias, y no hacia los bisextos cada cuatro años, sino que al fin de su siglo añadian trece dias correspondientes á los trece bisextos que incluia el siglo, los cuales componian una semana entera y eran dedicados á ciertas solemnidades, como veremos en su lugar, y de este modo se volvian á igualar con el computo solar y Calendario astronomico; pero en el discurso del siglo cada cuatro años se iban atrasando un dia, y por eso aunque sus fiestas fijas eran siempre en unos mismos dias, por razon de este atraso iban variando en el Calendario solar. Esto es lo que quiso esplicar Gemelli en el lugar citado, 'que el primer año del siglo comenzaba el dia 10 de Abril, lo mismo el segundo y tercero, pero no el cuarto que era el bisexto, porque este comenzaba el dia 9 de Abril, y asi iban diminuyendo un dia cada cuatro años, de suerte que el ultimo año del siglo se concluia el dia 28 de Marzo, y despues de el seguian contando otra semana de trece dias de otros tantos bisextos que se habian diminuido en los cincuenta y dos años del siglo, los que ocupaban en fiestas y sacrificios, y con este periodo volvian á igualarse con el curso del sol para comenzar el primer año del siglo siguiente en el dia 10 de Abril'. Esta explicacion solo debe entenderse en el Calendario ritual, como ya dije, no en el astronomico en que no seguian este orden en la formacion de los bisextos, y aun hablando del ritual supone ya la confrontacion de los años de los Indios con los nuestros, y como cosa sentada que el dia primero del primer año de su siglo correspondia á el 10 de Abril, punto tan dudoso entre los escritores, y que de los que yo tengo solo uno sigue esta opinion, porque los mas siguen una de las dos mas comunes que son el dos de Febrero ó el veinte de Marzo. Aun en esta suposicion es error decir que el ultimo año del siglo se concluia el 28 de Marzo, y no debia decir sino el veinte y siete, porque si no habiendo de contar despues los trece dias de los bisextos desde el veinte y nueve de Marzo, no podian completarse hasta el mismo dia diez de Abril, y no comenzaria el año subsequente en el sino en el dia 11 de Abril.

Esta diferencia que tenian en formar los bisextos en uno y otro Calendario, ha sido la causa de muchos confusiones y variedad entre los escriptores que han querido explicar sus Calendarios y ruedas para asignar los dias de sus fiestas. Tambien se ha originado de aqui la variedad de opiniones para confrontar el primer dia de su año con el que corresponde en nuestro Calendario, y algunos para salvar la dificultad, dicen que el año eclesiastico de ellos no comenzaba al mismo tiempo que el solar, y finalmente cada uno señala los dias de sus fiestas segun los halló anotados en las ruedas ó Calendarios que hubo á las manos, porque este ritual no se valia de diversas figuras para señalar sus fiestas, sino es de las mismas ruedas y Calendarios que se hacian para el computo astronomico, ó para entenderlo mejor, el Calendario astronomico denominaba sus meses por las solemnidades que señalaba el ritual, y por este dicho que variaban en algunas partes los nombres de los meses segun la diversidad de fiestas que celebraban, y que por esto me persuado á que estos nombres no se les dieron á los meses al tiempo de la correccion del Calendario, sino muchos años despues, cuando llegó al mayor auge su idolatria, como se manifiesta en la estampa nº 5, y lo hacian en este modo. La fiesta, por ejemplo de los niños difuntos era fija y debia celebrarse en el duodecimo mes: supongamos ahora que el año fuese del caracter primero pedernal, en que como queda sentado todos los meses debian comenzar por el la nominacion de sus veinte dias segun el orden en que los hemos puesto en la tabla del capitulo octavo, y supongamos que la fiesta se hubiese de comenzar el octavo dia del mes, en este caso lo que hacian era en la misma casilla de la rueda, en que se halla colocado en geroglifico del mes, ó encima de ella por fuera de la rueda, colocaban el geroglifico de cohuatl, que es una culebra, y era el nombre del octavo dia de cada mes en año de Pedernal, y esto queria decir que el dia ocho del duodecimo mes comenzaba la fiesta de los niños difuntos. Pon-

gamos ahora que á los cuatro años debian señalar la misma fiesta en año del mismo signo pedernal; entonces la señalaban un dia antes con el geroglifico cuezpalin, que es la lagartija, porque el dia de atraso que ya llebaban respecto al Calendario solar, por no haber hecho el bisexto al fin del cuatro año, y asi habia comenzado el mes duodecimo un dia antes en el Calendario ritual: con esto se verificaba que esta era fiesta fija que se celebraba el octavo dia del mes duodecimo, pero por razon del dia de atraso la señalaban en el Calendario astronomico en el sextimo signo de los dias del mes; por esta causa he dicho que respecto al Calendario solar todas las fiestas eran movibles, aunque hubiese muchas fijas en el ritual, porque la cuenta de este solo la llevavan los sacerdotes, y estos eran los que hacian las acotaciones en el Calendario solar para avisar y advertir al pueblo: cuando la fiesta era movible la señalaban del mismo modo, poniendo sobre la casilla del mes el signo de la fiesta, que cada tenia su geroglifico propio especial y conocido, y al lado el del dia en que debia celebrarse.

Algunos dicen que el Calendario ritual contaba diversamente los meses, esto es que no comenzaba su año en el mes en que le comenzaba el solar; pero varian en asignar cual era el primero del año ritual; unos dicen que comenzaban por Xilomaniztli, que es el cuarto mes del año solar, otros dicen que por Pachtzintli que era el decimo quinto, á quien tambien llamaban Teotleco ó regreso de los Dioses, como dejamos dicho: pero en la suposicion de que en los computos astronomicos no habia variacion, si para las anotaciones rituales usaban de distintas figuras, es de poca monta el averiguar esto, pues como he dicho, en la realidad no era distinto Calendario, sino una cartilla que formaban para su gobierno, sobre los computos del año solar.

Lo mismo digo de los otros dos Calendarios politico y ritual de que usaban; el primero señalaba el tiempo de salir á campaña y retirarse della, los meses y dias en que se habian de hacer las juntas ó congresos que se formaban en varios lugares, los dias en que los reyes daban audiencia publica, y otras cosas semejantes concernientes al bien gobierno de sus republicas. En el ritual se anotaban los tiempos en que se habian de hacer las siembras del maiz, algodon, chian, chile ó pimiento, y demas que cultivaban, y el tiempo de sus cosechas. Pero estas anotaciones las hacian siempre las mismas ruedas ó Calendarios del año solar en el mismo modo y por el propio orden que en el ritual, y con menos variacion, porque en estos dos ultimos no le habia en la formacion de los bisestos, sino que seguian los computos del solar.

Tambien dicen algunos que en estos Calendarios comenzaban á contar el año por distintos meses que el solar, y en cuanto al rural hay notable variedad en asignar el primer mes; pero en el politico concuerdan los mas en que el primer mes era el ultimo del año solar, á quien llamaban Panquetzaliztli, que significa Vandera de pluma, y queria denotar que era el tiempo de salir á campaña, porque venia á ser por Enero que en estos paises es el tiempo mas seco, y la retirada de campaña era por el sexto ó septimo mes del año solar que es entre Abril y Junio, porque es el tiempo en que estos paises comienzan las aguas. Pero sea como fuere, esto es de poca monta para nuestro asunto, y vuelvo á repetir que estas no eran mas que cartillas para su gobierno; pero como algunos de los autores que han escrito de paso en este asunto, dicen por las noticias confusas que adquirieron, que estos naturales usaban de cuatro maneras de Calendarios sin dar mas explicacion, me ha sido preciso darles este nombre y esplicar lo que contenian para la perfecta inteligencia de sus computos.

Ya se vé que ninguno de estos tres ultimos, pudo ser ordenado ni dispuesto por los sabios astrologos que se juntaron en Huehuetlapalan á hacer la correccion y enmienda de sus tiempos, sino muchos años despues, porque entonces no habia mas adoracion que la del Dios Criador, ni sacrificios de sangre humana, ni guerras, ni puede ser que ni sementeras, á lo menos es cierto que no las habia de todas las semillas que despues cultivaron; y aun el Calendario solar como ya dije, me persuado que entonces ni tubo toda la perfeccion á que despues llegó, y por lo que mira á los nombres de meses y dias, no admite duda que fueron puestos muchos siglos despues de esta correccion, ya obligados de las necesidades de la vida humana, demarcando los tiempos mas á proposito para sus siembras, cazas y pescas, y huyendo de los que habian conocido nocivos segun la diversidad de terrenos, variedad de climas, y temperamentos que en estos paises se esperimentan en cortas distancias, ya por la idolatria en que despues cayeron, inventando deidades á quienes daban culto en aquellos tiempos en que segun su falsa creencia necesitaban mas de su auxilio, y asi aunque en toda la Nueva España era uno mismo el sistema, de que se prueba con evidencia la antigüedad de esta ordenacion ó correccion de que hemos tratado, con todo no eran unos mismos los simbolos ó geroglificos de que se servian en todas partes, como dejo advertido al capº 6º, porque los de Oaxaca, Chiapa, Soconusco, en lugar de los cuatro caracteres principales pedernal, casa, conejo, y caña, se servian de estos, Votan, Lambat, Been, y Chinax. Los de Michoacan se servian de estos, Yuo Don, Yu Baui, Yuchon, Yu Thihui: no he podido averiguar

ni en unos ni en otros cual era el caracter principe como el tecpatl de los Tultecas, pero su coordinacion la hallo constante en el modo referido en el fragmento de Calendarios de unas y otras naciones que he reconocido.

Tambien he podido saber cuales eran los nombres con que los de Oaxaca, Chiapa, y Soconosco, señalaban sus meses, pero si los de los veinte dias de cada mes se componian repartidos en las cuatro casas principales del mismo modo que los otros, en esta manera.

Votan.	*Lambat.*	*Been.*	*Chinax.*
Ghanan.	Molo.	Hix.	Cahogh.
Abag.	Elab.	Tziguin.	Agxual.
Tox.	Batz.	Chabin.	Mox.
Moxio.	Enob.	Chue.	Igh.

De los de Michoacan, por un fragmento de Calendario he podido saber hasta catorce nombres de los meses, que son los siguientes, Yuthaçtri, Yudchuri, Yuthezauroni, Yuthurizahui, Yuthauhui, Yuiscathotohui, Yuratatohui, Ytzbachia, Yuthoxiuhin, Yuthaxihni, Yuthechagui, Yutechotahui, Yuteyabeihierin, Yuthaxitohin, y á los cinco dias intercalares llamaban Yutasiabise. Los cuatro meses que faltan son los que corresponden á nuestro Enero, Febrero, y Marzo, porque al manuscrito le falta la primer oja, y solo comienza desde el dia 22 de Marzo, y concluye en 31 de Diciembre confrontando sus meses con los nuestros. Los nombres de los veinte dias de cada mes los reparte del mismo modo en las cuatro casas principales, y son las siguientes:

Yuo Don.	*Yu Bani.*	*Yuchon.*	*Yu Thihui.*
Yuic Ebi.	Yu Xichani.	Yu Tahui.	Yui Xotziui.
Yuetuni.	Yu Chini.	Yu Tzini.	Yui Chini.
Yu Boori.	Yu Rini.	Yu Tzoniabi.	Yui Abi.
Yuithaati.	Yu Pari.	Yu Tzciubi.	Yu Tauiri.

En cuanto al modo de contar sus semanas estos de Michoacan, no he hallado noticia alguna, porque el referido fragmento de su Calendario es sin duda formado en los tiempos posteriores despues de la conquista, y numera solamente los dias de nuestros meses señalandolos y confrontandolos con los referidos nombres de meses y dias succesivamente repetidos por el mismo orden. Por lo que mira á los de Chiapa, dice el caballero Boturini en su citado libro, que contaban siete estrellas errantes correspondientes á los siete dias de su semana, no sé de donde sacó la noticia, ni entre sus manuscritos pudo hallar alguno que me instruyese de esto.

Capitulo XII.

De los Gigantes primeros habitadores de tierra de Anahuac, que es la que hoy Nueva España.

Al tiempo que se hizo este congreso de sabios astrologos en la ciudad de Huehuetlapalan para la correccion del Calendario, tenian ya estas gentes considerable numero de poblaciones, no solo en las inmediaciones de su primitiva ciudad, sino en toda aquella region en que estaban ya muy extendidos, especialmente hacia las costas del mar. Pero como fueron los Tultecas los historiadores, que nos conservaron estas noticias, no nombran otra poblacion que su ciudad principal, que dicen se llama Tlachicatzin, cuyos fundadores fueron todos hombres sabios y diestros artifices en todas las artes que hasta entonces conocian y ejercitaban, por cuyo motivo les dieron el nombre de Tultecatl, que en el idioma Mexicano quiere decir artifice, y parece que ya á este tiempo se gobernaban de por si los Tultecas por sus Señores y Jueces con independencia de los de Huehuetlapalan. Esta era ya corte y capital del imperio que llamaron Chichimecatl, porque el principal caudillo que los condujo, ó el primer rey que eligieron para que les gobernase, (que en esto varian los escritores,) se llamó Chichimecatl, otros dicen que se llamó Zichen ó Chichen, que significa hombre aspero y rigido, de quien tomaron el nombre de Chichimecatl; y preciandose de una gran nobleza eran altivos y sobervios, y conservan de este tiempo hasta los nuestros este mismo caracter. Algunos dicen que no tomaron el nombre del caudillo, sino de una ciudad que fundaron llamada Chichen; pero á mas de ser esto contrario á su comun estilo que era tomar el nombre de los caudillos y no de las poblaciones, no hallo en toda la historia que se haga mencion de semejante ciudad, ni en los antiguos ni en los tiempos posteriores, antes si encuentro

que al modo que los Egipcios llamaron á sus reyes Pharaones del nombre de un Pharaon, los Persas Asueros, y los Romanos Cesares, asi estas gentes daban á sus monarcas el titulo de gran Chichimecatl, prueba de que este nombre no le tomaron de la ciudad, sino de aquel primer caudillo ó rey, y asi en todos tiempos han hecho y hacenlos chichimecas gran vanidad de su nobleza, antigüedad, y primacia de su imperio, teniendose por superiores á las demas naciones y padres de todas ellas.

Algunos han dicho tambien que se les dio el nombre Chichimecatl, por la cruel costumbre de chupar la sangre humana, como lo hacen en nuestros tiempos los barbaros de estas naciones, y deducen la etimologia del verbo chichina, que significa chupar, y mecayotl, que significa parentesco de consanguinidad, como si dijeramos los que chupan su propia sangre ó la sangre de su propia especie: pero á mi no me agrada su pensamiento, lo primero porque en ninguno de los autores Indios y multitud de sus escritores que he reconocido hallo mencion alguna, ni de que en su mas retirada antigüedad usasen esta crueldad de mantenerse de sangre humana, ni muchos siglos despues, antes por el contrario veremos en el discurso de esta historia, que aun cuando se introdujeron los sacrificios de sangre humana, los aborrecieron y detestaron los Emperadores de Tescuco, que eran los que se gloriaban y con razon de descender de los Chichimecas, y conservarse en ellos la ilustre sangre de sus monarcas, porque esta barbara costumbre de mantenerse de sangre humana de los Chichimecas que habitan hoy las tierras septentrionales de esta America, nació mucho despues entre ellos por las razones que diré en su lugar, y asi no hay escritura alguna de los suyos que afirme que por esta costumbre se les dió el nombre de Chichimecatl, sino tan solamente las dos opiniones que dejo referidas, diciendo unos que le tomaron de un rey ó caudillo suyo, y otros que de una ciudad.

Lo segundo, porque el nombre no es Chichimecayotl, sino Chichimecatl, y si de este se ha de sacar la rigurosa etimologia, su significado es el que chupa cordel, haciendo compuesta la voz del verbo chichina, que significa chupar, y mecatl que significa cordel. Lo tercero, porque aunque se diga que en sus nombres compuestos sincopan las voces como es cierto, y que mecatl es sincopa de mecayotl, no hay para esto mas prueba que un simple discurso, y aun siendo asi, no concederé que sea bien deducido el significado que le dan á la voz Chichimecatl, porque aun suponiendo de que mecatl sea siempre sincopa de mecayotl, es necesario saber que el propio significado de la voz mecayotl es parentesco de consanguinidad, y asi siguiendo la noticia de los autores Indios que dicen haber sido Chichen el nombre de su caudillo ó padre de familia, diria yo que la voz Chichimecatl se interpretaria mejor, diciendo que significa los descendientes por consanguinidad de Chichen, ó la parentela de Chichen, y me parece que es mas natural y genuina esta etimologia de Chichimecatl, parentela ó descendencia de Chichen, que no la otra que viene arrastrada, y no se conforma como esta con sus historias; pero yo me arrimo de mejor gana á los que dicen que su caudillo ó primer rey se llamó Chichimecatl, y de el le tomaron, porque esto era entre ellos lo mas comun, como se ira viendo en el discurso de la historia. Aquellos pues que entre ellos se hallaron de natural pacifico y humilde, inclinados al estudio y observacion de los astros ó al ejercicio de sus artes, no confrontaron con los otros, y asi resolvieron separarse como lo hicieron, y fundaron su ciudad de Tlachicatzin, donde establecieron su gobierno con total independencia de los Chichimecas. A su ejemplo fueron haciendo lo mismo otras gentes, que bajo la conducta de un gefe que nombraban se separaban y formaban sus poblaciones, que estas no solo en estos tiempos, pero aun mas siguientes despues, como ya he dicho, no tenian casas sino cuebas unas que hallaban hechas por la naturaleza, y otras que fabricaban á su imitacion; y de esta separacion nació con el curso del tiempo la variedad de naciones que se halló y aun subsiste en este Nuevo Mundo, distintas en nombres, costumbres y ritos, y con variedad de lenguages y dialectos, que se fueron formando unos por corrupcion del legitimo idioma Nahuatl, (que asientan unanimes los autores haber sido el primitivo,) y otros por invencion posterior de los hombres obligados de las necesidades humanas con variedad de tonillos y acentos, que algunos de ellos no hay letras ni silabas con que poderlos esplicar, porque no son otra cosa algunas voces que un sonido mudo gutural ó narigal con la boca cerrada ó abierta, y en ninguno de los idiomas hasta ahora conocidos entre estas gentes, se ha hallado la perfeccion, armonia, elegancia, y riqueza de voces, frases y esplicaciones, que en el Nahuatl ó Mexicano.

Aunque se habian estendido mucho y aumentadose grandemente las poblaciones en aquella region, no dicen que hubiese salido de ella gente alguna para poblar en otros paises hasta algunos años despues de la enmienda de los tiempos, en que dicen que de las poblaciones maritimas salieron ciertas cuadrillas, que vinieron á establecerse á las riberas del rio Atoyac entre Tlaxcallan y Quetlaxcoapan, poblacion antigua que estuvo situada donde hoy está la ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles, de las cuales naciones hablaré luego. Antes me es preciso dar noticia de la que los Indios conservaron y refieren con este motivo. Dicen pues, que antes que viniesen estas naciones á establecerse

à las riberas de Atoyac, estaban ya estas pobladas de gigantes, que eran las reliquias de ellos que habian escapado de la calamidad de los uracanes. Asientan pues, que estos habian sido los antiguos pobladores de estas riberas, que en la calamidad de los uracanes perecieron los mas de ellos, y de los pocos que escaparon se habian propagado hasta estos tiempos, en que los que habian quedado se hallaban ya sin esperanza de continuar su generacion por no haberles quedado muger alguna. Les dan el nombre de Quinametli, y en plural Quinametin; no dan la medida de sus cuerpos, pero ponderan mucho su estatura y con razon, porque de los muchos huesos que se han sacado y todos los dias se encuentran en este terreno donde estubieron poblados, se conoce haber sido muy corpulentos. Yo he visto muchos de estos huesos y tengo en mi poder algunos, entre los cuales hay uno que se conoce perfectamente ser la cabeza ó parte superior del hueso del muslo que llaman de la zea, y segun su proporcion debio tener el cuerpo á que sirvió mas de tres varas de alto, este le saqué de la barranca de Cachualapa en el camino de Tecali: tambien tengo una muela que se sacó con otros fragmentos de huesos en las riberas del rio Atoyac cerca del pueblo de Malacatepec en tierras de mis haciendas, que á su proporcion debió de tener el cuerpo cuatro varas de alto, y he sabido de personas muy fidedignas haber visto otros que por su integridad se conocian los huesos que eran, y de su proporcion haber servido á cuerpos mas altos.

La noticia de haber sido gigantes los antiguos habitadores de estas tierras es tan comun en todos los autores que han escrito de cosas de Indias, que apenas se hallará alguno que no las refiera que al tiempo del ingreso de los Españoles en estos paises la hallaron universalmente recibida y contestada entre los naturales; pero cuando asi no fuese, la multitud de huesos* que posteriormente se han hallado y cada dia se descubren en el terreno mismo en que afirman haber estado sus poblaciones (y no hay animal alguno á cuyo cuerpo puedan adaptarse) y al mismo tiempo no hallarse otros iguales ni semejantes en otros terrenos que no habitaron, verifica esta noticia que nos conservaron los Indios, y quita enteramente toda duda el hallazgo de esqueletos enteros que en estos ultimos años se han descubierto, y testifican haberlos visto personas muy fidedignas†. Asientan pues los autores Indios como dejo ya dicho al cap. 3. que estos fueron los primeros habitadores de la tierra de Anahuac, conocida hoy por Nueva España, y tambien dejo insinuada la dificultad que hay en averiguar si fueron oriundos de las mismas siete familias que se unieron en la confusion de lenguas, ó de diversas y de distinto origen. Algunos de los autores nacionales, y entre ellos Don Fernando de Alba Yxtlilxochitl, muy bien instruido en su historia antigua, dice en una de sus relaciones que estos gigantes eran de la misma progenie que los demas Indios, y descendientes de aquellas primeras siete familias que vinieron desde la dispersion de Babel á poblar estas tierras; y por esto he dicho en el capitulo 1°, que todas las gentes y naciones que poblaron la America Septentrional procedieron de aquellas siete familias.

Y aunque el citado Don Fernando de Alba no lo dijese, á mi me parece que hallo en sus mismas historias, razones en que fundarlo. Supongo la existencia de los gigantes constante, y el dia de hoy se manifiesta evidente con la multitud de osamentos y esqueletos enteros que se han descubierto en este reino, y supongo tambien como de fe, que estos no tubieron distintos progenitores que los mismos Adan y Eva padres comunes de todo el linage humano, y que esta diversidad de estaturas como la de los colores es provenida de las varias disposiciones de la naturaleza, temperamento, clima, y semejantes accidentes, como á cada paso nos lo manifiesta la esperiencia, viendo nacer de los mismos padres unos hijos altos, y otros pequeños, unos blancos, ótros morenos, unos rubios y otros pelinegros, con que no hay dificultad en que los gigantes de este nuevo mundo procedieron de aquellas siete familias primeras, y todas las historias de los Indios contestan en que la nacion Tulteca que indubitablemente procede de ellas, fue siempre señalada en estatura, tanto que aun despues de muchos siglos que salieron de su patria y establecieron su monarquia en la tierra de Anahuac, y casi hasta los tiempos en que entraron los Españoles, eran conocidos los Tultecas por su corpulencia, y todos los que han entrado la tierra adentro por el Nuevo Mexico, que fue donde hicieron sus primeras poblaciones, aseguran haber todavia algunas naciones de sobresaliente estatura, especialmente en los poblaciones de la costa del Sur. Yo tengo unas relaciones que escribio el P. Fr. Geronimo de Zarate Franciscano, de las entradas

* It is not improbable that the bones alluded to were those of elephants, or of other antediluvian species of animals *too large* to enter into the ark of Noah, and *therefore* doomed to become an extinct species. This reflection has been suggested by an examination of a work of the celebrated Kircher, entitled '*Arca Noe*,' which is illustrated with many curious wood-cuts representing the different species of animals which entered into the ark, and the separate places provided for their accommodation. It deserves to be remarked, that Moses has been guilty of a slight inadvertence in stating, in the second verse of the seventh chapter of Genesis, that God commanded Noah to receive *seven* of every clean beast into the ark; since we learn from the ninth verse of the same chapter that *two* was the number actually admitted. Discrepancies of this kind are however of such frequent recurrence in the Old Testament that they are scarcely worthy of observation.

† Acosta, lib. 7. de la Historia Natural de Indias, cap. 3. Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, lib. 1. cap. 13.

que se han hecho por el Nuevo Mexico desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626, en que afirma como testigo ocular por haberlo sido en algunas y empleadose mucho tiempo en aquellas misiones hallarse naciones de estas de sobresaliente estatura, especialmente en las poblaciones maritimas, y en la relacion de la jornada de Don Juan Oñate á la California por tierra, el año de 1604, da noticia de una giganta que era señora de una isla llamada Cinogachua, y á ella la daban el nombre de Cinacacocheta, que quiere decir señora ó capitana, cuya estatura era como de hombre y medio de los de la costa con ser como son muy corpulentos.

Supuesta esta noticia, no es inverosimil la opinion de algunos autores Indios que afirman que los gigantes que habitaban las riberas del rio Atoyac eran Tultecas, porque ya dejamos dicho al capitulo 3º, y se dira en otros lugares de esta historia, que estos Tultecas fueron en todos tiempos tan enemigos de la ociosidad que perseguian totalmente á los ociosos hasta arrojar los de sus poblaciones; y de estos gigantes que vivian en este territorio se dice que era gente tan perezosa y dejada que en nada se ocupaban, que vivian como brutos, desnudos enteramente, sin pensar mas que en comer y beber, sustentandose de caza y pesca cruda*, frutas y yerbas silvestres, porque nada cultivaban, y lo mas del tiempo ebrios: con que si por las señas hemos de hacer juicio, estos eran sin duda algunos de aquellos ociosos desterrados de las poblaciones Tultecas, que profugos y vagos llegaron hasta estas partes, en donde por ser el tempe ramento mas calido que el clima en que nacieron, ó por la vida ociosa y brutal en que vivian, fueron sus sucesores aumentando en estatura hasta llegar á la corpulencia que se nota en sus esqueletos, que en esto sin duda hubo notable variedad, porque en los huesos que he visto, que son muy pocos respecto á los muchos que se han sacado, se nota en sus proporciones considerable diferencia en las estaturas. A esto se agrega lo que dicen, que aunque no era uno mismo el lenguage de los gigantes y los Ulmecas que fueron los primeros que vinieron á establecerse despues de ellos, y los hallaron en este territorio como diré luego, eran tan parecidos que unos á otros se entendian, y esto es una fuerte prueba de ser uno mismo el origen de ambas naciones; y ultimamente entre los manuscritos que tengo, hay uno muy sucinto que parece ser bien antiguo; no tiene nombre de autor, su titulo es "Historia de los Tultecas:" este comienza de esta suerte. "Los primeros pobladores de esta tierra fueron Tultecas; despues de ellos vinieron los Ulmecas y Xicalancas que poblaron hácia lo que ahora es la Ciudad de los Angeles á las orillas del rio Atoyac, donde hallaron algunos pocos gigantes que habian escapado de las calamidades de la segunda edad," &c. Luego si fueron Tultecas los primeros, y los Ulmecas segundos, y estos hallaron algunos gigantes, estos sin duda eran de los Tultecas: corroborase esto con que el autor á renglon seguido refiere la rebelion de los Tultecas en su patria, y la salida del grueso de su nacion, viage, poblacion, y monarquia, hasta su destruccion: luego no son estos aquellos pobladores primeros sino otros de su misma nacion que vinieron antes. Y aunque dejamos dicho al principio de este capitulo, que no consta que antes de la correccion de los tiempos, hubiesen salido de su region primera cuadrillas algunas para poblar en otros paises, esto no obsta para que hubiesen salido algunas familias de estos ociosos arrojados y desterrados de las poblaciones, que no todos vendrian á parar á la tierra de Anahuac, porque, en mi juicio, los primeros pobladores del reyno del Peru fueron de es os mismos vagamundos: vease al Inca Garcilaso de la Vega lo que refiere de las costumbres de los antiguos habitadores de aquel reyno antes del Inca, y se hallaran muy conformes á las de los gigantes, y es de notar que tambien en el reyno del Peru se han descubierto muchas osamentas de gigantes, y los Indios de aquel reyno tuvieron mucha noticia y la dieron á los Españoles de los gigantes antiguos habitadores de aquella tierra: vease lo que dice Herrera de los gigantes que en tiempos antiguos aportaron á la punta de Santa Elena, cuya memoria conservaban los naturales, y contaron á los Españoles que vivian como brutos, comian por cincuenta hombres, y eran dados á la sodomia, y que cayó fuego del cielo y los consumió, y esto parece que fue aun despues de poblada aquella tierra de otras gentes. De todo lo dicho se convence que aunque es constante que fueron los gigantes los primeros habitadores del pais de Anahuac, hoy Nueva España, su origen y descendencia era la misma que las demas naciones que se hallaron en este continente; esto es, aquellas siete familias, que se unieron por la conformidad del lenguage, y juntos peregrinaron hasta estas partes como queda referido.

* The Levitical ordinance which forbade the Jews to taste blood, would have been very likely to induce them to reproach other nations with eating raw flesh. The general remark is true, that whatever was forbidden to the Jews in the Pentateuch is sure to be laid by them to the charge of the heathen. As regards the accusation of sloth which they brought against the giants, it deserves to be remarked, that their destruction is said to have occurred about the same time that another portion of mankind was believed to have been changed into apes; which animal, naturalists have observed to be of a very lazy, gluttonous, and lascivious disposition; all which evil inclinations the prophet Ezekiel reprobates in the forty-ninth verse of the sixteenth chapter of his Prophecies,—a chapter, it must be confessed, very mortifying to the vanity of the chosen people of God.

Capitulo XIII.

De la venida de las Naciones Ulmeca, Xicalanca, y Zapoteca á la tierra de Anahuac: ultima destruccion de los Gigantes, con la que quedan dueños del pais y fundan la ciudad de Chollolan.

Algunos años despues que hicieron la correccion de su calendario y enmienda de los tiempos, (aunque no numeran cuantos,) dicen que salieron de las poblaciones maritimas dos cuadrillas numerosas de gentes en busca de otros paises en que establecerse. El gefe de la una se llamaba Olmecatl, y el de la otra Xicalancatl, y de ellos tomaron una y otra la denominacion. Si estas eran ya naciones distintas, ó una sola dividida en dos trozos con dos gefes, de que despues se formaron, no es facil de averiguar. Lo que nos dicen es que salieron juntas, y algunos añaden que vino tambien con ellas otra tercera, que del nombre de su gefe se llamaron Zapotecas. Las noticias que de ellas dan son tan escasas que apenas se puede percibir que su venida fue por mar, navegando en balsas y canoas chatas, costa á costa hasta Panuco, puerto situado en la ensenada de Veracruz, que llaman el seno Mexicano, en diez y nueve grados de altura. Allí desembarcaron, y penetrando la tierra dentro, llegaron al territorio de la republica de Tlaxcallan y Huexotzingo, en el cual y en el que hoy comprenden las jurisdicciones de Choyolan y la Puebla de los Angeles, determinaron hacer sus poblaciones, pareciendoles suave y apreciable su clima, buena y fertil la tierra para sus siembras de maiz, frijol, chile y chian, abundante de aguas con las corrientes no solo de los dos caudalosos rios Atoyac y Zachuapan, sino de otros varios arroyos que la riegan, y finalmente mucho monte poblado de maderas y abundante de caza que era uno de sus principales alimentos. En las riberas del rio Atoyac hallaron algunos gigantes que vivian en ellas mas como brutos que como racionales. Su alimento eran las carnes crudas de las aves y fieras que cazaban sin distincion alguna, las frutas y yervas silvestres, porque nada cultivaban, pero sabian el modo de extraer de la planta de maguey la bebida del pulque con que se embriagaban. Andaban enteramente desnudos, suelto y desgreñado el cabello, y aunque para la caza de volateria usaban del arco y la flecha, para la monteria se valian mas frecuentemente de su ligereza y fuerzas, sirviendose de aquella y su gran corporatura para seguir y alcanzar las fieras, y de esta para combatir con ellas, y para este efecto usaban de gruesas porras de ramas de arboles que desgajaban con tanta facilidad como pudieramos nosotros desojarlos. Eran finalmente fieros, crueles y sobervios; mas con todo recibieron de paz á los forasteros, acaso temerosos de su gran numero siendo ellos tan pocos, y obstentando magnanimidad y bizarria les dieron permiso para que se poblasen en sus tierras: comenzaron ellos á ejecutarlo asi, pero mirando siempre á los gigantes con terror y miedo. Esto lo conocieron ellos y fue causa de insolentarlos mas, y preciandose de señores y dueños de la tierra, creian hacerles á los otros un gran favor en permitirles que poblasen, y en recompensa de el querian obligarles á que les sirviesen como esclavos, trayendoles de comer y beber con abundancia, de manera que ya no pensaban ellos en buscar la caza ni la pesca, las yervas ni las frutas, sino todo se lo habian de traer sus huespedes y con mucha abundancia, y en no siendo asi los maltrataban y castigaban cruelmente, con lo que vivian los nuevos pobladores en una durisima opresion y servidumbre.

No era esto lo peor, sino que habiendoles faltado enteramente las mugeres á los gigantes, aun antes de la llegada de estas naciones, se habian entregado desenfrenadamente al pecado de la sodomia, y aunque estas gentes llevavan mugeres, no las apetecian aquellos barbaros por mas que los hombres se las ofrecian y entregaban á sus propias mugeres y hijas*, por libertarse del daño. Se ostigaron tanto con esto y con la opresion que padecian, que por dictamen de sus gefes y principales señores, resolvieron acabar de una vez con los gigantes. Para esto les previnieron un abundante y esplendido banquete á que todos concurrieron, y habiendo comido y bebido brutalmente, tan ebrios todos que tirados por el suelo estaban hechos unos troncos, acabaron con todos ellos en un dia, quedando libres de la esclavitud y señores de la tierra. El año en que acaeció este suceso le señalan con el geroglificio del Conejo en el nº 1º, que segun mi computo fue el de 3979 del mundo.

Señores ya de la tierra los nuevos pobladores comenzaron á estenderse por todo el territorio que hoy es de Tlaxcalla, Puebla de los Angeles, Chollolan, Atlixco, Itzucan, y por el otro lado hasta Thopellacan, Tecamachalco, Quecholac, y Teculhuacan, que por aqui dicen que hicieron sus poblaciones los Zapotecas, hácia Atlisco y Itzucan los Xicalancas, y en el territorio de la Puebla, Chollolan, y Tlaxcalan, los Ulmecas, cuya primitiva y principal poblacion

* Vide Genesis, chap. xix. ver. 8; and Judges, chap. xix. ver. 24.

dicen haber sido la ciudad de Choyolan, y aunque no señalan el año de la fundacion de esta ciudad, que fue despues muy famosa y subsiste en nuestros dias, diciendo que fue la primera que poblaron, debe regularse su antigüedad por lo menos desde el año de la destruccion de los gigantes, que como llevo sentado fue el de 3979 del mundo, 107 años antes de la era cristiana, y por consiguiente tiene la gloria de ser la mas antigua de toda la Nueva España.

Nos dicen los escritores que cada una de estas naciones formó sus poblaciones con separacion, sin mezclarse la de la una con las de las otras y que se estendieron por todo este terreno, especialmente á las riberas de los dos rios Zachuapan y Atoyac. Nada dicen de la policia con que se gobernaban, ni dan noticia alguna de su religion y costumbres, pero parece por los posteriores sucesos de la historia que veremos, que cada pueblo tenia su señor separado con total independencia de los otros, aunque los que eran de una misma nacion mantenian entre si grande union y amistad, para ayudarse y socorrerse en sus necesidades. Yo me persuado á que estas cuadrillas eran tambien de la nacion Tulteca, y todas sus señas lo indican, porque era gente habil y industriosa, cultivaban la tierra y sembraban varias semillas para su alimento, por lo menos el maiz, chile y frijol; es constante en las historias que le sembraban los Ulmecas antes que viniesen á poblar los Tultecas. No habitaban en cuebas como los Chichimecas, sino en casas, que sabian el arte de fabricarlas de tanta macicez y fortaleza que en un fragmento de historia Tlaxcalteca que tengo en mi poder, escrito por un mestizo de Tlaxcallan, llamado Don Domingo Muñoz Çamargo, que vivia por los años de 1545, afirma haber visto las ruinas de algunos edificios antiguos de la nacion Ulmeca que manifestaban haber sido sumtuosos y de mucha fortaleza. Sabian tambien el arte de tejer, y tegian mantas y lienzos de algodon y otras ropas de pelos de conejo, lievre, perro, y otros animales: su lengua era la Nahual que hoy llaman Mexicana y se tiene por madre, y esta fue la de la nacion Tulteca, y he oido decir á personas bien instruidas en este idioma, que en algunos pueblos que aun subsisten en nuestros dias conocidos por de la nacion Ulmeca, de que ellos hacen gran vanagloria, como es el pueblo de Nativitas que en su antigüedad se llamó Yancuietlanpan, y su comarca cerca del Santuario de San Miguel del Milagro en jurisdiccion de Tlaxcallan, y otros, se habla esta lengua con mucha pureza y elegancia. Finalmente cuando vino á poblar la nacion Tulteca, se unieron á ella sin repugnancia ni contradiccion alguna estas otras tres, reconociendo y sujetandose á sus reyes, leyes y gobierno. Todas estas reflexas me hacen creer que estas tres primeras naciones que vinieron á establecerse y poblar en las riberas del rio Atoyac fueron Tultecas.

Las poblaciones de esta nacion Ulmeca, y de las otras dos Xicalanca y Zapoteca que subsisten en nuestros dias, no es facil averiguar si son ó no de las primitivas, y mucho menos si los nombres de ellas son los que en su primer fundacion les dieron, porque por estos tiempos no se habla de otra que de la gran ciudad de Chollolan que fue su emporio, y asientan que era muy grande y contenia inumerable gentio, y hasta el dia de hoy se hallan vestigios de su prodigiosa extension. En ella fabricaron los Ulmecas una elevadisima torre, algunos han dicho que para preservarse de otro diluvio, mas otros afirman que no fue sino por ostentacion y grandeza de su poblacion, y por monumento y memoria á los futuros de haber sido Chollolan la primer poblacion de los Ulmecas, que á causa de su gran multiplicacion habian ya formado otras poblaciones en sus contornos y comenzaban á dividirse. Este gran edificio cuyas ruinas subsisten en nuestros dias, es otra prueba grande de la habilidad y industria de estas gentes, y no menos de sus noticias y instruccion en la historia del mundo, que no se sabe que las conservasen otros que los Tultecas. La dicha torre se les arruinó algunos años despues como veremos; y aun la nacion Tulteca cuando dominó este pais la volvió á erigir; volvio tambien á arruinarse, pero aun subsiste en nuestros tiempos una gran parte de ella en pie, y á sus lados varios fragmentos de mucho tamaño, testigos de su ruina. En la realidad no debe llamarse torre sino un cerro, porque está en su estructura, y en esto se asemeja mas á la de Babel, segun dejo notado al capitulo 2°. Yo la he reconocido por varias partes, el material de que es hecha es piedra menuda de la que llaman guijarro, y una especie de ladrillos muy grandes de barro crudo, mezclado con paja*, ó yerva seca, que aqui los llaman adoves: un suelo ó capa es de esto, un poco mas de media vara de alto, y otro de piedras y tierra suelta, y asi se vá elevando en forma espiral. Sobre el pedazo que subsiste en pie, fabricaron despues los Indios un templo sumtuoso en honor de Quetzalcohuatl, y cuando entraron en este reyno los Españoles se consagró á Nuestra Señora, cuya imagen, pequeña

* The advantage of manufacturing bricks with straw is not very evident; neither is it the custom of modern times. The Old Testament, however, informs us that the Jews considered straw a necessary ingredient in brick, as fully appears by the command of Pharaoh to the Egyptian taskmasters in the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of Exodus: "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves." Sahagun, in the fifth section of the twelfth chapter of the eleventh book of his History of New Spain, says that the Mexicans kneaded sword-grass with clay to make earthenware vessels.

de vulto, se mantiene alli en nuestros dias con mucho culto y veneracion; unos dicen que la trajo un religioso Franciscano á quien se le apareció en Roma, y le mandó que la tragese á colocar la en aquel sitio: otros afirman que quien la colocó alli fué el mismo Don Fernando Cortes despues del castigo y matanza que hizo en Churolan en los que habian conspirado contra el, como nos refieren los historiadores de la conquista. Lo que no admite duda es que el culto y veneracion á esta santa imagen es grande, y viene continuado desde los primeros tiempos immediatos á la conquista.

Capitulo XIV.

Del gran Eclipse y Terremoto que refieren los Indios haberse observado en estas regiones, que parece haber sido el de la muerte de Jesus Cristo.

Con gran puntualidad señalan estos naturales en sus historias otro singular acaecimiento, que despues les sirvió de epoca fija para sus computos cronologicos. Dicen pues, que á los 166 años de la correccion de su Calendario, á los principios de un año que fue señalado con el geroglifico de la Casa en el numero diez, siendo plenilunio, se eclipsó el sol al medio dia, cubriendose totalmente el cuerpo solar, de modo que la tierra se obscurecio tanto que aparecieron las estrellas y parecia de noche, y al mismo tiempo se sintio un terremoto tan horrible cual jamas le habian esperimentado, porque chocando unas con otras las piedras se hacian pedazos, y la tierra se abrió por muchas partes: confusos y aturdidos creyeron que era ya llegado el fin de la tercera edad del mundo, que segun predijeron sus sabios en Huehuetlapalan, debia fenecer en fuertes terremotos, á cuya violencia perecerian muchos vivientes, y padeceria el genero humano la tercera calamidad; pero cesando enteramente el terremoto y volviendo á descubrirse perfectamente el sol, se hallaron todos sanos, sin que viviente alguno hubiese perecido, y esto les causó tan grande admiracion que lo anotaron en sus historias con singular cuidado.

Siguiendo estos computos, y arreglado á la confrontacion de las tablas, debe colocarse este suceso en el año 4066 del mundo, que fue señalado con este caracter, como se puede ver en ellas, y justamente á los 166 años de la enmienda del Calendario; y no pudiendo por las circunstancias que concurren en este eclipse y terremoto ser otro que el que se observó en la muerte de Cristo N. S. habiendola padecido en el año trigesimo tercio de su edad, parece que debe colocarse la encarnacion del Verbo en el año de cuatro mil treinta y cuatro del mundo, que señalaron los Indios con el mismo geroglifico de la Casa en el nº 4, y asi lo he notado en las tablas, y siguiendo este computo el orden cronologico que ellos observaban, contando los años de uno á otro suceso memorable con la asignacion del geroglifico del año en que acaecian, he venido á salir conteste perfectamente con nuestros años en el de 1519, en que aportó Cortes á Vera Cruz como se verá en el discurso de esta historia.

No por esto se entienda que yo entro á decidir en punto tan dudoso, en que tan docta y eruditamente han puesto sus plumas tantos grandes ingenios, dando la preferencia á los Indios en el acierto sobre el gran numero de ilustres talentos que han tratado esta materia con sumo empeño y estudio en este asunto, aunque no fuera estraño que hubiese Dios revelado á estos pequeños lo que escondió á los sabios, como lo hizo la invencion de los bisextos; pero si digo que entre la multitud de opiniones sobre la edad que tenia el mundo cuando encarnó el Verbo, hay la variacion desde tres mil y tantos años hasta cinco mil y tantos, que son casi dos mil años de diferencia, y este computo de los Indios es un medio perfecto entre estos dos extremos. El Cronicon de Auberte, el Padre Suarez* y los autores que cita, varian en pocos años el computo de los Indios, y finalmente debiendo yo segun las leyes de historiador seguir el de estos, y su metodo cronologico en asignar los años en que acaecieron los sucesos, y confrontarlos á los nuestros á que correspondieron, por no caer en los anacronismos en que cayeron los autores de algunos de los escritos que tengo, por querer hacer la cuenta de memoria, tomé el material trabajo de perfeccionar las tablas, y sobre ellas he seguido mis computos, observando con puntualidad los geroglificos y numeros que asignan los Indios, como se verá en el discurso de la historia por las citas que iré haciendo para satisfaccion del curioso.

El Caballero Boturini, en su citada obra, dice que los Indios primeros Cristianos que entonces entendian perfectamente su cronologia, y estudiaron con toda curiosidad en la nuestra, nos dejaron la noticia como desde la creacion del mundo hasta el dichoso nacimiento de Cristo, habian pasado 5199 años, que es la misma opinion ó

* Suarez in 3 partem, D. Tome, tom. 1. quest. 1. art. 6. disp. 6. sec. 1.

computo de los Setenta. Yo no he podido hallar, entre los monumentos que recogió, él que le ilustró con esta noticia, porque los mas escribieron sin cronologia, esto es siguiendo el metodo de los mapas historicos, refiriendo los sucesos, asignando solamente el simbolo ó geroglifico del año en que acaecieron, por ejemplo el diluvio en año de Un Pedernal, la suspension del sol en año de Ocho Conejos, el gran terremoto en año de Diez Casas, &c.; pero no se meten en averiguar á que año de la creacion ó de la era Cristiana corresponden, y los mas exactos solo dicen los siglos ó los años que habian pasado de uno á otro suceso, omitiendo regularmente los quebrados *. El que mas esmero puso en la cronologia fue Don Fernando de Alba, procurando confrontar sus epocas y reducir sus años á los nuestros, pero en cuatro manuscritos que tengo suyos, varía notablemente con diferencia de cientos de años de unos á otros computos, y en cada una de sus relaciones se encuentra á cada paso manifiestos anacronismos; la causa fue haber hecho las cuentas y computos de memoria † y sin formar tablas, asi lo asienta el mismo Boturini en su libro, y me dijo repetidas veces que para escribir la historia que el meditaba y tenemos entre manos, era preciso ligarse á las tablas y ir sobre ellas, ajustando los sucesos con especial reflexa á los geroglificos de los años, porque en ásignar estos eran exactisimos los Indios, mas no en el numero de ellos que asignaban de uno á otro suceso, especialmente cuando contaban por edades ó siglos, porque entonces omitian regularmente los quebrados sobrantes; y asi lo he experimentado como el lo decia; por lo que ante todas cosas procuré concluir las tablas que el mismo Boturini dejó comenzadas de su propio puño, y ligado á ellas precisamente he señalado las epocas, en que no le saco al mundo mas edad que cuatro mil treinta y tres años cuando nació Jesus Cristo, y lo que es mas digno de reflexion, el mismo Boturini en las expresadas tablas que dejó formadas de su puño, señala el año de este modo: 3. Tecpatl—4033 *Nativitatis Domini.* De que se evidencia que el sacaba la misma cuenta, y por tanto desde el año siguiente, que es el de 4034, comienza á señalar los de la era Cristiana del mismo modo que yo lo ejecuto y se manifiesta en ellas. Y en el año 4066 pone al margen esta señal ✠IHS, que quiere decir *Crucifixion de Jesus*, en cuyo tiempo acaecio el terremoto, y asi me persuado á que padeció equivocacion en esta asercion de su libro, porque como ya he dicho en otros lugares y el confiesa, escribio de memoria y sin tener presentes los documentos que recogió.

Capitulo XV.

De la venida á estas tierras de un varon prodigioso, á quien dieron los nombres de Quetzalcohuatl, Cocolcan, y Hueman.

Pasados algunos años del gran eclipse, en uno que fue señalado con el geroglifico de la Caña en el numero 1º (que segun las tablas parece haber sido el 63 de Jesus Cristo) vino á estas regiones por la parte del norte un hombre blanco y barbado de buena estatura, vestido de una ropa talar blanca sembrada de cruces rojas, descalzo, descubierta la cabeza, y un baculo en la mano, á quien llaman unos Quetzalcohuatl, otros Cocolcan, y otros Hueman. Este pues dicen, que era justo y santo, que les enseño una ley buena, aconsejandoles el vencimiento de sus propias pasiones y apetitos, del odio, del vicio, y el amor á la virtud; les instituyó el ayuno de cuarenta dias, la mortificacion y penitencia con efusion de sangre, les dió á conocer la cruz, prometiendoles por medio de aquella señal la serenidad en el aire, la lluvia necesaria, la conservacion de sus poblaciones, la salud coporal y el socorro de todas sus necesidades. Dioles noticia de un Dios trino y uno ‡, valiendose para esplicarles este misterio de piedras y palos triangulares y otras

* By the expression 'quebrados' are meant the odd years over and above a Mexican age or century.

† Echevarria's assertion, that Don Ferdinand de Alba Ixtlilxochitl and Boturini had both been guilty of anachronisms, from placing too much dependence on their memory in framing their chronological computations, should be understood of each of them in a different sense. He evidently means that the former writer had fallen into error, from not having formed tables such as he had himself made use of, the better to adjust the signs employed in the Mexican calendar to our years; and that the latter, when in Spain, could not have been able to consult the paintings which he had left behind him in Mexico.

‡ Reserving for another place proofs from Clavigero's History of California, of the Indians of that peninsula believing in a Trinity, and in an incarnation of the Son of God, we shall here only observe, that the doctrine of a Trinity was known in many parts of America: for example, in Mexico, Yucatan and Peru; in Nicaragua; amongst the Muyscas, a civilized people of New Granada; in Paraguay, and according to some accounts even in Chili and amongst the Indians dwelling on the banks of the Orinoco. Statements of this curious fact are to be found in the second chapter of the fourth book of the third part of Oviedo's unpublished General History of the Indies; in the second part of the inedited Noticias Historiales of Pedro Simon; in Acosta's Natural and Moral History of the Indies; in Remesal's Chronicle of Chiapa; in Cogolludo's History of Yucatan; in Torquemada's Indian Monarchy; in the first book of the third volume of the Saggio di Storia Americana by the Abbé Gilii; in Calancha's Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustin in Peru; and in Garcia's Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo. Echevarria's statement that the

figuras semejantes, del parto de la Virgen, y otros misterios que despues mezclaron ellos de fabulas y desatinos como se verá en su lugar, y atravesando la tierra de Anahuac y poblaciones de los Ulmecas, hizo mansion algun tiempo en la ciudad de Choyolan.

Aunque no dicen á punto fijo el numero de años que habian pasado desde el gran eclipse á la aparicion de este venerable varon, señalan el geroglifico del año que fue la Caña en el numero 1°, y en la suposicion de haber sido el eclipse el quel acaeció en la muerte de Jesus Cristo y dejamos colocado en el año 33 de la encarnacion, el primero que despues de el se halla señalado con la Caña en el numero 1° es el de 63 de Jesus Cristo, treinta años despues del eclipse como se puede ver en las tablas.

No hay autor entre cuantos han escrito de cosas de Indias que no hable de este varon prodigioso, pero todos con confusion segun las noticias que adquirieron, ya mezcladas con fabulas, ya esplicadas con alegorias dadas ó por gente vulgar, ó por personas bien instruidas y mal entendidas por los escritores: de suerte, que le hacen dios, rey, sacerdote, magico, y finalmente se encuentran en estas relaciones mil estravagancias y contrariedades que causan notable repugnancia. Por esto me parece que debo declarar no solo lo que hallo en las historias manuscritas y monumentos autenticos que he recogido, sino tambien el dictamen que sigo en cuanto á este famoso varon, y los fundamentos que me lo persuaden, aunque parezca digresion del principal asunto, pues es no solo uno de los puntos mas curiosos, sino tambien mas precisos para entender el origen de muchos de los ritos y ceremonias que entre estas naciones hallaron establecidas los Españoles al tiempo de la conquista, y no lo es menos para deshacer la multitud de equivocos que padecen los mas de nuestros escritores en las fundaciones algunas del ciudades, venida y establecimiento de varias naciones.

El Padre Torquemada*, que recogio muchas noticias antiguas, y las dió á luz en su Monarquia Indiana del mismo modo que se las dieron las personas de quienes se informó, sin detenerse en la critica de las dificultades y contrariedades en que unas y otras pugnan, habla varias veces en su obra de Quetzalcohuatl, y dice que fue rey de Toyan, sacerdote, nigromantico, magico, embustero, supersticioso, humano y misericordioso, honestisimo, castisimo, perseguidor de malhechores, sufridor de injurias, sabio astrologo, diestro artifice en obras de oro y plata, labrador muy perito que les enseño el cultivo de muchas plantas; y finalmente adornado de tantas prendas buenas y malas contrarias unas á otras, que no caben en un sugeto. Y lo mejor es, que ni su magia ni su sabiduria le bastaron para que no le engañase y venciese el hechicero Titlacachua, que primero le persuadió el viage al reyno de Tlapalan, y despues se lo queria estorbar sin saberse el motivo de lo uno y de lo otro. Finalmente la vida de este hombre y su caracter, segun este autor, en los diferentes lugares en que habla de él, es un conjunto de pasages que no caben en un sugeto, y mas si se añade el que tambien asegura, que quedó tan permanente y tan venerable la memoria de este hombre, que no solo observaron la moral que les enseño y los ritos y costumbres que introdujo, teniendo muy presentes sus profecias cuyo cumplimiento esperaban, sino que los que entraban á reinar en Mexico no recibian el reyno como señores propios, sino como tenientes de Quetzalcohuatl, siendo cierto y constante en todas las historias de los Indios, que ni fue rey de Thollan ni Thollan se fundó hasta muchos años despues, y Mexico muchisimos mas, ni sus cuatro discipulos fueron los primeros fundadores de la señoria de Tlaxcalla, sino otros muy distintos, como se vera en su lugar. Y aunque algunos de estos pasages confiesa este autor que son fabulosos, otros los dan por ciertos y asentados, equiparandolos con sucesos de la Historia sagrada y profana.

Antonio de Herrera dice† que Quetzalcohuatl, que quiere decir dios del aire, le hacen fundador de Choyolan,

Mexicans adored a Trinity in Unity, receives great confirmation from the following passage of the first part of an inedited Treatise of Torribio de Benavente, which is preserved in manuscript in the library of the Escurial, who affirms that the people of Tlaxcala, Huexocinco and Cholula (three states contiguous to Mexico), worshiped one God under three names: "Sin las fiestas ya dichas habia otras muchas en cada provincia y á cada demonio le servian de su manera con sacrificios y ayunos y otras diabolicas ofrendas, especialmente en Tlaxcala, Huexocinco, Cholola, que eran señorias por si. En *todas estas provincias* que son comarcanas y venian de un avolengo, todos adoraban y tenian *un Dios* por mas principal, al cual nombraban por *tres nombres*. 'Ritos antiguos, sacrificios é idolatrias de los Indios de la Nueva España, y de su conversion á la Fée.'" Diego Duran, another ancient Spanish author, whose History of Mexico was given by Juan de Tobar to Acosta, (although the latter no where acknowledges the obligation which he was under to a writer, from whom he appears to have borrowed almost all that he wrote concerning the ancient history of the Mexicans,) confirms in the following passage of that history the previous testimony of Benavente: "Es de notar que la figura presente se solemnizaba en nombre de Padre que quiere decir Tota, paraque sepamos que reverenciaban al Padre y al Hijo y al Espiritu Santo y decian Tota, Topiltzin y Yolometl, los cuales vocablos quieren decir nuestro padre y nuestro hijo, y *el corazon* de ambos, haciendo fiesta á cada uno en particular y á todos tres en uno, donde se nota la noticia que hubo de la Trinidad entre esta gente."

* Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, p. 2. lib. 6. cap. 7. Id. lib. 6. cap. 24.

† Herrera, dec. 2. lib. 7. cap. 2. Id. dec. 3. lib. 2. cap. 11.

que vino de hacia el norte por la mar y aportó á Panuco con una quadrilla de gente nueva que penetraron hasta Thoyan, donde fueron bien recibidos, y no pudiendo subsistir alli por estar ya fundado Mexico y poblada toda la tierra, se pasaron á Choyolan donde se establecieron y despues se estendieron hasta Huaxaca y la Mixteca. Que la voz Quetzalcohuatl literalmente traducida signifique dios del ayre, no habrá alguno medianamente instruido en la lengua Mexicana que tal diga; pero como en los tiempos posteriores los Cholloltecas adoraron á Quetzalcohuatl por dios del ayre, de hay es que Herrera ó los que le comunicaron esta noticia quieren que lo signifique su nombre, y confundiendo la venida de los Ulmecas con la de los Tultecas, y á Huemac (otro sabio anciano que vino con los Tultecas) con Quetzalcohuatl, pospone la fundacion de Chollolan á la de Tollan y Mexico, y parece que á Quetzalcohuatl y los suyos les apropia el nombre Toltecatl, que quiere decir artifice, porque en Thollan comenzaron á enseñar, aunque á Tollan llama Tula, y por decir Toltecatl dice Tuloteca.

No fue, pues, Quetzalcohuatl rey ni gefe de nacion que vino á poblar, ni magico, nigromantico, hechicero, ni embustero, sino un varon venerable justo y santo, que con obras y palabras enseño el camino de la virtud por el vencimiento de las propias pasiones, la mortificacion, ayuno y penitencia, y la adoracion de un solo Dios: alumbró á estos naturales el misterio altisimo de la augustisima Trinidad, la venida del hijo de Dios al mundo, el parto de la Virgen, la pasion del Señor y su muerte en el madero santo de la cruz, cuya poderosa señal les manifestó, y les hizo adorar, inspirandoles una grande esperanza de conseguir por su medio el remedio universal de todas sus necesidades. Les hizo varias profecias, entre las cuales fueron muy señaladas la de la destruccion de la torre de Chollolan, y la de la venida de unas gentes blancas y barbadas por la parte de oriente que se apoderarian de la tierra*, que una y otra se cumplieron perfectamente en todas sus circunstancias como veremos. Que quien hizo todo esto fue un magico, nigromantico ó hechicero, ministro del Demonio, es cosa tan repugnante que por si misma se hace increible, y por el contrario segun el tiempo en que los historiadores Indios señalan su venida, parece consecuente fuese algun apostol ó discipulo de Jesus Cristo, que despues de su pasion y muerte pasó á estas partes á extender en ellas la predicacion del Evangelio para verificar la profecia de David: "*In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum*†;" llenar el precepto de Cristo á sus apostoles: "*Ite in mundum universum, et predicate evangelium omni creaturæ*‡," porque quien dice '*universo mundo*', no excluye á la America que es la mitad del globo terraqueo, y quien dice '*toda criatura*', no excluye á los habitadores de ella, que entonces eran una muy considerable porcion de criaturas; y que este precepto de Cristo á los apostoles se haya de entender en la generalidad que suena de mundo y criaturas, es opinion de San Gregorio, San Tomas, San Juan Crisostomo, Theofilacto, Euthimio, los Cardenales Hugo y Cayetano, y otros muchos expositores §, de los cuales algunos asientan que en el espacio de 40 años, contados desde la muerte de Cristo, predicaron los apostoles en todo el mundo, con que señalando los Indios la venida de Quetzalcohuatl á los 30 años de ella, concuerda bien con esta opinion, y siendo toda la doctrina que enseño conforme á la nueva ley evangelica, debemos creer que fue alguno de los santos apostoles, que no por obra natural sino milagrosa corrio todo este nuevo mundo, y en todo el predicó, dejando muchos rastros y señales que subsisten hasta nuestros tiempos como vamos á ver.

Capitulo XVI.

Los vestigios que se hallan en Nueva España de Quetzalcohuatl, denotan haber sido alguno de los Santos Apostoles.

La soberana señal de la cruz, figura del crucificado, escandalo para los Judios y necedad para los gentiles segun el apostol‖, es la insignia y caracter propio del Cristiano discipulo de Cristo y profesor de la ley evangelica, y esta fue la que manifestó y dio á conocer Quetzalcohuatl á estos naturales, formando cruces en diferentes maneras que expuso y colocó en muchas partes para que fuese venerada, y esta noticia hallaron los Españoles cuando llegaron á estas partes, tan constante en todo este nuevo mundo por la tradicion de padres á hijos, como lo testifican todos

* The prophecies here ascribed to Quecalcoatle, must remind us of Christ's famous predictions respecting the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem and the conquest of Judea by the Romans.

† Psal. xxix. ver. 4. ‡ Marc. xvi. ver. 14.

§ Gregor. in Homil. sup. Marc. xvi. Thom. ad Bernar. 10. lect. 4. Chrisostom. Hom. 76. sup. 6. Matth. ‖ 1 Corinth. i. 23.

nuestros escritores. Herrera dice*, que cuando Grijalva descubrió la Nueva España, se le puso este nombre por las muchas casas de cal y canto, torres y cruces, que hallaron en aquellas poblaciones que vieron. Cortes halló una gran cruz en un hermoso cercado de piedra que de tiempos muy antiguos se adoraba en Acuzamil ó Cozumel, y Gomara afirma† que era tenido este lugar por comun sagrario de todas las islas circunvecinas y que no habia pueblo alguno que no tuviese su sagrario de piedra ó de otra materia: tambien se hallaron cruces en Chollolan, en Tollan, en Tescuco, y en otras partes, y generalmente era tenida la señal de la cruz por Dios de la lluvia entre todos estos naturales, porque siendo esta un bien tan necesario para el logro de sus sementeras, les enseñó Quetzalcohuatl la impetracion de Dios por medio de la cruz, y de aqui nació que en los tiempos posteriores, apagadas ó obscurecidas aquellas primeras luces, la adoraron por Dios de la lluvia y del aire que la conduce. Finalmente todos contestan que este varon traia una ropa talar blanca sembrada de cruces rojas, y quien tanto se esmeró en ensalzar esta soberana señal y señalarse con ella, mas señas dá de Cristiano que de gentil, de apostol que de nigromantico, de santo que de magico y embustero.

No ignoro que el Padre Torquemada‡ quiere persuadir que las cruces que halló Francisco de Montejo cuando comenzó la conquista de Yucatan, especialmente en la provincia de Totolxiuh, y la que halló Cortes en Acuzamil, fueron puestas pocos años antes que llegaron allí los Españoles, por un sacerdote gentil llamado Chilancalcatl á quien tenian por gran profeta, y que este fue el que les predijo que dentro de breve tiempo irian del oriente unas gentes blancas y barbadas que llevarian aquella insignia á la cual no podrian llegar sus dioses, y que esta gente señorearia la tierra; pero sobre las inconsecuencias y repugnancias que incluyo esta persuasion, y la pone el Padre Fr. Gregorio Garcia§ en el libro que imprimió con el titulo de Predicacion del Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo, añade que es menester que pruebe que este mismo profesor corrio toda la Nueva España y el Peru, plantando cruces y haciendo la misma profecia, pues uno y otro se halló conforme en toda la America como se ve en todos nuestros historiadores de ambos reynos: pero como quiera, que mi asunto es solo de la Nueva España, no saldré fuera de ella para mostrar los vestigios que dejó este venerable varon de la verdad evangelica.

El mismo Padre Torquemada|| habla de la milagrosa cruz del lugar de Quautholco, que vulgarmente llaman Guatalac, que aunque dice que esta la ponderó en este parage el Padre Fr. Martin de Valencia ú otro de sus compañeros en aquellos primeros tiempos, esta es mera conjetura arbitraria que la refuta con solidas razones el Padre Garcia en el lugar citado¶, y el Padre Fr. Joachim Brulio en la Historia del Peru de su religion de San Agustin** afirma que era venerada esta santa cruz en aquel lugar desde tiempos muy antiguos: contesta en ello el Padre Fr. Gregorio Garcia que añade el milagro que obró cuando el herege Francisco Drague que aportó allí, la quisó quemar y no pudo conseguirlo. Esta santa cruz se venera al presente en la ciudad de Huaxacac donde la trasladó el Señor Obispo Don Juan de Cervantes, y en el Convento de Carmelitas descalzos de la Puebla de los Angeles se venera una cruz hecha de un brazo de esta, que llevó allí y colocó en una capilla del presbiterio el Señor Don Antonio de Cervantes Carbajal canonigo de aquella iglesia, sobrino del Señor Obispo.

El Señor Don Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas Obispo de Chiapa, despues de hecha grave informacion del caso, afirma en una Apologia suya, que manuscrita se guarda en el Convento de Santo Domingo de Mexico, que consta por antiquisima tradicion de aquellos naturales que aquella cruz la trajo un hombre blanco y barbado, vestido hasta los artejos de una ropa talar blanca, que traia consigo otros discipulos, y que estos dieron noticia á sus abuelos de los misterios de la Trinidad y parto de la Virgen, y les enseñaron el ayuno y la penitencia: estas son las mismas señas que dan los historiadores Indios de Quetzalcohuatl, y para convencer que la adoracion que daban á esta santa cruz era tan antigua como el lugar, y no de los tiempos inmediatos á la conquista como quiere el Padre Torquemada, voy á dar una prueba irrefragable en el mismo nombre del lugar, pues como todos son significativos en la lengua Mexicana, muchas veces me he valido de ellos para salir de dudas, y siempre con buen efecto. El verdadero nombre de este lugar es Quauhtolco, asi lo escriben los autores Indios y los que saben y poseen perfectamente el idioma Nahual, no Quauhtochco como escriben los Padres Torquemada y Garcia, que este es otro lugar muy distinto cerca de Orizaba y la villa de Cordova, á quien los Españoles corrompiendo la voz por no poderla pronunciar llaman Guatusco, y á Quauhtolco llaman Guatulco ahora, pues esta voz Quauhtolco es compuesta de *quahuitl*, que significa el madero, del verbo *tolta* que significa hacer reverencia bajando la cabeza, y la particula *co* que denota lugar, y asi Quauhtolco quiere decir, lugar donde se adora ó se hace reverencia al palo;

* Herr. dec. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1. † Gomara, p. 2. cap. 15. ‡ Torquem. p. 3. lib. 15. cap. 49. § lib. 5. cap. 4.
|| Torquem. p. 3. lib. 16. cap. 28. ¶ Garcia, Predic. del Evang. lib. 5. cap. 5. ** Brulio, Hist. de S. Agus. del Peru, lib. 1. cap. 5.

tan antigua pues como su nombre era en este lugar la adoracion de la cruz, y puede ser que mas, puesto que de ella tomó el nombre.

El Padre Garcia* hace mencion de otra prodigiosa cruz que se halló en la sierra de Meztlitlan, y cita á Don Fr. Estevan de Salazar monje Cartujo, que antes fue religioso Agustino segun dice el Padre Calancha†, cuyas palabras refiere que las copié de la dicha obra del Padre Garcia, y despues las cotejé con el libro del Padre Salazar intitulado Discurso sobre el Credo, que es el que cita Boturini en su catalogo de documentos que recogio, y son estas: "En una punta de una altisima sierra en un lugar muy señalado, que de la antigüedad y escultura que tiene en aquel pico tajado de la montaña tomó nombre el y todas unas pobladisimas y anchisimas montañas que llaman de Meztlitlan, porque meztli en lengua Nahuatl ó Mexicana quiere decir luna, y tetl piedra ó risco ó peña, y titlan sobre la peña, de manera que Meztlitlan quiere decir la luna sobre la peña. Está en aquella peña tajada, al lugar altisimo y casi inaccesible, reelevada á la mano derecha del rio una cruz á manera de tau que es esta, T, labrada á cuadros como tablero de axedrez, un cuadro de color de la piedra que es blanquisima, y otro de un muy perfecto azul, de un codo en alto á lo que juzga la vista de gran distancia, y en frente de ella una media luna del mismo tamaño, á la maño izquierda de la peña, reclevada tambien en ella y labrada de los mismos cuadros y colores. No hay entre aquella gente quien tenga noticia cuando, ó por que manera, ó por quien, fueron cortadas y gravadas aquellas figuras en aquel risco, ni á que fin, ni que sepa decir que significan. Porque haciendo yo mismo gran diligencia en aquel propio lugar, que está encomendado al ilustre caballero Francisco de Merida y Molina, y hallando hombres de mucha edad en él, y entre ellos uno que á la menor suma que pudimos alli averiguar el religiosisimo Padre Fr. Antonio de Mendoza que hoy vive y es difinidor de aquella provincia de Nueva España, hijo de los ilustres caballeros Luis de Marin de los mas principales conquistadores de aquel mundo, en quien se encomendo la provincia de Guazagualco, y Donna Maria de Mendoza tia del Conde de Aguilar, nuestro hijo dilectisimo en el Señor, é yo, pasaba de ciento y cuarenta años—no se puede saber ni sacar en limpio mas de que aquello estaba allí de tiempo immemorable, y que venia su memoria y la de sus padres y abuelos y progenitores, y bien muestra su antigüedad el nombre del lugar, que como hemos dicho, se llamó en su lengua la luna sobre la piedra, siendo el pueblo antiquisimo: pero lo que mas me admiró en un espectaculo tan raro, fue, que nunca el matiz de aquel perfectisimo color azul con estar tanto tiempo descubierto á los temporales se hubiese deslavado ni gastado."

Esta prodigiosa cruz subsiste el dia de hoy del mismo modo y de la propia manera que la describe este autor, y asi me lo han asegurado personas muy fidedignas que la han visto, tanto eclesiasticos como religiosos y clerigos que han administrado de curas en esta sierra, como seculares, y entre ellos fue uno el Caballero Boturini, que hizo viage á este parage sin otro fin que el de ver y admirar este portento, y me aseguró que el parage en que está, es un altisimo repecho del cerro llamado Tianguistepetl, tan eminente y escarpado y tan aspera la subida que no es creible que por industria y fuerzas humanas pudiese alguno haberla puesto allí, que está tallada en la peña viva, y su tamaño es de poco mas de un codo, sobre fondo de un finisimo azul sembrado de unas como estrellas blancas, y que al lado diestro tiene un escudo sobre el mismo color azul con cinco bolas blancas que figuran las cinco preciosisimas llagas del Señor, tan permanente el color que no ha habido aguas, soles, aires, ni intemperie alguno que haya podido disminuirle en nada su hermosura. Su antigüedad no es disputable, pues como dice el autor esplicando la voz Meztlitlan, de aqui tomó el nombre toda esta sierra, y desde tiempos muy antiguos y distantes de la venida de los Españoles se llama de Meztlitlan. Esta, pues, soberana señal, tan admirable por su hechura, situacion, antigüedad y permanencia, prueva la predicacion del evangelio en estos paises desde los primitivos tiempos del Cristianismo por algun apostol ó discipulo de Cristo, y estando constante por las historias de los Indios que Quetzalcohuatl fue el primero que les dió á conocer la cruz, es verosimil que el fue este apostol ó discipulo del Señor que la fijó allí, para memoria de su predicacion, ó alguno de sus discipulos.

El mismo Padre Fr. Gregorio Garcia refiere‡ por relacion de otro religioso de su orden, que cuando entraron los Dominicos en la provincia de los Zapotecas en aquellos primeros tiempos immediatos á la conquista, hallaron en un lugar llamado Quicchapa, en poder de un Cacique, una biblia de solas figuras que eran los caracteres que les servian de letras, cuya significacion sabian, porque de padres á hijos se iban enseñando el modo de entender aquellas figuras, y este libro le guardaban de tiempo muy antiguo; y asimismo refiere§ que al pasar el Padre Alonso de Escalona del orden de nuestro Padre Señor Francisco por el pueblo de Nexapa en la provincia de Huaxacac, el vicario de aquel convento que era de la religion de Santo Domingo, le mostró unos mapas de estos

* Garcia, lib. 5. cap. 6. † Calancha, lib. 2. cap. 2. ‡ lib. 5. cap. 7. § lib. 5. cap. 8.

dichos Indios de pintura antiquisima y contenian algunos puntos de nuestra santa fé. Yo tengo entre los papeles que he recogido, una explicacion entera de uno de estos mapas que contiene los puntos mas principales de nuestra fé: comienza por la creacion del hombre, su pecado, destierro del paraiso, el diluvio, la torre de Babel, y sigue la encarnacion, nacimiento, pasion y muerte de Cristo, y la venida de un apostol que predicó el evangelio en aquellos primeros tiempos, y el autor de esta explicacion dice que el mapa se le dió al Dr. Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora, que fue sugeto muy conocido en Mexico, donde hoy dura su fama por su grande erudicion y noticias en esta materia y antigüedades de los Indios, y aunque he recogido algunos de sus manuscritos no he podido haber á las manos este mapa por diligencias que he hecho, con la curiosidad de ver si es ó no de los antiguos, porque hay muchos modernos, esto es, posteriores á la conquista, que estos nada prueban, por lo que no me valgo de esta explicacion.

Antonio de Herrera hablando de las cosas de Honduras*, dá noticia de una piedra triangular que se halló en la tierra de Cerguin con tres rostros disformes en cada punta, la cual tenian desde la mas retirada antigüedad en mucha veneracion aquellos naturales; y aunque la relacion que dieron del modo con que vino allá aquella piedra es fabulosa y llena de desatinos, se conoce que aquellas mismas fabulas se inventaron sobre las verdades catolicas de que tubieron noticia en los primeros siglos, y con el curso del tiempo se disfiguraron como ha sucedido en todo el mundo, y este ha sido siempre el modo con que se ha estendido y multiplicado la idolatria.

Capitulo XVII.

Las noticias que se hallaron de la doctrina de Quetzalcohuatl, y los ritos y costumbres que enseñó, prueban con mas eficacia que fue algun Santo Apostol.

Fuera de estos vestigios y señas materiales permanecieron otros de superior esfera, y prueban con mayor eficacia que Quetzalcohuatl fue alguno de los santos apostoles ó discipulos del Señor, que predicó el evangelio en estas partes. Estos son la doctrina, costumbres y ceremonias que enseñó á estos naturales, las que conservaron en sus republicas como cosas santas y sagradas, sin perder de su memoria que fue Quetzalcohuatl quien se las enseño. Confirmolos en la adoracion al Dios Criador solamente, pues como dejamos dicho, por estos tiempos aun no habia nacido en estos paises la idolatria, y era el Tloquenahuaque ó Dios Criador, el unico objeto de su adoracion, bien que desnudo de toto culto exterior, porque ni habia templos, ni ellos le adoraban con ceremonias exteriores, ni sacrificios ni inciensos, ni oraciones, de manera que solo era un conocimiento ó noticia de que todas las cosas, y ellos mismos, eran obras de la mano poderosa de este Ente Supremo que las crió y las conserva, pero sin que por estos beneficios le tributasen culto ni gracias en manera alguna. Quetzalcohuatl les enseño á orar en parajes separados de todo uso domestico, y destinados solamente á congregarse en ellos á adorar á Dios Criador con humillacion y alabanzas, y á comer juntos en ciertos dias en ellos, instruyendoles en la modestia y compostura con que debian estar, y poniendo en algunos de ellos la santa cruz para objeto visible de su adoracion, como figura del crucificado instrumento de la redempcion y estandarte que publica el triunfo del Redemptor. Les dió la noticia del misterio inefable de la augustisima Trinidad, explicandole con aquellos ejemplos y figuras proporcionadas á su rudeza, como son las piedras triangulares con los rostros iguales y muy grandes como la de Cerquin; y hasta el ingreso de los Españoles en estos paises se conservó la memoria de la doctrina de Quetzalcohuatl acerca de este misterio, pues como refiere el Obispo de Chiapa Don Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas en el manuscrito que dejo citado, al que tambien se refieren Fr. Gregorio Garcia en su obra de la predicacion del evangelio en el nuevo mundo†, y Fr. Antonio Remesal‡ en la historia de su provincia de Dominicos de San Vicente de Chiapa, se halló en Yucatan un Indio principal y de razon, que preguntado por su creencia y religion antigua suya y de sus compatriotas, dijo, que creian que habia en el cielo un Dios supremo, que aunque era uno solo eran tres personas, que á la primera llamaban Izona, y le atribuian la creacion de todas las cosas, á la segunda Bacab, que decian era hijo de Izona, y habia nacido de una virgen llamada Chibirias que está con Dios en los cielos, y á la tercera Echuah: que á Bacab le hizo azotar Eupoco, le puso una corona de espinas, y ultimamente tendido y atado á un madero le quitó la vida, que estuvo tres dias muerto, y luego resucitó y subió á los cielos con su padre: que despues vino á la tierra Echuah

* Dec. 4. lib. 8. cap. 4. † Garcia, lib. 5. cap. 9. ‡Remesal, lib. 5. cap. 7.

y la llenó de cuanto habia menester. Dijo tambien que esta doctrina la enseñaban los señores á sus hijos, y que tenian por tradicion que la enseñaron unos hombres que llegaron á aquellas tierras en tiempos muy antiguos en numero de veinte, de los cuales el principal se llamaba Cocolcan, que traian la barba crecida, unas ropas largas, y sandalias en los pies, y que estos mismos los enseñaron á confesarse y ayunar. Es muy respetable la autoridad de el Obispo de Chiapa que dá esta noticia, y aunque se refiere á la relacion de un cierto clerigo llamado Francisco Hernandez, á quien hizo el particular encargo de que indagase y averiguase bien cuanto le fuese posible en orden á la antigua religion y creencia de estos naturales, debemos suponer que lo hizo con esmero, y á lo menos que no le fingiria esta fabula. Fuera de que esta noticia se halla contestada en Herrera, Salazar y otros, aunque con alguna variacion, pero todos convienen en que creian la existencia de un Dios en tres personas, de las cuales una se hizo hombre y nació de una virgen, y que esta doctrina les enseñó Cocolcan, y sus discipulos, y esto basta para mi intento. Salazar hablando de los nombres que daban á las tres personas, cree que con el tiempo ó por la mala pronunciacion estaban alterados y corruptos, y que equivocaban los de la primera y segunda persona, porque Bacab que era el que daban á la segunda, cree que sea corrupcion de Abba, que significa padre, Izona que era el que daban á la primera, piensa ser corrupcion de Icon, que significa imagen, y conviene mejor al Hijo segun San Pablo*, y Echuah que llamaban á la tercera, parece ser corrupcion de Haruach, voz Hebrea que significa espiritu, y el nombre de Chibirias ó Chiribias que daban á Nuestra Señora, corrupcion del nombre de Maria.

Herrera contesta en la venida de Cocolcan y sus compañeros á Yucatan, los que dice vinieron por la parte de Poniente en numero de tres, de los cuales era el principal Cocolcan; pero parece que la pone muchos años despues, porque dice que habiendo reinado todos tres en Izamal y fundado despues la ciudad de Mayapan†, se volvió Cocolcan á Mexico, donde habia ido por el mismo camino, y en esto puede haber equivocacion, ó en los que dieron el informe, ó en los que le tomaron, pues pudo ser muy bien, y es conforme á las historias de los Indios, que Cocolcan (que supongo ser el mismo que Quetzalcohuatl, por las razones que daré en su lugar,) ó algun discipulo suyo predicase en las poblaciones de los Ulmecas y Xicalancas, que caen al Poniente respecto de Yucatan, cuya situacion era como hemos dicho en donde despues fue territorio de Tlaxcallan, á la linde de lo que tambien fue despues imperio Tezcucano, y reino de Mexico, que no se fundó sino muchos años despues. El decir que reynó Cocolcan en Izamal debe entenderse por el respeto y veneracion con que le miraron, obedeciendo sus preceptos en orden á la doctrina y enseñanza que les dio, no porque en la realidad fuese rey ni dominase como tal, y esto se conoce con evidencia, porque convienen en que era advenedizo y no natural del pais, que vino enseñando esta doctrina, y despues pasó á fundar á Mayapan, y asi que les dejó poblados y instruidos, se fue, y entonces dicen que eligieron para que los gobernase á uno del linage de los Cocomes, esto es y debe entenderse, no de familia conocida por este nombre, sino de los discipulos Cocolcan, porque Cocome es el plural de Cohuatl ó Cocolcan, como despues diremos; y asi quieren decir que eligieron para que les gobernase á uno de aquellos discipulos ó secuaces de Cocolcan, que seguian y practicaban su doctrina, hasta que estos ó sus subcesores á quienes dieron el mismo nombre prevaricaron y se entregaron á la codicia y ambicion, que es cosa muy comun y á cada paso se experimenta entre los hombres, que con facilidad degeneran de lo bueno y declinan al mal.

Los usos, costumbres, y ceremonias que se hallaron establecidos en toda la Nueva España, que por tradicion antiquisima tenian haberlos introducido Quetzalcohuatl, son tantos y tan universales, que ellos solos bastaban para probar que este fue un predicador evangelico que desde aquellos primitivos tiempos les instruyó en la ley de gracia. Es constante y uniforme la noticia que se halló en todas estas gentes, de que el fue quien les enseño el ayuno de cuarenta dias que debian observar anualmente, la mortificacion y penitencia, disciplinandose las espaldas, brazos, y pantorrillas, con abrojos y espinas hasta derramar sangre; les exortó á dar limosna y socorrer las necesidades de los proximos, haciendoles entender que no solo debian hacerlo por acto de humanidad, sino de religion por amor de Dios, y en su obsequio, sin excepcion de personas, y en esta materia era particular una fiesta que celebraban los Mexicanos en el mes Hueytecuilhuitl á honor de una de sus deidades llamada Xilonen, diosa del maiz tierno, y en ella tanto los reyes y señores, como los demas caballeros ricos daban de comer á muchos pobres. No solo les dió á conocer las virtudes sino tambien los vicios, procurando inspirarles odio á ellos, y amor á aquellas, y asi aunque al tiempo que apareció en estas regiones, ya tenian en sus republicas alguna manera de gobierno, mas ó menos segun se habian pulido unas naciones mas que otras, y en general todas tenian gefes ó señores que les mandaban y á

* 2 ad Corin. iv. ver. 4. et ad Colos. i. ver. 15.

† Mayapan was the principal city in Yucatan, the language of which peninsula was named Maya by the Spaniards.

quienes obedecian y se sujetaban, los cuales castigaban algunos delitos, otros muchos se quedaban impunes, porque no eran todavia entre ellos conocidos por tales, hasta que Quetzalcohuatl se los dió á conocer, inspirandoles un gran horror no solo al homicidio, al hurto, y á los demas que siendo prohibidos por la ley natural son conocidos de todas las gentes y naciones, sino tambien al adulterio, á la mentira, á la incontinencia, y á la embriaguez, persuadiendoles á que cada hombre no tuviese mas que una muger, y cada muger mas que un hombre, y que una vez unidos no pudiesen separarse, y algunos dicen que las ceremonias que usaban en sus matrimonios, de que daré razon en su lugar, se les enseñó Quetzalcohuatl. Les enseñó á congregarse en un lugar separado de todo bullicio y comercio para orar y pedir á Dios criador el remedio de todas sus necesidades, y acudir á aquel lugar siempre que se hallasen afligidos, venerandole como á sagrado, de donde tubo origen la ereccion de sus templos, para cuyo cuidado y asistencia instituyó sacerdotes, á quienes instruyó en la modestia y compostura de la verdad y circunspeccion con que debian portarse para ser los maestros, directores y ejemplares de los demas. Tambien asientan que erigió en algunas partes colegios de virgines, y que los que se hallaron en Mexico y Tescuco al ingreso de los Españoles se habian erigido y subsistian bajo la regla y instituto que ordenó Quetzalcohuatl.

Capitulo XVIII.

De otras costumbres y ritos que se hallaron establecidos en estos paises quando entraron en ellos los Españoles.

Todavia se hallaron entre estas gentes al tiempo del ingreso de los Españoles, otras costumbres y ritos que por ser mas propias y caracteristicas del Cristianismo, prueban mas eficazmente que quien las introdujo fue algun Apostol ó Discipulo de Jesus Cristo. El bautismo es el primer sacramento necesario, sin el cual no puede haber salvacion, y por tanto le llaman justamente puerta de la Iglesia Catolica, á la cual nadie puede entrar sino es por el, y es constante que en todo este pais se halló establecida una especie de bautismo, que aunque variaban en las ceremonias segun los lugares, en lo substancial convenian todos en este baño de agua natural, diciendo sobre el bautizado algunas formas como preces y oraciones y poniendole nombre, y esto observaban como rito de religion, conservando la memoria de haberselo enseñado Quetzalcohuatl. El Padre Remesal afirma que los primeros Españoles que llegaron á Yucatan, hallaron que aquellos naturales usaban una especie de bautismo, á que daban en su lengua un nombre que en la nuestra quiere decir, 'nacer otra vez', que no puede darse espresion mas conforme á la de Cristo en el Evangelio. "Tenian á ello (dice) tanta devocion y reverencia que nadie le dejaba de recibir. Pensaban que recibian en él una pura disposicion para ser buenos y no ser dañados de los demonios, y conseguir la gloria que esperaban. Dabaseles de edad de tres años hasta doce, y sin él ninguno se casaba: elegian dia para ello que no fuese aciago, ayunaban los padres tres dias antes y abstenianse de las mugeres, trataban los sacerdotes de la purificacion de la posada, hechándo fuera al demonio con ciertas ceremonias, y estas acabadas iban los niños uno á uno, y les hechaba el sacerdote un poco de maiz y incienso molido en la mano, y ellos en un brasero, y en un vaso enviaban vino fuera del pueblo, con orden al Indio que no lo bebiese ni mirase atras*, y con esto pensaban que habian hechado al demonio: salia el sacerdote revestido de vestiduras largas y graves y un hisopo en la mano. Ponian á los niños paños blancos en las cabezas, preguntaban á los grandecillos si habian hecho algun pecado, y en confesando los apartaban á una parte y bendecian con oraciones, amagandoles con el hisopo, y con cierta agua que tenian en un hueso les mojaban la frente y las facciones del rostro, y entre los dedos de los pies y de las manos, y luego se levantaba el sacerdote, y quitaba los paños á los niños, y hechos ciertos presentes quedaban bautizados y acababa la fiesta en banquetes, y en los nueve dias siguientes no habia de llegar el padre del niño á su muger."

En los territorios de Tescuco, Mexico, Tlacopan, Culhuacan, y otros comarcanos, habia ciertas festividades en que se hacia solemnemente la ceremonia de bañar á los niños y ponerles nombres, pero cuando estas no estaban

* It would appear from this passage that the Mexicans felt superstitious scruples about *looking back*, when the occasion of a person's departing was solemn and important: and it is difficult to imagine (on reading, in the concluding paragraph of the third chapter of the ninth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, that they not only accounted the act itself unlucky, but believed the person to be *a great sinner*,) that they were wholly ignorant of the tradition of Lot's wife having been turned into a pillar of salt, as recorded in the twenty-sixth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Genesis.

inmediatas, era costumbre de bañar á los niños á los siete dias de nacidos, poniendoles de pies y hechándoles agua desde la sumidad de la cabeza, y al mismo tiempo les ponian el nombre: si era hombre le ponian en la mano diestra una flecha y en la siniestra una rodela, y si era muger, en una mano el uso y en otra la lanzadera, ó una escoba; y á los dos meses de nacidos (que era á los cuarenta dias *) por que cada mes de los suyos era de á veinte dias, los llevavan las madres á presentar al templo, donde los recibia uno de los sacerdotes que era el que estaba encargado de llevar la cuenta de su calendario ó cartilla eclesiastica: este le presentaba á uno de sus dioses segun le parecia, y le ponia por sobrenombre el nombre de aquella deidad†, á la cual hacia ciertas preces, y se reducian á pedirle que hiciese á aquella criatura de bueno y apacible natural, que no fuese rudo para aprehender lo que debia, que fuera feliz en la guerra, que no padeciese trabajos ni necesidades ni otras cosas semejantes. En algunos pueblos no era el baño hasta el decimo dia de nacidos, y en otros no era por infusion sino por immersion, zambullendo á las criaturas en estangues, rios, fuentes, ó tinajas llenas de agua, pero en todas partes les ponian el nombre al hacer esta ceremonia del baño; y aunque en algunas partes se habia perdido ya la memoria de el que introdujo entre ellos estas ceremonias ó muchas de ellas, entre la gente mejor instruida se halló, como he dicho, la noticia de que fue Quetzalcohuatl el que les enseñó esta ablucion ó baño de agua natural y á poner el nombre á las criaturas al tiempo de practicarlo; y parece regular que siendo algun Apostol ó Discipulo del Señor lo ejecutare asi, para llenar el que el Señor les dió á todos sus apostoles, cuando les mandó predicar el evangelio por todo el mundo y á toda criatura, bautizandolos en el nombre del Padre, del Hijo, y del Espiritu Santo, prometiendo por medio de la fé y del bautismo la salud eterna: "qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit."

El Padre Torquemada‡ alcanzó la noticia de esta ceremonia del bautismo de los niños, aunque no como la refieren los escritores Indios, porque dice que se hacia á los cuatro dias de nacido el infante, pero concuerda en las circunstancias de que en aquellos cuatro dias ardia fuego continuo en la casa de la parida, con gran cuidado de que no se apagase, ni le sacasen fuera de la casa, porque decian que se desgraciaba la criatura, y al cuarto dia la pasaban sobre las llamas§, dando á esta ceremonia el nombre de Tlequiquitztiliztli, la que dice Boturini‖ que conservaban de sus antepasados los descendientes de Cham, de que se infiere que el tenia á los Indios por descendientes de Cham. Este dia era uno de los mas solemnes y de los mayores y mas suntuosos convites¶ que hacian los Señores principales y semejantemente los pobres, cada uno segun su posibilidad. Contesta asimismo en que al tiempo de hacer este lavatorio ó especie de bautismo, le ponian nombre á la criatura**, y aunque antes de nacer ó apenas nacida, la destinasen nombre sus padres, no le nombraban con el hasta que se practicaba la ceremonia del lavatorio; y aunque dice, que hacian en esto siguiendo á las demas naciones del mundo que asi lo practicaban, y trae los ejemplos de los Romanos, Griegos, y Hebreos, como quiera que por las historias de estas gentes de ningun modo pueda colegirse que tubiesen en tiempo alguno comunicacion con aquellas naciones, no hay razon para creer que lo aprendieron de ellas, y parece mas regular que se lo enseñase el mismo Quetzalcohuatl, que les instrujo en los demas puntos de la ley evangelica, como asientan algunos de sus historiadores nacionales.

No es menos notable la costumbre que hallaron establecida de confesarse con los sacerdotes, declarandoles aquellas cosas que tenian por culpas, y aceptando la penitencia que les imponian; y era tan rigurosa la obligacion

* It is extremely remarkable that this was the precise number of days which were to be reckoned, according to the enactment of the twelfth chapter of Leviticus, by Jewish women for their purification after the birth of male children; at the expiration of which period of forty days they presented themselves and their sons with gifts at the temple, when an atonement was made for the women by the sacrifice of a lamb and a pigeon, —or, if she was poor, of two pigeons; after which offering she became clean.

† Echevarria seems to have been led into error here from not recollecting that Tezcatlipoca and the goddess Chalchiuitlicue were adored by the Mexicans under many names. It deserves likewise to be noticed that the Mexicans were accustomed to give their children the same name as that of the day on which they were baptized; and the signs of the Mexican calendar having been considered by some of the Spanish missionaries objects of religious worship, from the superstitious reverence that the Mexicans entertained towards them, they might be said in this sense to have named their children after some particular deity.

‡ lib. 13. cap. 23.

§ To pass children through the flames was an ancient Hebrew custom, as we learn from many passages of the Old Testament.

‖ Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional, fol. 19.

¶ We learn from the fifty-eighth verse of the first chapter of Saint Luke, that rejoicings took place on the birth of Jewish children. These rejoicings were renewed on the eighth day after its birth, when the child was circumcised; whence in all probability originated the value which the Jews set on the number *eight*, which number was equally esteemed by the Mexicans, and consecrated to the purposes of superstition.

** Baptism under the new law was substituted for circumcision under the old; and each rite in its turn became *indispensable* to salvation. Baptism therefore having thus superseded the old rite of circumcision, it is probable that the primitive Christians would have deemed it incumbent on them to name their children *at the time* of baptizing them; in this manner conforming with the ancient Jewish precedent,—since we learn from the fifty-ninth verse of the first chapter of Saint Luke that it was a Hebrew custom to name children at the time of circumcising them.

que los sacerdotes tenian, de no revelar las culpas que se les confesaban, que si faltaban á este sigilo eran severamente castigados hasta con pena de la vida*. Hablan contestes de esta costumbre todos los historiadores Indios, y Herrera dice† que lo mismo se practicaba en Nicaragua, y á buen seguro que esta costumbre en toda su estension no la aprendieron de los Griegos y Romanos. Que habia sacerdotes cuyo ministerio era ofrecer á los dioses los sacrificios y dones del pueblo, rogar por él, bendecirle, cuidar de los templos, reprehender los vicios, vivir en continencia y mantenerse de limosna, es tan asentado que sin recurrir á los manuscritos de los Indios, lo contestan unanimes todos nuestros escritores: y que fuese Quetzalcohuatl el institutor de este orden sacerdotal, y el primero que enseño á vivir en continencia tanto á los hombres como á las mugeres, que hacian vida comun en sus monasterios‡, y estaban enteramente dedicados al culto del verdadero Dios en aquellos principios, y en los tiempos posteriores al de sus falsas deidades, no solo lo dicen los historiadores Indios, sino tambien muchos de los Españoles; como tambien que les enseñó á ofrecer á Dios los frutos de la tierra, flores y inciensos, cuya costumbre hallaron los Españoles tan establecida, aunque variado y obscurecido el verdadero objeto de este culto exterior, que aun el dia de hoy restaurada por la luz evangelica le practican tan nimiamente que casi tocan en supersticion. No hay cosa mas sabida que las ofrendas que hacian de pan y vino§ (esto es pan de masa de maiz porque carecian de trigo), y aquella bebida que usaban por vino, y los Mexicanos celebraban una solemne fiesta á honor del Cienteotl, dios del maiz, que era su pan, y esta la hacian, formando el cuerpo de este dios en figura humana de la masa del maiz en que mezclaban algunas yerbas y lo cocian. El dia de la fiesta le sacaban en procesion con gran solemnidad, y al rededor de el ponian gran cantidad de trojos de la misma masa que bendecian los sacerdotes con ciertas formulas y ceremonias, con lo que creian que toda aquella masa quedaba convertida en la carne de aquel Dios. Acabada la fiesta, los sacerdotes repartian todo aquel pan al pueblo en menudos pedazos, y de ella comian todos, grandes y chicos, hombres y mugeres, ricos y pobres, que los recibian con gran reverencia, humillacion y lagrimas, diciendo que comian la carne de su Dios, y de ella llevaban tambien á los enfermos como por remedio. Ayunaban los cuarenta dias antes, y tenian por gran pecado el comer ó beber alguna cosa despues de este pan hasta que no hubiese pasado medio dia, y á los niños les escondian el agua para que no la tomasen. Esta era una de las fiestas mas solemnes que hacian, y al fin de ella un anciano de autoridad hacia una especie de sermon esplicando aquellas ceremonias.

No es menos particular la otra fiesta que hacian al gran Dios del cielo, sacrificando á un hombre, á quien ataban á una cruz de madera y alli le mataban á flechazos. Al dia siguiente sacrificaban otro poniendole en otra cruz mas baja, pero no flechando, sino rompiendole las piernas¶ con un palo. Otros muchos vestigios se hallaron tanto en su culto como en sus costumbres, que prueban con evidencia la noticia que tuvieron estas gentes de los misterios principales de la religion catolica, que se iran viendo por el discurso de esta historia. Por ahora basta lo dicho para demostrar que Quetzalcohuatl á quien atribuyen toda la instruccion de su ceremonial, culto, y religion, no pudo ser otro que algun apostol ó discipulo de Jesus Cristo, pues el conjunto de tantas cosas, que aunque pervertidas despues ó por ignorancia ó por malicia, demuestran en su origen tanta conformidad con el Cristianismo, induce á creer que

* Confession was a religious rite common both in Peru and Mexico; and it was a custom that prevailed in the earliest ages of the Church, although that point is denied by Protestant writers, who contend that it was a fraud of later times, devised for the purposes of promoting spiritual ambition.

† Decad. 3. lib. 4. cap. 7. y 12. ‡ The same custom prevailed in Peru.

§ Chicha, the name which the Peruvians gave to their drink-offerings, nearly resembled שכר, the term applied to the Hebrew drink-offerings in the Pentateuch.

¶ Crucifixion was a common mode of punishment amongst the ancient Jews, whose penal code annexing the clause "*thine eye shall not pity*" to some of its enactments, and frequently adjudging criminals to be burnt alive, gave a certain tincture of ferocity to the manners of that people, which was rather heightened than diminished by their being permitted indiscriminately to witness and take a part in public executions, when the sentence to be carried into effect was that of stoning a criminal to death. It is worthy of observation, that the refined feelings of modern times are shocked at the bare mention of the Roman ladies going to the *theatre* to view the combats of gladiators: yet there is something infinitely more revolting in the picture which the imagination forms to itself, of a Hebrew *market-place* crowded with men, women, and children, all eager to stone an adulterer to death, in order to show themselves zealous followers of the Mosaic law. There was mystery however, as well as barbarity, in the crucifixions practised by the Mexicans; and the custom of *breaking the legs* of a crucified person on one of their festivals, and leaving him in this manner to die upon the cross, reminds us that the Jews broke the legs of those whom they crucified on the eve of the sabbath day, out of reverence, as it would appear, for *that* festival. We shall here transcribe a passage from the tenth chapter of the first part of the inedited History of Torribio de Benavente, which fully confirms the account given above by Echevarria;—the sacrifices described are those of the province of Tlascala: "En otra fiesta levantaban un hombre atado á una cruz muy alta, y alli le asaeteaban: en otra fiesta ataban otro hombre mas bajo, y con varas de palo de encina del largo de una braza con las puntas muy agudas le mataban, agarrocheandole como á toro; y casi estas mismas ceremonias y sacrificios usaban en las provincias de Huexocinco, Tepeaca, Zacatlan, en las principales fiestas, porque todos tenian por el mayor de sus dioses á Acamachtli, que era la grande estatua que tengo dicha."

no pudo ser otro su institutor: y no es de admirar que con el curso del tiempo y faltas de maestros ó directores, corrompiesen la sana doctrina que aprehendieron, abusando del ceremonial, y declinando en idolatria, pues en la Europa, centro del Cristianismo, con tanta inmediacion á la cabeza de la Iglesia y al Vicario de Cristo que ha velado infatigablemente en conservar la pureza de la religion, se han introducido insensiblemente tantos abusos, que ha sido necesario congregar Concilios para reformarlos, y en sus decretos se admiran las extravagancias y errores á que los hombres se habian dejado llevar y ha sido preciso corregir.

Dice Herrera* que en las provincias de Coazacoalco y Iluta, tenian la costumbre de circuncidar á los niños, y Torquemada dice que el mismo uso habia entre los Totonacas, y de aqui quieren inferir algunos de nuestros escritores que estos naturales fueron descendientes de los Judios. Yo no he encontrado en sus historias noticia alguna de esta costumbre, solo hallo que en una de sus fiestas que celebraban á honra de su famoso dios Tlaloc, los que no tenian sucesion y la deseaban, se cortaban una pequeña parte del prepucio que llamaban montepolizo, y la ofrecian en sacrificio á este Dios paraque les diese sucesion: pero cuando sea cierta la noticia† que dan estos autores, pudieron

* Herr. dec. 4. lib. 9. cap. 7.

† In addition to the authorities cited in the note subjoined to page 334 of the sixth volume of this work, in proof of the existence of the rite of circumcision amongst the Mexicans and other civilized states of America, we shall quote a passage from the second chapter of the fourth book of the third part of Oviedo's General History of the Indies, which can leave no doubt that the practice of that rite was common in Nicaragua; since, had it been confined simply to a few individuals, (as the reply of the Indian would seem to insinuate,) it could scarcely have come to the knowledge of the Spaniards, much less have been a subject of grave inquiry amongst them. The letters *Y.* and *F.* in the following passage signify *Indian* and *Franciscan:* the entire chapter consists of interrogatories and replies. "*F.* Porque os sajais el miembro generativo?—*Y.* Eso no lo hazen *todos* sino algunos bellacos por dar *mal plazer* á las mugeres, pero no es ceremonia nuestra.—*F.* En algun tiempo ha venido á esta tierra de Nicaragua alguna, gente como los Christianos, que os aiga dicho que hagais aquellas ceremonias que ellos os mandan, ó que os heche agua enzima de las cabezas, ó otros que *os corteis* el capullo del miembro, ó supistes que los Christianos havian de venir á esta tierra?—*Y.* Ninguna cosa desas avia venido á nuestra notizia, e despues que los Christianos vinieron nos han dicho que es bueno hechar el agua sobre la cabeza e baptizarnos." Another Indian nation, named the Yopes,—who inhabited a province not so remotely situated from Mexico as that of Nicaragua, and who worshiped Totec and Tezcatlipoca,—a proof that they were of the same religion as the Mexicans,—likewise practised the rite of circumcision, as we learn from the following passage of a manuscript preserved in the library of the Escurial: "Los Yopes, que es una nacion de Indios de esta tierra, se circuncidaban, y preguntados el por qué, decian que no sabian mas de que sus antepasados lo hacian." Torribio de Benavente, in affirming that some supposed the Mexicans to be descended from the Moors, on account of a conformity *in certain rites* and ceremonies, obliquely perhaps alludes to circumcision, since that was a rite which the Moors and other Mahometans borrowed from the Jews. But, independent of the existence of this rite among other Indian nations, the Mexican *language* affords evidence of its long existence amongst the Mexicans; and the Mexican *paintings* would alone render all other kinds of proof superfluous. The words in the Mexican language which, according to Molina, signify 'circumcision' and 'to circumcise,' are the following: "*texipineuayotequiliztli*, circuncision; *texipinquaeuayotequiliztli*, circuncision; *tlaxipineuayotectli*, circuncidado; *tlaxipinquaeuayotectli*, circuncidado; *nite xipinquayotequi*, circuncidar ó retajar; *nite xipinquayeuatequi*, circuncidar; *nino xipineuayotequi*, circuncidarse; *nino xipinquaeuayotequi*, circuncidarse." 'Circumcision', it deserves to be remarked, has as many different names in the Mexican language, as 'to stone to death'; which renders it probable that that Hebrew ceremony and that Jewish mode of punishment were equally ancient amongst the Mexicans. Acosta and other celebrated writers having laid the greatest stress on the absence of the rite of circumcision amongst the Indians,—as disproving the assertion of those who maintained that the Mexicans were descended from the Jews,—we shall not hesitate to lengthen this note by selecting the following passages from Peter Martyr, in which mention is made of that Hebrew rite as common amongst them. "Aliud meo judicio non magis tacendum intellexi: legum peritus quidam, dictus Corrales, Dariennensium prætor urbanus, inquit, se occurrisse cuidam fugitivo ex internis Occidentalibus magnis terris, qui ad regulum repertum a se profugerat. Is legentem cernens prætorem, insilivit admirabundus, aitque per interpretes qui reguli, hospitis sui, linguam callebant. En quid et vos *libros* habetis? En et vos *characteres* quibus absentes vos intelligant assequimini? Oravit unâ ut apertus sibi libellus ostenderetur, putans se litteras patrias visurum: dissimiles reperit esse. Mœnibus septas urbes et vestiri cives aiebat suos, legibusque gubernari. Sed quid colant non didici, *recutiri* tamen dispræputiarique *ab exemplo* et sermone fugitivi compererunt. *Quid hic dices*, Beatissime Pater? *Quid* sanctissimus præsagit animus tuus sub cujus throno tempus hæc omnia subjiciet?" Petri Martyris dec. 3. cap. 10.—"Vestita est hæc gens, non lanâ, quia pecudes non habent, sed gosampio mille modis, et variis fucato coloribus. Fœminæ a cingulo ad talum induuntur, *velaminibus*que diversis *caput* et *pectora* tegunt, et pudice cavent ne crus aut pes illis visatur. *Templa frequentant*, ad quæ primarii vias ex propriis domibus sternunt lapidibus. Idolorum culturæ indulgent. Sunt, sed non omnes, *recutiti*. Legibus vivunt, et summâ fide commerciantur, permutando sine pecuniis. *Cruces viderunt:* unde id habeant interrogati per interpretes, dicunt aliqui transiisse virum quendam formosissimum per eos tractus, qui eis id insigne in sui memoriam reliquerit: alii obiisse lucidiorem sole hominem quendam in eo opificio: certi nihil habetur." dec. 4. cap. 1.—"Turres ibi vetustas, dirutarum etiam vestigia, redolentia etiam antiquitatem repererunt: unam præ ceteris graduum octodecim, uti ad illustria templa conscenditur. Nostras admirati sunt naves et nauticam artem. Noluissent hospites primo congressu, benigne postmodum eos admiserunt. Turrim conscendunt, duce primario, quem sacerdotem credunt: vexillum in cacumine sistunt: regi Castellæ imperium adjudicant. Sanctæ Crucis nomen insulæ assignant, quia nonarum Maii quintâ solenni sunt insulam ingressi. Cozumellam vero inquiunt appellari a regulo Cozumelao, cujus majores primos ipse jactat fuisse hujus insulæ habitatores. Cameras in turri reperere, statuis tum marmoreis, tum fictilibus ursorum simulachris immixtas, quos unisono elato cantu invocant, suffumigiisque ac suavibus adolent odoribus: uti penates eas colunt. Res ibi divina celebrata est. *Sunt recutiti.*" dec. 4. cap. 4.—"En, Pater Sancte, *libros etiam innumeros*, de his unâ cum cæteris ad novum Cæsarem nostrum advectis, late infrà dicemus.—idolatras et *recutitos* esse reperierunt." dec. 4. cap. 6.—Peter Martyr was the first historian who asserted that circumcision was a rite common among the Indians; and the authority of Acosta, although a much later writer, is that which is generally opposed on this question to him. Whether, however, the latter author is

tenerla estos naturales de esta ceremonia por el mismo Quetzalcohuatl, dandoles á entender que esta fue la señal que dio Dios á su pueblo escogido, para que fuese entre todas las naciones conocido, distinguiéndose de este modo la descendencia de Abraham á quien habia hecho las promesas de la redencion futura, que debian verificarse con la venida del Mesias, que habia de nacer de su propia estirpe; y tambien les haria saber que *el mismo Mesias quiso sugetarse á esta ley de la circuncision* para verificar el cumplimiento de sus promesas: y asi pudieron ellos haber adaptado el uso de esta ceremonia, ó por vanidad y especie de nobleza para distinguirse de otras naciones, ó por supersticion, ó por ignorancia despues que de ellos se apartó Quetzalcohuatl, pues habiendo quedado el gobierno de la religion en manos de sus sacerdotes, estos harian lo que hicieron en otras partes, que fue inventar nuevos ritos, ceremonias, y embustes, con que hacerse respetables y engañar á los pueblos, sumergiendoles en un abismo de errores, con que pervertido el verdadero culto, degenero en idolatria. Pero ni de la circuncision ni de otras costumbres en que se asemejasen á los Hebreos, se infiere que descendieron de ellos, ni que aprehendiesen de ellos las ceremonias del culto exterior, como dicen algunos, pretendiendo persuadir que en varios tiempos vinieron á estas partes algunos Hebreos, pues en su historia no hay memoria alguna de esto, y solo atribuyen á Quetzalcohuatl la primera instruccion en materia de religion, culto y moral; y es prueba de mi opinion en esta materia, lo que dice el mismo Torquemada que con las niñas hacian otra indecente ceremonia en lugar de circuncision*, y esto no lo aprenderian de los Hebreos que no la practicaron.

Capitulo XIX.

Parece haber sido el Apostol Santo Tomas, al que dieron los nombres de Quetzalcohuatl, Cocolcan y Hueman, y que predicó en estas regiones.

Mucho trabajó el caballero Boturini por haber á las manos una obra que escribió el celebre Don Carlos de Sigüenza con el titulo del Fenix del Occidente, probando que este prodigioso varon Quetzalcohuatl fue el apostol Santo

entitled to unqualified praise for candour, when he declares that the Indians could not be descended from the Jews, because no trace of the rite of circumcision was to be discovered amongst them, will best appear from the following passage of Diego Duran's History of Mexico, which valuable work is preserved in MS. in the Royal Library at Madrid, and appears to have chiefly assisted Acosta in the compilation of that part of his Natural and Moral History of the Indies, which treated of the history of New Spain, whose words he may be said sometimes almost literally to transcribe. "Era esta fiesta (de Toçi) una purificacion de las mugeres paridas y como circumcision, y en lo que parecia ser purificacion de estas mugeres, era en que asi por el niño, como por las madres, ofrecian ofrendas al modo de la vieja ley donde ofrecian corderos, tortolas ó palominos, acá ofrecian este dia codornices, gallinas, pan, mantas, &c. Hacian esta ceremonia todas las paridas que de la fiesta pasada del año pasado acá habian parido, y la ceremonia era de esta manera. Compraban aquellos dias antes gran cantidad de astillas de tea; de estas astillas hacian una larga hacha gruesa, tambien se apercibian de la ofrenda que habian de llevar: molian un poco de maiz y frangollado y mal molido revolvianlo con semilla de bledos tostada, y amasabanla una harina con la otra echandole miel en lugar de agua, y hacian un pan que se llamaba en su lengua tamales, y por el propio nombre de este genero de pan se decia tzocoyotl, que es como nosotros decimos por este vocablo diminutivo bollitos, el cual genero de pan no solo se hacia para ofrenda, pero tambien para comer este dia, pues era cerimonia de su religion que no se habia de comer otro pan. Tambien se ocupaban las madres de los niños que habian de ser presentados al templo y ellas purificadas, en tejer mantas y camisas de mugeres, bragueros y faldellines, para vestir á todos y á todas las que las acompañaban de sus parientes y amigos en aquella estacion que hacian, y cada uno hacia conforme á su posibilidad, los ricos mas, los pobres menos, cada uno conforme á su estado. Llegada la vispera de la fiesta, en poniendose el sol, los sacerdotes del templo hacian señal con aquellos caracoles y bocinas y atambores que solian tocar y tañer en las solemnidades, la cual hecha, los que habian de salir se aderezaban, y juntamente vestian un Indio que para este afecto tenian alquilado y una India juntamente: al Indio daban el hachero de tea encendido, y á la India ponian el niño á cuestas, la madre tomaba ella mesma su ofrenda en la mano y acuestas, y yendo el Indio delante alumbrando salia de su casa y andaban las estaciones por todas las hermitas de los barrios de la ciudad á la misma manera que lo usamos el Jueves Santo, y en cada hermita dejaba alguna ofrenda, y á este modo andaban todas las paridas toda la ciudad tan llena de hacheros y lumbreras que era cosa de ver, y tan llena de gente que no podian por las calles romper unos por otros. Concluido de andar las hermitas de los barrios, venian al gran templo donde era la principal ofrenda, presentandose á los sacerdotes, los cuales las purificaban con ciertas cerimonias y palabras y quedaban limpias de aquel parto. En lo que dijimos que tambien parecia esta cerimonia que en este dia se hacia circumcision de niños, parecelo por lo que diré, y era que llegando al gran templo de Vitzilopochtly, alli tomaban al niño por pequeñito que fuese y ofrecianlo al sacerdote, y el sacerdote tomabalo y con una navaja de piedra que la mesma madre traia, *le sacrificaban la oreja y la puntica del capullito de su miembrecito*, dandole asi en la oreja como en el lugar dicho una muy delicadita cuchillada que apenas salia sangre ó se parecia y á las mugeres sola la oreja. Acabado el sacerdote de cortar con aquella navaja, luego *la echaban delante los pies del idolo* y la madre pedia nombre para su hijo, y si era señor dabanle un nombre esquisito: ejemplo, Montezuma quiere decir Señor enojado, que fue la causa porque le nombraron asi; consideró el sacerdote la fisonomia del niño y pareciole de rostro mohíno y triste y airado, ó nació en dia triste y melancolico y pusole aquel nombre y lo mesmo era de los demas Señores."

* This proof is not conclusive, since Ludolfus declares that a similar practice prevailed amongst the Abyssinian Christians. See his Historia Æthiopica, fol. 273; Alvarez, Historia de las Cosas de Etiopia, p. 27. edit. Antwerp; and Damian a Goes de Æthiopum Moribus.

Tomas, la cual nunca llegó á darse á la prensa; mas no le valieron sus diligencias para conseguirlo; con todo no perdia la esperanza de hallarla, practicando otras de que me instruyó cuando pasé á la Nueva España el año de 1750, y aunque yo las puse en ejecucion con la mayor exactitud, no he podido hallar otra cosa que la noticia que ya me tenia de que escribio esta obra, pero nadie que la haya visto, ni menos que me diese luz de poder hallarla; no dudo que si la hubiera conseguido, satisfaciera plenamente la curiosidad y buen gusto de mis lectores, porque considero segun la vasta erudicion de su autor, especialmente en las antigüedades de los Indios, que seria una obra completa. Mas sin embargo de faltarme este apoyo, valido de los monumentos que tengo entre manos, me atrevo á afirmar que este prodigioso varon fue el apostol Santo Tomas, y las pruebas que ministran estos documentos me parece que lo persuaden. La primera prueba que se presenta es en el significado del mismo nombre Quetzalcohuatl, que quiere decir traducido literalmente pavo real culebra, porque es compuesto de las dos voces, quetzalli, que significa el pabo real, y cohuatl, la culebra. Es menester saber que todos los nombres de las personas entre estas gentes eran alegoricos y significativos, haciendo relacion á dote ó defecto natural, suceso ó hazaña particular del sugeto, como se ve en los nombres de los Emperadores de Tezcuco, v. g. Netzahualcoyotl, que significa vulpeja* en ayunas, haciendo relacion á los sucesos de su juventud†: en los reyes de Mexico, v. g. Montecuhçuma, señor severo, y asi de los demas; y esta es la razon porque los mas de ellos, especialmente los señores y gente principal, tenian varios nombres: porque recien nacidos les ponian sus padres nombre alusivo al tiempo ó circunstancias de su nacimiento, pero despues, por los varios sucesos de su vida, por sus hazañas, ó por otros acaecimientos, tomaban ó les daba el pueblo otros nombres, que ó le añadian como sobrenombre al primero, ó lo mudaban enteramente. Tambien debe advertirse que la voz quetzalli, la aplicaban alegoricamente para significar cualquiera especie de excelente pluma, por ser este uno de los generos mas estimados entre ellos y ser lo tanto la del pabo real, y como la mas rica pluma era la que usaban para adorno de la cabeza, de hay es que daban tambien este nombre á las personas de talento para explicar su juicio y capacidad, y por esto algunos autores traducen el nombre Quetzalcohuatl, culebra de rica pluma, entendiendo que querian decir, hombre muy sabio ó de mucho talento ó muy estimado. Pero el Bachiller Luis Becerra Tanco‡ en el libro que imprimió con el titulo de Felicidad de Mexico en la Aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, dice que en la voz Quetzalcohuatl se conservó el sobrenombre que tenia el apostol, siendo una verdadera traduccion de él. Este era Didimus, que en Hebreo quiere decir mellizo, y en el idioma natural la voz cohuatl, que en sentido natural quiere decir culebra, significa tambien alegoricamente el gemelo ó mellizo por la alusion de que las culebras siempre paren los hijos á pares §, y es constante que en este idioma que hoy llaman Mexicano, no hay otra voz con que explicar la del gemelo ó mellizo que la de cohuatl ó coatl, que es sincopado, y en plural dicen cocon ó cocome. Los mismos Españoles han adaptado tanto esta voz en nuestros tiempos castellanizandola, que á los que nacen dos ó mas de un parto, los llaman coates, y solo por esta voz entiende el comun del vulgo, y de ningun modo por las de gemelo ó mellizo, y absolutamente no tienen uso en estos paises.

Esto supuesto como incontestable y notorio, no lo es menos el que sabemos por el evangelio, que el apostol Santo Tomas tenia el sobrenombre de Didimus, voz que en Hebreo significa mellizo. Didimus es Griego y significa mellizo, lo mismo significa en Hebreo Thomas, de la raix 'tham' que significa geminare, y asi los gemelos en Hebreo se dicen 'thesnim', vease á San Geronimo en las Questiones Hebreas. Esta nota es del Dotor Mier, Mexicano, y asi para traducirla los Indios en su idioma, la llamaron cohuatl, añadiendo como adjetivo el quetzalli, como quien dice coate muy sabio ó muy excelente ó muy estimado, que todo esto querian significar en la rica pluma, que como he dicho servia entre ellos para adorno de la cabeza, y asi simbolizaban en ella la sabiduria, el talento, la dignidad, y todo lo mas excelente; y cualquiera que tenga una mediana instruccion en el idioma Mexicano sabe cuan familiares son en ellos estas frases y espresiones alegoricas, de que se veran no pocos ejemplares en el discurso de esta historia. Para evidenciar que el verdadero nombre que dieron á este varon fue el de Cohuatl, y que el Quetzalli fue solo epiteto

* The Mexican coyotl was properly neither a wolf, a fox, nor a dog, but a different variety of the species to which those animals belong; it was fierce and carnivorous: the Spaniards named it a fox from some similitude in its habits to that animal.

† This proper name might be interpreted, the fasting wolf: it commemorated both the personal prowess and the religious habits of the monarch who bore it, who was accustomed to fast, tasting very little food for forty days together; his son, for a similar reason, might have received the appellation of Nezahualpilli.

‡ Becerra, Fel. de Mex. f. 59. edicion de 1685 en Mexico.

§ A serpent is an oviparous animal, and Echevarria seems here to be mistaken in assigning to the serpent a quality that belonged to the goddess Cihuacohuatl, which proper name, literally signifying the female serpent, might have led him into the error of supposing that the tradition of Cihuacohuatl, the Mexican Eve, always giving birth to twins, referred to the serpent.

de veneracion y estimacion, basta ver qũe constantemente llamaron todos á sus discipulos Cocomes, que es el plural de cohuatl, al modo que á los secuaces de Mahoma llamaron Mahometanos, á los de Lutero, Luteranos, y á los de Christo Christianos; y no se hallará que alguno les llama Quetzallis ó Quepzame, que es el plural verdadero de Quetzalli, porque este era un epiteto de estimacion y veneracion que dieron á este varon; pero su propio nombre de que tomaron denominacion sus discipulos era el Cohuatl, y lo mismo digo del otro nombre que le dieron de Hueman, porque tambien era renombre de estimacion y no nombre propio, y asi tampoco dieron á sus discipulos denominacion alusiva á él.

Pero es digna de reflexa y una nueva y robusta prueba de haber sido el apostol Santo Tomas á quien dieron el nombre de Quetzalcohuatl, la noticia que nos dan contextes los autores de la santa cruz de piedra que se halló en Meliapor en el sepulcro del santo apostol, cuya copia y estampa traen el Padre Atanasio Kircher en su China Ilustrada, el Padre Lucema en la Vida de Señor Francisco Xavier, Fr. Gregorio Garcia en su citada obra de la Predicacion del Evangelio. En ella pues se ve sobre la santa cruz* un pabo real, como que desciende y la tiene con el pico, que es la misma ave quetzalli de cuya bella pluma tomaron los naturales de este reyno la alegoria que hemos dicho, en el nombre de Quetzalcohuatl que dieron al santo apostol. No puede negarse que este es un simbolo ó geroglifico que quiere denotar ó significar alguna cosa, porque ó fuese el mismo santo quien le puso, si fue él quien plantó alli la cruz, ó mas verosimilmente sus discipulos despues de su muerte para señalar su sepulcro: no admite duda que el haberle puesto la figura de esta ave tuvo algun fin, algun motivo, y alguna significacion: qual pudo ser esta? Mi cortedad no alcanza á otra si no el que fuese este geroglifico una muda inscripcion sepulcral, que declarase el nombre del heroe que allí estaba sepultado por el famoso epiteto que le dieron de sabio, prudente, grande, y poderoso, comprehendido todo en la alegoria del pavo real que inventaron los naturales de este reyno, llamandole Quetzalcohuatl.

El nombre Cocolcan tiene la misma etimologia de la voz cohuatl culebra, y quiere denotar ó significar el gefe ó cabeza de los Cocomes. Pudo ser el mismo santo el que pasó con sus compañeros á Yucatan, ó alguno de sus discipulos que iba por cabeza y superior de los demas á quien por eso dieron este nombre, y quien despues de fundada la ciudad de Mayapan, se volvio por el mismo camino de poniente por donde habia ido: y considerando los señores de Yucatan que no quedaba bien el gobierno sino en mano de uno de estos Cocomes, dicen que eligieron por su señor á uno de los de este linage, es de los que seguian la doctrina y eran discipulos de Cocolcan, y en ellos permaneció el gobierno hasta que degenerando de aquella escuela y doctrina de su maestro, y abandonandose á los vicios, perdieron la estimacion y veneracion del pueblo. Pocos años antes de la llegada de los Españoles dice el maestro Gil Gonzalez† que la profetizó un sacerdote de sus idolos, llamado Chilancambal, que entre ellos era muy venerado, y es de notar que la voz 'cambal' significa tambien gemelo ó mellizo en la lengua de las Yndias de Filipinas, donde se hallan tambien muchos vestigios de la predicacion de Santo Tomas, y pudieron darle allí este nombre por traduccion de Didimo, y que le tomase alguno de sus discipulos que en los tiempos posteriores hubiese pasado á estas partes anunciando la misma doctrina, de donde la pudo aprehender este sacerdote gentil gloriandose de aquel nombre para hacerse respetable, y profiriendo como propias aquellas predicciones del santo apostol, que como veremos adelante, fueron tan sabidas en todo este Nuevo Mundo.

Tambien le dieron el nombre de Hueman, compuesto de las voces huei, que significa grande, y maitl que significa mano, esto es el de las grandes manos; ó porque en esto daban á entender su gran poder por las obras prodigiosas que le vieron practicar, ó porque efectivamente tenia las manos grandes como se ve el dia de hoy en varias partes donde las dejó impresas y estampadas, de que hablan los historiadores asi de este reyno como del Peru y Brasil, y son particulares las dos manos que se ven en el parage que llaman Santa Maria Meye de la doctrina de Xocotitlan, jurisdiccion de Yxtlahuacan, pintadas y perfectamente estampadas como de yeso blanco en unas peñas negras, sin que ni el tiempo, ni la diligencia de muchos que lo han intentado, hayan podido barrarlas. No lo es menos la mano estampada en un puentecillo cerca de Tlalnepantla en las inmediaciones de Mexico, que por antigua

* The figure of a bird is sculptured upon the cross which M. Dupaix discovered in the temple of Palenque. The dove, it is scarcely necessary to observe, was an ancient symbol of the Holy Ghost; and the apostles are commanded in the New Testament to assimilate themselves both to doves and serpents. On the supposition that that most beautiful of American birds, the huitzilin, the green feathers of which were named quetzalli, and highly prized by the Mexicans, was substituted in the New World for the dove, both the proper name Quecalcoatl and the symbol of the green-feathered serpent would seem to contain a double allegory.

† Teatro de la Iglesia de Yndias, fo. 203.

tradiccion refieren haber la estampado alli Quetzalcohuatl yendo para Choyolan, y en memoria de este caso se fundo alli un pueblo que se llama Tlemaco, que quiere decir la piedra de la mano. En otros parages se hallan tambien huellas impresas y estampadas, cuyo tamaño debiendo corresponder á los de las manos, denotan que estas eran grandes. Advierto de paso que la semejanza ó por mejor decir la identidad de los nombres Hueman y Huemac ha dado motivo á que nuestros autores hayan confundido á Hueman aquel astrologo ó adivino que salió de Huetlapalan con los que vinieron á fundar á Thoyan, (de que trataremos en su lugar,) con Quetzalcohuatl ó Cocolcan, porque realmente el nombre es el mismo, y asi le llaman algunos autores Indios á este astrologo Hueman y Huemantzin, que es el reverencial para denotar su gran sabiduria y poder, por lo que me inclino mas á la opinion de los que dicen que dieron este nombre á Santo Tomas por las grandes obras que le vieron ejecutar, porque esto es mas conforme al genio de estas naciones y á su modo de esplicarse.

En la noticia que dejo referida al capº 16 en orden á la santa cruz de Quauhtolco, afirma Brulio que no solo era venerada de tiempos muy antiguos, sino que sus naturales tenian por tradiccion de sus antepasados que la habia puesto y colocado en aquel parage el apostol Santo Tomas, cuya imágen y propio nombre conservaban en los mapas historicos y pinturas de que usaban en lugar de letras, y en otras muchas partes se conservó la memoria del verdadero nombre Tome ó Tomas asi en la Nueva España como en el Peru y reyno de Chile, como se puede ver en Calancha *, Ovalde †, y otros muchos.

Finalmente se prueba por razon haber sido Santo Tomas, porque en la suposicion que dejamos hecha de haberse de cumplir el precepto de Jesu Cristo de predicar el evangelio en esta tan considerable parte del mundo y á este tan crecido numero de criaturas, á alguno de los santos apostoles debia tocar la obligacion de su cumplimiento, y no habiendo sido alguno de los otros once, porque de todos se sabe el pais en que predicaron, se sigue que fue Santo Tomas. Que los apostoles fuesen los que hubiesen de cumplir este precepto lo dejamos sentado al capº 15, con las autoridades que alli cito, y lo persuade la razon, pues si se determinaron once apostoles á predicar el evangelio en las otras partes del mundo que se incluyen en la mitad del globo, porque no habia de destinarse uno para predicarle en la America, que se estiende por casi toda la otra mitad, poblada de tanto numero de criaturas igualmente participantes del fruto de la redencion. Que no fuese otro alguno de los apostoles nos consta por la relacion de sus vidas, y porque no hay autor que lo diga. Luego habiendo tantas razones de congruencia en los nombres, en el tiempo, en la doctrina que predicó, en las costumbres y ceremonias que enseñó Quetzalcohuatl, debemos creer que este fue el apostol Santo Tomas, á quien pudieron acompañar algunos otros discipulos que le ayudasen en su ministerio apostolico, pero estos me persuado á que fuesen los naturales del pais que primero se le agregaron y siguieron su doctrina, que aunque pocos, fuesen el fruto de su trabajo, el consuelo de sus fatigas, y las primicias que rindiese á Dios del crecido numero de criaturas que habitaban entonces estas dilatadas regiones.

Capitulo XX.

De dos celebres Profecias que hizo Quetzalcohuatl, cuando predicó en Chollolan.

Era por estos tiempos la ciudad de Chollolan la mas famosa y numerosa poblacion de la tierra de Anahuac: estaba en su mayor auge y esplendor, y era nombrada y aplaudida por su elevada torre, que como he dicho, la habian fabricado sus habitadores para gloria de su nacion y monumento que manifestase á los futuros haber sido esta la primer poblacion de los Ulmecas, y de donde habian salido los fundadores de las demas poblaciones de esta nacion. Su figura era redonda, teniendo en su plan poco mas de mil varas de diametro, y se elevava en forma piramidal; no sabemos hasta que altura, pero sin duda era mucha segun se manifiesta por las ruinas que aun duran en nuestros tiempos. Su fabrica merecia mejor el nombre de cerro que de torre, porque era maciza de piedra suelta y grandes adoves de tierra, una capa de estos y otra de piedra apretada y apisonada con tierra, y la subida segun se percibe del resto inferior de ella, (que es el que subsiste en el lugar y modo en que se fabricó) parece que era dando vueltas á su contorno por una especie de esplanada. En uno de los mapas que recogió Boturini en papel de maguey, se ve dibujado este cerro en la dicha figura piramidal, con cuatro divisiones que servian como de descanso y le rodeaban

* Calancha, Historia del Peru, lib. 2. cap. 2.

† Ovalde, Historia de Chile, lib. 8. cap. 1.

todo con bastante espacio para andar por ellos: dicen que por fuera estaba cubierto de una argamasa blanca muy dura, de la que el dia de hoy no ha quedado vestigio alguno.

Estaba situada esta torre en medio de la poblacion, que lo está en un hermoso y fertil plano; aunque al presente la torre ó cerrillo está ya casi fuera de ella, asi por lo mucho que ha diminuido su vecindario, como por haberse retirado mas hacia el norte los habitadores, pues aun subsisten vestigios de lo mucho que se estendia su poblacion por el lado opuesto. No contribuia poco al esplendor de esta ciudad el haber sido la primera en que se dice haber fabricado casas para habitar sus moradores, porque situada en un llano donde faltaban cuebas y no habia repechos en que labrarlas, les obligó la necesidad á buscar abrigo y defensa á las inclemencias del tiempo. Por todas estas razones era numerosisima su poblacion, y aunque no se sabe nada en orden á su gobierno, no podia menos de haber alguno que mantuviese en armonia tanta multitud de gentes.

Estas eran las que buscaba el apostol Santo Tomas para instruirlas en las verdades evangelicas, y hallando tan copiosa mies en esta ciudad, dicen haberse detenido tres meses en ella predicando y enseñando la nueva ley de Jesu Cristo. Mas no habia llegado todavia el tiempo de que fructificase la sagrada semilla, y asi viendo el santo la rebeldia y dureza de aquellos corazones dificiles de rendirse en poco tiempo, habiendo cumplido su mision determinó dejarlos. Pero antes les predijo que llegaria el tiempo en que todos abrazarian la nueva ley que les predicaba, y que un año que seria señalado con el geroglifico de una caña, vendrian de la parte de Oriente por sobre las aguas del mar unos hombres blancos y barbados que les despojarian del dominio de la tierra, y señoreandola toda les harian abrazar la ley del evangelio, y por señas de que se cumpliria perfectamente esta su profecia, les hizo otra, diciendoles que pocos dias despues de su salida de la ciudad, se les arruinaria su famosa torre, lo que puntualmente sucedio como se les predijo, pues ocho dias despues de haber salido el santo de la ciudad, se sintió un fuertisimo terremoto*, que derribó la gran torre, quedando hasta nuestros dias existentes las ruinas para perpetua memoria del suceso que les anunció, en varios fragmentos, de los cuales hay dos tan grandes que forman dos cerrillos inmediatos á la basa principal que quedó inmoble, y esta tiene de alto como doscientas varas. Puede discurrirse cuanto habra destruido y desbaratado la continuacion de tantos siglos.

La destruccion de esta torre fue para estas gentes uno de los mas memorables acaecimientos, asi por lo famoso de ella, como por haberse cumplido en su ruina la prediccion de Quetzalcohuatl, que dio por seña de que se cumpliria del mismo modo la que les hizo de la venida de aquellas gentes del Oriente que se harian señores de la tierra; y como esta habia hecho en todas las demas poblaciones por donde habia venido, interesaba á todos la verificacion de ella, y desde entonces quedaron persuadidos á que habia de llegar el tiempo en que tuviese efecto, y aguardaban siempre su cumplimiento. De suerte que cuando llegaron á estas partes los Españoles, hallaron constante y uniforme esta noticia en todos los pueblos de la Nueva España, como asientan unanimes todos los historiadores; y fue no pequeño motivo de la felicidad de sus conquistas, pues firmemente persuadidos los Indios á que no podia dejar de cumplirse la profecia de Quetzalcohuatl, perdieron el animo para la defensa, y á esto debe atribuirse en mucha parte la facilidad con que un corto numero de Españoles vencia á una multitud de ellos, como refieren á cada paso los historiadores de la conquista.

Pues aunque por estos tiempos de que voy hablando, no habia nacido todavia el gran imperio de Tescuco, ni las demas monarquias que despues ocuparon estas tierras, estaban ya muy poblados los paises mas septentrionales y sus riberas maritimas: habia ya tambien muchas poblaciones en las costas del Seno Mexicano hasta Yucatan, en el reyno del Peru, y es constante por la historia Tulteca que Quetzalcohuatl corrió todas aquellas poblaciones del norte, enseñando la misma doctrina y haciendoles la misma profecia, cuya noticia trajeron los fundadores de las dichas monarquias, y hallandola aqui corroborada con el suceso de Chollolan, quedaron mas firmemente persuadidos á que algun dia habia de llegar su cumplimiento, y aunque tambien en esto introdujo el tiempo alguna variacion, queriendo interpretar la profecia como se dirá en su lugar, la substancia de ella, que se reduce á anunciarles la venida de las gentes blancas por el Oriente que dominarian la tierra, se mantuvo siempre constante como se ve por las historias.

A vista de este suceso formaron estas gentes un alto concepto de Quetzalcohuatl, y comenzaron á honrar y venerar su memoria poniendo en practica muchas de las doctrinas que les habia enseñado, cuya observancia mantuvieron siempre sin olvidarse de haber sido Quetzalcohuatl quien se las enseño, aunque despues en el discurso del tiempo introdujeron en ellas algunos abusos. La principal de que hacen mencion por estos tiempos es la adoracion de la

* Ollin, or the sign of the Earthquake, was dedicated to Quecalcoatl, perhaps on this account.

santa cruz, para cuyo culto edificaron un magnifico templo sobre la basa que quedo ilesa de su famosa torre *, el que todavia hallaron subsistente los Españoles y colocada en el una cruz de madera; y este es el primer templo de que hallo memoria en las historias de los Indios. Ni antes de esto, encuentro noticia de que adorasen divinidad alguna, ni diesen culto á idolo material, ni reconociesen otro dios que el Tloquenahuaque ó criador de todas las cosas. A la santa cruz la dieron diversos nombres: los que hallo muy frecuentes son estos *tres*: Quiahuitzteotl†, que quiere decir el dios de madera; Chicahualizteotl, que se interpreta el dios fuerte y poderoso; y Tonacaquahuitl, que interpretan dios de las lluvias; pero su genuino significado en el idioma Nahuatl, es el palo de la fertilidad ó de la abundancia, alegoria muy propia de este idioma para significar que por medio de este palo lograban las lluvias que fertilizaban su sementera, y asi fue este el nombre mas comun y general que le dieron; porque habiendoles enseñado Quetzalcohuatl, que esta soberana señal tenia virtud para atraer las lluvias á su sementera, y habiendo ellos experimentado por su medio este beneficio, la adoraron como deidad poderosa para socorrerles en esta necesidad, que era para ellos de la unica importancia; y habiendose propagado despues su culto en los demas reinos y monarquias que posteriormente se fundaron, fue siempre adorada y conocida por el dios de las lluvias, pervirtiendo la ignorancia el verdadero objeto del culto, y este fue el motivo de haber encontrado los conquistadores tanto numero de cruces en estos paises.

En los tiempos subcesivos dominando la nacion Tulteca, volvieron á levantar su famosa torre los Chololtecas, que eran de los mismos Ulmecas mezclados ya con los Tultecas, y dicen que la subieron á mayor altura que la vez primera‡, pero tambien volvió á arruinarse les una noche cuando menos lo esperaban, sin haber precedido terremoto, uracan, ni otra causa alguna á que poderlo atribuir, y asi les causó tanto terror que en adelante no se atrevieron á volver á intentar su reedificio. En el mapa ó pintura de esta torre de que hablé al principio de este capitulo, se halla una inscripcion en lengua Mexicana, puesta sin duda por aquellos primeros neophitos que supieron escribir en nuestros caracteres, y aplaudiendo á los Cholloltecas dice que la hicieron sus antepasados para preservarse de otro diluvio. A la ciudad la dá el nombre de Toyanchollolan, y dice que aquella torre es un monumento precioso de la nacion Tulteca; pero en la realidad fue la Ulmeca la que la erigió, y verosimilmente fueron ellos tambien, aunque mezclados ya con los Tultecas, los que la restauraron. Añade el autor de la inscripcion que el arcangel San Miguel fue quien la derribó esta segunda vez §, y que algunas personas le vieron derribarla. Ya se ve que en aquellos tiempos ni ellos conocian á San Miguel, ni su nombre siquiera habia llegado á sus oidos, y asi aunque sea veridica la noticia, que no he hallado en otro algun escritor de haberse visto en el aire algunas personas que la derribaban, debemos persuadirnos á que esta expresion del autor de la inscripcion no es mas que un discurso piadoso, fundado en que el obispado de Tlaxcallan, ahora de la Puebla de los Angeles, está bajo la tutela y patronato de San Miguel, que con singulares prodigios ha querido manifestarse su protector desde los primeros tiempos de su cristianidad.

Capitulo XXI.

Rebelanse los Tultecas en su antigua patria, y salen arrojados de ella para poblar la tierra de Anahuac.

La antigua y primitiva ciudad de Huehuetlapalan corte del imperio Chichimeca, no solo era ya famosisima por

* This is a very curious passage, as it is here expressly declared that the famous temple of Cholula, which the Spaniards found in a complete state of preservation on their arrival in the New World, and which, dedicated to Quecalcoatl, was frequented by pilgrims from all parts of New Spain, had been built in honour of the cross, and contained a wooden cross when the Spaniards first visited it.

† This proper name is compounded of *quiahuitl*, rain, and *teotl*, god, and signifies 'the god of rain', an interpretation which Echevarria has erroneously given to Tonacaquahuitl; which latter term being compounded of *tonacayo*, defined by Molina to be "cuerpo humano, ó nuestra carne," and *quauitl* or *quahuitl*, which, according to the same author, signifies "arbol madero ó palo," may be interpreted '*the tree of life* or of our bodies.' Don Ferdinand de Alba Ixtlilxochitl, in the first chapter of his History of the Chichimecan Empire, mentions these amongst the names by which the cross was adored in ancient times in New Spain; but as he does not assign its signification to each name separately in the order in which he writes them, but explains their meaning collectively, it is not unlikely that this was the cause of Echevarria confounding the signification of Quiahuitzteotl with that of Tonacaquahuitl.

‡ The temple of Cholula, like the temple of Jerusalem, was said to have been twice built; and it is singular that after its second destruction the same superstitious notion should have prevailed about any attempt to rebuild it.

§ This tradition supposes the destruction of the second temple of Cholula to have been a judgement on the people of Cholula for their sins.

estos tiempos, sino que habiendo ya salido de ella muchas cuadrillas de gente que poblaron todo aquel pais fundando ciudades y lugares en su comarca, todos los habitadores de ellos la reconocian por cabeza y cuna de sus mayores, y ella habia dado su nombre á toda aquella region, y aunque los historiadores no nos dan particular noticia de su modo de gobierno, nos dicen que lo habia monarquico y que en la gran ciudad de Huehuetlapalan residia el supremo Emperador Chichimeca y en cada una de las poblaciones un señor ó regulo á quien estaban sujetos sus moradores; pero este reconocia por supremo señor al Emperador Chichimeca. Entre las grandes poblaciones que habia, era muy numerosa y nombrada la ciudad de Tlachicatzin, fundacion de una de aquellas cuadrillas de gentes que salieron de Huehuetlapalan á quienes dieron el nombre de Tultecatl, por su mayor habilidad industria y destresa, tanto para el cultivo de los campos como para el ejercicio de las artes que conocieron y alcanzaron cuya invencion les atribuian. Si el nombre Tultecatl le tomaron de la lengua Nahuatl, ó ella de ellos, no es facil averiguarlo. Lo comun en estas gentes, era tomar el nombre de sus gefes, y parece regular que por haberse llamado Tultecatl el caudillo de esta, tomase el nombre toda la nacion, y que despues por haber esta sobresalido en ingenio y habilidad, aplicasen el nombre Tultecatl á todo diestro artifice, que de esto hay hartos ejemplos en esta historia: vivian en la ciudad de Tlachicatzin dos grandes señores llamados Chalcaltzin y Tlacamihtzion descendientes de la casa y familia principal de los Tultecas, los cuales confiados en el gran seguito que tenian, concitaron una rebelion contra su natural señor. No dicen cual fue este, si el Emperador Chichimeca ó el regulo de su nacion Tulteca, pero por el discurso de la historia me inclino á creer lo primero, y aunque tampoco dicen el motivo de la rebelion es facil persuadirse á que fuese la ambicion y quererse eximir de la subordinacion á el imperio, lisongeandose del aplauso que tenian tanto en esta ciudad como en otras poblaciones de su comarca. Tanta era la gente que les seguian que habiendo tomado las armas los partidarios, mantuvieron trece años la guerra con varios sucesos, hasta que finalmente se vieron precisados á ceder al mayor poder y dejar su ciudad. Aunque arrojados de ella mantubieron todavia la guerra otros ocho años, hasta que en el de doce cañas se vieron precisados á desamparar la empresa huyendo como pudieron para escapar del castigo que les amenazaba. Siguio su partido un considerable numero de personas asi en esta ocasion como en los años subsecuentes, que aunque no le describen con particularidad, se percibe su multitud por lo que fueron poblando hasta llegar á Tullan pues no solo seguian los varones sino las mugeres y familias de todos ellos: fuera de los dichos dos principales señores, mencionan otros cinco que eran tambien de la principal nobleza y parientes suyos, cuyos nombres nos conservaron y son Ehecatl, Cohuatzon, Mazacohuatl, Tlapalhuitz y Huitz. Siguieron todos su viage sin hacer alto hasta estar sesenta leguas distantes de Tlachicatzin á la banda del Sur, hasta donde los acompañaron muchos otros parientes y deudos, particularmente de otra gran ciudad llamada Tlaxicoluican. Y en un sitio que descubrió Ehecatl y les pareció á proposito para sus sementeras, determinaron hacer alto y poblarse, dando á la nueva poblacion el nombre de Tlapalan, ó por emular al imperio Chichimeca cuya corte tenia este nombre, ó por conservar la memoria de aquella primer poblacion que fundaron sus progenitores, cuando se establecieron en estos paises, y á la que miraron siempre con mucho afecto llamandola su antigua patria. A esta otra nueva Tlapalan, la llamaron despues Tlapalanconco que quiere decir la pequeña Tlapalan, para distinguirla de la antigua.

Esta rebelion Tulteca dicen haber acaecido mas de seiscientos años despues de la correccion de su calendario, en uno que fue señalado con el geroglifico de una caña, que segun parece de las tablas debió ser el de 4616 del mundo que es el primero que se halla en ella señalado con este geroglifico, contando los seiscientos años despues de la correccion del calendario, y concurrio con el de 583 de Jesu Cristo, y habiendo durado la guerra civil hasta su salida de Tlachicatzin trece años, colocan esta en el año de un pedernal, que justamente corresponde al de 596 de la era Cristiana, á que agregados los otros ocho años que la mantuvieron hasta su ultima fuga, parece que esta debe colocarse en el año de 604 y en el mismo la fundacion de Tlapalanconco. Los autores Indios aunque todos contestes asientan que habia pasado los 600 años de la correccion del calendario y concuerdan en los geroglificos de los años en que acaecieron estas turbaciones, segun los anotaron los antiguos en sus mapas, varian muchisimo en la confrontacion con los años á que corresponden en nuestros computos, porque en mi dictamen ninguno tomó el trabajo de tomar tablas, y haciendo la cuenta de memoria, padecieron notables equivocaciones, que se manifiestan por la misma relacion que hacen de los sucesos, pues interpretando los mapas en aquel estilo sencillo de sus autores, cuyas cifras denotan el numero de edades, siglos ó años, que habian pasado de uno á otro suceso, señalan el caracter del año en que acaeció, el que refiere omitiendo regularmente los quebrados que intermedian, entran luego los interpretes á querer señalar el año á que corresponde en nuestros computos sin el auxilio de las tablas cronologicas, y por esto incurren á cada paso en estos errores.

Es curiosa y singular la noticia que nos dan de una especie de voto que hicieron estas gentes al tiempo de salir fugitivos de su patria. Este fue de no conocer los hombres á sus mugeres por espacio de veinte y tres años, absteniendose de todo acceso carnal en dicho tiempo, el qual cumplieron perfectamente, que es cosa bien singular entre tanta multitud de personas no haber habido uno que lo quebrantase. Me figuro que el motivo que tubieron para esto, pudo ser el librarse de la molestia y cuidado de las mugeres preñadas* y niños pequeños en el año que emprehendian á poblar nuevas regiones, pareciendoles que en el espacio de veinte y tres años podrian tener ya establecimentos y poblaciones fijas. Aunque dicen los historiadores que hicieron voto †, debe suponerse que este fue un compromiso entre ellos mismos ó una determinacion de sus principales gefes, á quienes ciegamente obedecian, y aun añaden algunos autores con D. Fernando de Alba, que les impusieron este precepto con rigurosas penas al que le quebrantase. Mas siempre es digno de admirar su gobierno y prudencia en esta determinacion, para no hacer menos molesta su peregrinacion, y su constancia y continencia en cumplirla, sin que entre tanta multitud hubiese alguno que lo quebrantase segun la asercion de sus escritores. Es verdad que si como los mismos historiadores asientan, aquellos principales señores que los mandaban, impusieron rigurosas penas á los transgresores, estas sin duda fueron en mucha parte el freno que les contuvo, pero no por eso deja de ser digno de admirarse.

Hasta aqui todas son noticias por mayor las que nos dan estos historiadores, porque estos mapas historicos que interpretan, no son verdaderamente historia antigua de su primer origen, sino unos apuntes ó comentarios que sirven de proemio á la historia de los Tultecas, que ellos mismos escribieron; y asi todo lo que refieren hasta su rebelion que es donde toman el principio de la historia de su nacion ó fundacion de su reyno, son noticias muy escasas las que dan de su peregrinacion por el Asia hasta la America, de su multiplicacion, poblaciones y gobierno en los 2379 años que pasaron desde la fundacion de su primer ciudad de Huetlapalan hasta la rebelion de los Tultecas, y solo las traen como supuestos ó preliminares para comenzar á referir su historia: pero es suficiente para comprender que todos los pobladores de este nuevo mundo que se llama America, provinieron de aquellas siete familias que se unieron en la dispersion de Babel: que vinieron por la parte del norte, atravesando rios y brazos de mar y costeando sus riberas en balsas de carrizos ó leños ligeros, como el dia de hoy lo acostumbran en muchos parages; que lo primero que se pobló fue la parte septentrional de la America que se demarca desde el tropico de cancro por el norte, desde la altura de 24 grados hasta 75, en que se comprenden las dilatadas provincias de Cinaloa, Taraumaza, Chihuagua, Sonora, California, Pimeria y las demas que siguen de gentiles, en donde hasta ahora no ha entrado la religion catolica, como lo testifica en el dia de hoy el inumerable gentio de que estan pobladas segun lo afirman contestes los que han entrado hasta ellos, y que asi como se fueron multiplicando, fueron saliendo en cuadrillas á poblar el resto de todo este continente hasta la otra parte del Sur, los unos por tierra como estos Tultecas y algunos otros que veremos, y los otros por mar costeando sus playas, como los Ulmecas, Xicallancas y otras naciones que poblaron las costas de Yucatan: pero en orden á su gobierno y costumbres en aquellos primitivos tiempos, sin embargo de tanta multitud de manuscritos como he reconocido, no he podido investigar ni comprender otra cosa que lo que dejo escrito, ni me parece que puede adelantarse mas en la materia en tan retirada antigüedad, puesto que los mas habiles entre ellos que fueron estos Tultecas, y los mapas historicos que son las unicas fuentes de donde pudieran sacarse estas noticias, no nos dan otras que las que llevo hasta aqui expendidas. No asi en lo subsecuente, pues como se verá, procuraron conservar con mucha puntualidad los memorables sucesos de su historia, y por ejemplo de los Tultecas lo ejecutaron tambien las demas naciones que repoblaron estas tierras despues de la destruccion del primer reyno Tulteca.

Antes de cerrar este capitulo, quiero que se haga reflexa en que, como hemos visto en el cap. 1º, fueron siete las familias que en la dispersion de la torre de Babel se unieron para entenderse la lengua, para venir á poblar estas

* "Woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days!" were words uttered by Christ in reference to the flight of the Jews from Jerusalem, as we learn from St. Matthew, in the nineteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of his Gospel; from which expressions it might be inferred, that pregnant women and sucking children were reckoned by the Jews amongst the worst evils of a forced flight, which might have led them to adopt the expedient alluded to in the text.

† A vow was what the Jews considered most binding. The twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus entirely relates to vows; and its first ordinance reminds us that the same very singular custom of self-devotion for the religious service of the temple, and to obtain favour in the eyes of the Deity by such a mark of zeal, prevailed amongst the Mexicans as well as the Jews. In the eleventh verse of the first chapter of the First Book of Samuel we read, that Hannah the mother of Samuel "vowed a vow," in order to obtain a son from God. And the emperor Nezahualcoyotl is recorded to have vowed, that he would fast forty days in order to obtain a victory. Mexican and Jewish parents likewise were accustomed to bind themselves by a vow, that they would offer their children for the service of their respective temples, when they should attain a fit age; and both nations considered the breach of a vow to be a sin of the most atrocious kind.

regiones, que asimismo fueron siete las familias principales Tultecas que salieron de Tlachicatzin en esta rebelion para poblar la tierra que hoy se llama de Nueva España, y que como veremos en su lugar fueron tambien siete las familias de la nacion Mexitzin, que fundaron la ciudad de Mexico. De esta uniformidad en el numero de familias ha tenido origen la multitud de confusiones, equivocaciones y errores en que incurrieron nuestros historiadores que escribieron por las relaciones que les daban los Indios, de quienes se informaban de su origen, costumbres, reyes y demas sucesos de su antigüedad. Porque si era de los Tezcucanos, referia su origen á las siete familias primitivas que fundaron á Huehuetlapalan, porque estas naciones se tuvieron siempre por Chichimecas y descendientes de ellos; si se informaba de un Tulteca ó Aculhua, referia su origen á estas siete familias Tultecas que vinieron á poblar. Y si se informaba de un Mexicano ó Michoacano, referia su origen á las siete familias de sus fundadores que salieron de las cuebas de Chicomoztoc, y juzgandolos á todos una misma nacion, creyeron tambien una misma la historia de todas estas naciones, mezclando los sucesos, y llenaron las suyas de confusiones.

Ya dejo insinuado al cap. 25 * que el caballero Boturini en su citada obra, confunde estas siete familias Tultecas que salieron de Tlachicatzin para poblar estas tierras de Nueva España, con las otras siete que se unieron en la dispersion de Babel y peregrinaron tantos años hasta estas regiones, y dice espresamente, "que siete Tultecas que asistian á la fabrica de dicha torre, viendo que no se entendian con los demas, se apartaron con sus mugeres é hijos &c."; cuya esplicacion es capaz de confundir al que no esté versado en esta historia, porque las siete familias de Babel fueron los progenitores de toda la innumerable multitud de gentes que pobló estas regiones, dividiendose despues de muchos años en naciones diversas, de las cuales una sola fue á la que dieron el nombre de Tultecatl, y un ramo de esta nacion fué el que vino á establecerse á la Nueva España, guiado y conducido de los siete gefes que dejo nombrados que supongo vinieron con sus familias, pero distintas de aquellas primeras siete que por ser de un mismo idioma se unieron en la dispersion de Babel. Porque estas peregrinaron por el Asia hasta llegar á establecerse en la America, y las otras salieron de la ciudad de Tlachicatzin en la parte septentrional de la misma America, por rebelion y fugitiva, y vinieron á establecerse á la Nueva España, y el confundir unas con otras es error manifiesto opuesto á las mismas historias de estos naturales. Algunos autores se persuaden á que en el numero *siete* quisieron denotar estas gentes una multitud indefinida, como vemos en las sagradas letras empleado el numero septenario para denotar multitud, y el mismo Boturini se inclinaba á esta opinion, pero yo no hallo razones en que fundarla, porque en toda la historia no encuentro que se valgan del numero siete, siendo asi que en tantas poblaciones y fundaciones de ciudades, guerras, mortandades y otros semejantes sucesos, era regular que sino en todos, en algunos se valiesen de esta explicacion para denotar multitud de pobladores, de soldados, de rebeldes, de muertos &c., y asi me persuado que es mera congetura, por la uniformidad que se halla de las siete familias en los tres sucesos notados.

Capitulo XXII.

Por consejo del astrologo Huemantzin determinan los Tultecas ir á poblar á la tierra de Anahuac: emprenden su viage, que describen con toda puntualidad y las fundaciones que hicieron en el camino hasta llegar á Tulantzinco.

Luego que los Tultecas hicieron alto y fundaron á Tlapalanconco, se dedicaron al cultivo de la tierra, sembrando los campos de su comarca para proveer al sustento de aquel numeroso pueblo, que cada dia se aumentaba con las nuevas cuadrillas de gentes, que les venian asi de la ciudad como de otras poblaciones de su misma nacion. Presidia el gobierno en los siete principales señores, que confiriendo entre si determinaban unanimes lo conveniente á la subsistencia y buen orden de aquel gran gentio que les estaba enteramente subordinado. Asi se mantuvieron tres años, mas viendo al cabo de ellos el considerable aumento de gente que cada dia iba á mas, y esto hacia dificil el buen orden y gobierno en una sola poblacion, se juntaron los siete señores para consultar entre si las providencias que debian tomar para dividir aquel numeroso gentio en diferentes poblaciones. Asistió á la junta un venerable anciano llamado Hueman y en el estilo reverente de la lengua Nahuatl Huemantzin, de quien dice al cap. 15 que algunos autores le han confundido con Quetzalcohuatl, porque á entrambos dieron el nombre de Hueman, que quiere decir el de las

* Errata en el cap. y veràs otra vez á Boturini, § 16.

grandes manos, y alegoricamente el que tiene mucho poder, talento y sabiduria. Era este anciano Hueman muy estimado y respetado de todos, no solo por su edad, por su prudencia, madurez y sabiduria especialmente en la astronomia y arte divinatoria, este pues les dijo que no le parecia conveniente que se quedasen en aquel sitio ni extendiesen en el sus poblaciones, porque estando tan cerca sus enemigos quedaban siempre expuestos á vivir sin sosiego y con las armas en la mano para defenderse de sus insultos: que habia observado en sus historias que todos los grandes trabajos y calamidades que habian padecido sus mayores, habian acaecido en el año señalado con el geroglifico del pedernal, que era para ellos funesto signo, como lo verificaba el haber sido en año de este mismo caracter su ultima desgracia y salida de su patria: pero que tambien habia observado que á las desgracias sucedian luego grandes prosperidades y felicidades, especialmente en los años señalados con el segundo geroglifico que es la casa, y era nuncio de dichas felicidades; que se atrevia á prometerse las, si seguian su dictamen de dejar aquella tierra y emprehender su viage hacia las tierras Orientales en que habian vivido muchos años los gigantes: porque conocia por su ciencia que debia ser su clima mas benigno, sus tierras mas fertiles y abundantes y grande su extension para poder fundar en ella una prospera y feliz monarquia; que por la distancia estaban libres de los insultos de sus enemigos; que aquel pais no estaba sujeto á las malignas influencias del astro que les perseguia, y que aunque conocia tambien por su ciencia que todavia les amenazaba con otra gran desgracia, estaba muy distante su cumplimiento y podia con el tiempo variarse su maligno aspecto, y cuando no, lograr en el intermedio ellos y sus descendientes hasta el decimo grado de un feliz imperio; y finalmente que los gigantes que habian sido los habitadores de aquellas tierras, se sabia que habian sido enteramente destruidos y asi no habia que temer contradiccion alguna.

El razonamiento del anciano movió de suerte los animos de los señores, que al punto condescendieron en seguir su dictamen, y quedó resuelto emprender nuevo viage, haciendo mansion en los parages que les pareciesen mas a proposito para sembrar y proveerse de lo necesario á su sustento, dejando en todos ellos poblaciones que les guardasen las espaldas en caso de una pronta retirada. Por esto no condescendieron en abandonar enteramente á Tlapalanconco, sino que determinaron que quedasen en ella pobladas algunas familias de gente plebeya. Declararon los señores al pueblo su determinacion y hallando en el una pronta y ciega obediencia, resolvieron emprender luego su marcha y efectivamente la comenzaron en el año de doce cañas, que en las tablas corresponde al de 607, á los once años de la salida de su patria. Doce dias continuos caminaron saliendo al amanecer sin hacer mansion alguna hasta que la obscuridad de la noche les obligaba á parar y tomar algun reposo y sustento. Andaban cada dia como seis leguas, que no era poco hacer en tanta muchedumbre mezclada de mugeres y niños y los que llevaban á cuestas los bastimentos. A los doce dias llegaron á la tierra de Hueixalan, que pareciendoles buena y fertil determinaron hacer alli mansion. Hacen descubridor de ella á Cohuatzon, uno de los cinco caballeros que se unieron á los dos principales, y el por ventura le daria el nombre de Hueixalan, que significa arenal grande. Detuvieronse aqui cerca de cuatro años haciendo sus sementeras, y volviendo á emprender su viage dejando poblacion en Hueixalan, caminaron veinte dias seguidos hacia el poniente, y al cabo de ellos otro de los cinco capitanes llamado Mazacohuatl descubrió la tierra de Xalixco en las riberas del mar. Parecioles buena y fertil y determinaron demorarse en ella como lo hicieron, y fundaron la ciudad de Xalixco que subsiste en nuestros dias, y segun parece debe referirse su fundacion al año 610, ó 611, respecto á que asientan haberse detenido en Hueixalan como cuatro años, ocho se demoraron en Xalixco, y habiendo dejado competente poblacion en ella y su comarca, continuaron su marcha por las riberas y playas del mar, y habiendo andado veinte dias continuos hicieron alto en la costa que llamaron de Chimalhuacan Atenco, donde se detuvieron cerca de cinco años. Estando aqui se cumplio el tiempo de los veinte y tres años de su voto ó compromiso: comenzaron los hombres á tener acceso á sus mugeres y á multiplicarse, y habiendo dejado suficiente poblacion, continuaron su marcha en el año de un conejo, en que contaban veinte y siete de la salida de su patria, que segun las tablas corresponde al de 622. Caminaron diez y ocho dias buscando siempre el Oriente hasta llegar á Toxpan, de que hacen descubridor á uno llamado Metzotzin. Detuvieronse en ella otros cinco años, y el ultimo de ellos volvieron á emprender su derrota, y habiendo caminado veinte dias llegaron á las costas y playas que llamaron Quiyahuitztlan Anahuac, donde se vieron precisados á formar balsas para pasar algunos rios caudalosos ó brazos de mar. Hacen descubridor de ella á Tlacamitzin uno de los dos señores principales, á quien dan tambien el nombre de Acapichtzin, acaso por haber descubierto estas playas y brazos de mar, porque hasta esta ocasion no le dan este nombre, que suena ó puede interpretarse el descubridor de los carrizales, por haber acaso encontrado algunos en estas playas en las que padecieron no pocas incomodidades: pero sin embargo se mantubieron en ellas seis años cultivando las tierras inmediatas, cuya fertilidad les hizo tolerables las incomodidades. A los seis años determinaron continuar

su marcha, movidos de las persuasiones del sabio Huemac, y caminaron diez y ocho dias hasta llegar á la tierra de Zacatlan, de la que hacen descubridor á Chalcatzin, el otro de los principales señores que los mandaban. Determinaron hacer alto alli, y á poco tiempo le nació un hijo á Chalcatzin á quien puso por nombre Zacapantzin, que interpretaron sobre el yervasal, y en memoria de esto determinó fundar alli una poblacion dandole el nombre de Zacatlan, que significa yervasal ó prado cubierto de yerva, otros lo dicen al contrario, esto es, que por haber dado á la poblacion el nombre de Zacatlan, le puso á el hijo Zacapantzin. El año en que esto acaeció le señalaron con el geroglifico de una caña, y dicen que en el contaron un Xiuhtlalpili ó siglo del principio de su guerra, que en año de semejante caracter comenzaron, y confrontandolo con las tablas, parece que debe fijarse la fundacion en el año de 4668 del mundo y 635 de la era cristiana. Siete años se detuvieron en esta poblacion y en el octavo que fue señalado con el geroglifico de ocho conejos, emprendieron de nuevo su marcha, y habiendo caminado diez y ocho dias llegaron á la tierra de Tutzapan, que interpretan tusal, voz hoy en dia muy usada y castellanizada, que quiere significar tierra donde anidan topos, animal bien conocido que en la lengua Nahuatl se llama tuzan ó totzan, y por este nombre es conocido en este pais donde no tiene uso el de topo. Hacen descubridor de Tutzapan á Exocatl, el mismo que descubrió la de Tlapalanconco, uno de los cinco capitanes que se les agregaron, y dicen que el fundó la poblacion de Tutzapan, y que habiendole nacido un hijo en el ultimo año de los siete que en ella se detuvieron le puso por nombre Totzapantzin. El año en que nacío este niño le señalan con el geroglifico de un pedernal, que corresponde segun las tablas al de 4681 del mundo y 648 de la era cristiana, y hacen memoria de que en el dicho año se cumplió un siglo de la salida de su patria en año de igual caracter, como dejamos asentado. En el mismo año volvieron á emprender su marcha y caminaron 28 dias continuos sin rumbo cierto, hasta llegar á la tierra de Tepetla, de la que hacen descubridor á Cohuatzon, uno de los cinco capitanes y el mismo que habia descubierto la tierra de Hueyxalan. Siete años se detuvieron en Tepetla y al cabo de ellos volvieron á tomar su marcha, y habiendo caminado diez y ocho dias llegaron á Mazatepec, de que fue descubridor Mazacohuatl, otro de los cinco capitanes, que de su nombre la llamó Mazatepec. Estuvieron allí ocho años, y al cabo de ellos prosiguieron su camino por diez y ocho dias continuos hasta llegar á un parage á que dieron el nombre de Ziuhcohuatl, por haber sido su descubridor Ziuhcohuatl, otro de los cinco capitanes á quien daban tambien los nombres de Tlapalhuitz y Tlapalmetzin: detuvieronse aqui otros ocho años, y cumplidos prosiguieron su camino por veinte dias continuos hasta llegar á Yztachuexuca, tierra muy fertil que descubrio Metzotzin y en la que mas se detuvieron, porque asientan haberse demorado en ella veinte y seis años. Hace memoria de que en el año decimo sexto que fue señalado con el geroglifico de una caña, se cumplió una edad, que son 104 años que habian comenzado sus guerras en su patria, y segun las tablas sale puntual su cuenta, porque el año decimo sexto de su mansion en Yztachuexuca, segun las epocas anteriores, fue el año de 687 de Cristo, que fue señalado con el geroglifico de una caña.

Cansados ya de caminar y agradados de la bondad del pais, tenian poca gana de continuar la marcha, si el astrologo Hueman no repitiera sus instancias, asegurandoles que durarian ya poco sus penalidades, porque no estaba muy distante el pais dichoso y afortunado que les tenia predicho, donde lograrian un imperio prospero y vivirian satisfechos y gustosos con cuantas comodidades podian apetecer. Con estas persuasiones consiguio que á los 26 años se moviesen de allí y prosiguiesen su marcha por otros diez y ocho dias continuos, en los que llegaron á Tullantzinco, y aunque el astrologo les persuadia á caminar un poco mas, no pudo conseguirlo, porque habiendo descubierto Acapichtzin la tierra de Tullantzinco, les agradó tanto, que determinaron hacer en ella su asiento y morada perpetua, fundando allí la principal poblacion y ciudad, capital de su reyno, y desde luego pusieron mano á fabricar una casa de madera tan grande, que concluida cupo en ella toda la gente. No por esto dejó el astrologo de procurar disuadir les del intento, declarandoles que no era aquel todavia el lugar en que segun su ciencia tenia previsto que habia de florecer la corte de su imperio, y desde donde habian de hacerse dueños de toda la tierra y extender sus poblaciones por toda ella, mas con todo no logró por entonces que se moviesen, y se mantuvieron en Tullantzinco, diez y seis años; pero á poco tiempo comenzaron á salir de allí varias familias que fueron formando diversas poblaciones, extendiendose por todos los contornos de Tullantzinco, donde hallaron terreno proporcionado para sus sementeras, continuando siempre á estar sugetas y subordinadas estas nuevas colonias al gobierno de sus gefes que con el grueso de la nacion se mantenian en Tullantzinco, cuya fundacion que anotan en un año señalado con el geroglifico de once cañas, parece debe fijarse segun las tablas, en el año de 697 de Cristo.

Capitulo XXIII.

Dejan á Tullantzinco, se pasan á Tullan y fundan esta ciudad que despues fue la corte de su Reyno.

Diez y seis años se mantuvo en Tullantzinco el grueso de la nacion con sus gefes y capitanes que desde alli gobernaban todas las nuevas poblaciones que cada dia se iban formando, dilatandose por toda la tierra hasta que persuadidos del sabio Hueman, determinaron trasladarse á otro terreno poco distante de las riberas de un rio, y con efecto en un año que señalan con el geroglifico de una casa, que segun la espresion de su sabio Hueman era para ellos signo prospero que les anunciaba felicidades, se trasladaron á el y comenzaron con todo empeño la fabrica de su ciudad con casas y calles, en que dividiendose las familias viviesen mas comodos, y haciendo desde luego á esta poblacion la capital de su imperio y el centro de su nacion Tultecatl, la dieron el nombre de Tullan, y en ella dicen algunos que comenzaron á labrar sus primeras casas de lodo y piedra, cuya arte de fabricarlas les era ya conocido, y D. Fernando de Alba dice que esta invencion de fabrica era ya muy antigua entre ellos, aun antes de salir de su patria. La fundacion de esta ciudad de Tullan que subsiste en nuestros dias en su misma antigua situacion doce leguas al Norueste de la ciudad de Mexico, y conocida por el nombre de Tulla, dicen haber sido en un año señalado con el caracter de una casa, por lo que debe fijarse segun las tablas en el año de 713 de Cristo, que fue señalado con este geroglifico como en ella se manifiesta. Fue esta despues famosa ciudad y corte de los reyes Tultecas como se vera adelante, y hasta el tiempo presente es considerable poblacion y mantienen los naturales de estos reynos en la memoria la noticia de su antigua opulencia.

No es facil averiguar el camino que siguieron estas gentes, ni las leguas que andubieron desde su ciudad de Tlachicatzin hasta Tullantzinco, porque no llevando destino cierto y rumbo conocido, vaguearian ya por unas, ya por otras partes, y por lo menos asentando como asientan sus interpretes que caminaban seis leguas cada dia, y computando los dias que caminaron desde Xalixco á Tullantzinco, asciende la suma á ciento noventa y seis dias, que á razon de seis leguas por dia, componen mil ciento setenta y seis leguas, y es constante que desde Tullantzinco á Xalixco y aun á Culhuacan, que está mas al norte, no habra muchas mas de trescientas leguas, y es constante que desde Tullantzinco á Xalixco, y aun á Culhuacan, que está mas de trescientas leguas, pero no es de admirar siguiendo estas gentes unos rumbos inciertos, en que debemos creer que el camino que hacian un dia otro lo deshacian; y aunque gastaban dias y multiplicaban leguas, no avanzaban terreno hacia el lugar en que habian de venir á parar. Por todo el camino, y especialmente en los parajes donde hicieron mansion, fueron dejando poblaciones, de suerte que cuando llegaron á Tullantzinco, se debe suponer poblado ya todo el terreno por donde habian venido, no solo con las poblaciones que ellos habian hecho en los parages en que hicieron mansion, sino en otros muchos, que de estas mismas iban saliendo extendiendose por todo el continente, desde las costas del Mar del Sur á las del Seno Mexicano, por las provincias que ahora son conocidas por los nombres de Chichuagua, el Parral, la Nueva Vizcaya y Parras, porque Chicohuatl y Hueixalan que ahora llaman Huexutla, estan inmediatas á Panuco y Tampico, poblaciones maritimas en la costa del mar del norte, y aun puede ser que hubiesen entrado ya algunas cuadrillas á la provincia de Texas y á la Florida, pues á mas de la multiplicacion que debemos suponer tubieron en los cien años que duró el viage, nos dan la noticia de que salieron en su seguimiento de las mismas partes del Norte y region de Huehuetlapalan muchas cuadrillas de gentes en diversos tiempos, de las cuales unas se establecieron y poblaron las costas del Sur sin llegar á Tullan, otras llegaron, y otras muchas pasaron hasta ocupar todo el recinto de este Nuevo Mundo hasta el Estrecho de Magallanes, y puede que mas allá, si está poblada la tierra que descubrio Francisco Draque, y ellos hallaron modo de pasar el estrecho hasta dichas tierras, como pasaron el mar de California y los demas estrechos, brazos de mar y rios caudalosos que atravesaron, asi por haber de llegar los primeros pobladores desde el campo de Senaar hasta la region de Huehuetlapalan, como esta nacion Tultecatl hasta llegar de Tullan.

Es cosa de notar la dilatada vida de estas gentes, pues por lo menos los dos señores principales Chalcatzin y Tlacamitzin, los cinco capitanes agregados, y el astrologo Hueman, que asientan haber llegado á Tullan y vivian el año de 713; habia 130 años que se rebelaron contra su gobierno, que fue la causa de su salida, y aunque fuesen entonces jovenes de veinte años, ya debian llegar á pasar de ciento y cincuenta: que uno ú otro llegase á edad tan avanzada no es irregular, pero que todos vivieron tanto, es cosa que hace fuerza; y del astrologo dice expresamente D. Fernando de Alba, que pasaba ya de ciento y ochenta años cuando llegaron á Tullan. Pero es constante que no solo en

estos tiempos, sino tambien en otros mucho posteriores á ellos, nos dan noticias de personas de vidas dilatadisimas porque de Ycoatzin, que á la sazon reinaba en el imperio Chichimeca, dicen que gobernó ciento y ochenta años. Su sucesor Motzeloquiatzin ciento cincuenta y seis; Tlamacatzin que le sucedio ciento treinta y tres; Xolotzin el primer emperador que reinó en estas partes despues de los Tultecas, gobernó ciento y doce años, y otros muchos que se veran en el discurso de esta historia, y los mismos reyes Tultecas que todos reinaron cinquenta y dos años, y algunos sobrevivieron muchos mas por la razon que se dirá adelante, y no se me hace dificil creer que aquella soberana Providencia que los guiaba, y destinaba á poblar estas tan vastas regiones, los conservase tanto tiempo la vida, como quiso dilatarsela á los patriarcas y primeros pobladores del universo, y debemos suponer que asi como estos señores principales, habria otros muchisimos en tan numeroso concurso de gentes que lograrian igualmente una dilatada vida. Y verdaderamente no debe hacer esto gran fuerza á los que han andado algo por estos reynos, pues es muy comun en estos tiempos hallarse muchos Indios de crecida edad; yo he conocido y conozco muchos, entre ellos una muger que pasa de cien años, y está tan fuerte y robusta como cualquiera otra de veinte, y es constante la experiencia de que por lo general son de larga vida los Indios, y si con sus desordenes y mal trato que dan á su salud, no se la quebrantaran, llegarian muchos á una grande ancianidad*.

* The eleven chapters which follow of the first part of Echevarria's History of the Origin of the Indians of New Spain, and the entire of the second part, which chiefly relates to the ancient History of the Mexicans, are here omitted, because the original Histories of Tezozomoc and Ixtlilxochitl which treat of the same subject will be found in the ninth volume of the present work. To the merits of the former of these Histories Echevarria bears honourable testimony, in the following passage of the twelfth chapter of the second part of his History of the Origin of the Indians, which we transcribe at greater length because it makes mention of some other native Indian historians whose works have escaped the ravages of time, and, we might also add, the flames of the Inquisition. "Los dos mas famosos historiadores de la nacion Mexicana, que han interpretado sus mapas con mas claridad y orden, son Don Fernando de Alvarado Tetzotzomoc, descendiente de los reyes de Azcaputzalco, que escrivió por los años de 1598, un abultado volumen con el titulo de Cronica Mexicana; y Don Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain Quauhthuamitzin, que escrivió en su lengua Nahuatl con el titulo de Cronica Mexicana, y en la nuestra la misma obra con el titulo de Historia Mexicana, por los años de 1626. Los dos mas famosos en la historia Teochichimeca son Don Domingo Muñon Camargo, mestizo Tlascalteca, que escrivió con el titulo de Cronica Tlaxcayan por los años de 1585, y Don Juan Ventura Zapata y Mendoza, cacique de Tlaxcallan de la cabecera de Quiyahuiztlan, que escrivió en su idioma Nahuatl con el titulo de Cronica de la muy noble y leal Ciudad de Tlaxcayan por los años de 1589." We may here remark, as a fact very deserving of attention, that for nearly half a century after the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, the ecclesiastical authorities discouraged all researches into the history and religion of the ancient Mexicans; and when at the expiration of that long period greater latitude was given to inquiry, the recollection of many important events had been already swallowed up in the gulf of oblivion.

TERCERA NOTICIA DE LA SEGUNDA PARTE

DE LAS

NOTICIAS HISTORIALES

DE LAS

CONQUISTAS DE TIERRA FIRME

EN EL NUEVO REYNO DE GRANADA,

POR

FR. PEDRO SIMON,

OFRECIDA À NUESTRO INVICTISIMO CESAR FILIPO IV. EN EL REAL CONSEJO DE INDIAS, AÑO 1624.

TERCERA NOTICIA

HISTORIAL

DE LAS CONQUISTAS DE TIERRA FIRME.*

Capitulo I.

1. *Las Perdidas y desgraciados Fines, que han sucedido en las Jornadas que se han hecho en demanda del Dorado.*
2. *Dase Noticia de donde tuvo Principio este Nombre del Dorado, y como fue el Nuevo Reyno.*
3. *Comienzase á dar la Razon y Fundamento que se tuvo, sobre que se fundó la primera Noticia.*

1. LA ocasion á que hemos llegado con nuestra historia, nos la da, para que sin pasar de aqui demos noticia de los principios que tuvo este nombre de la provincia del Dorado, aunque dejamos ya tocado algo de esto de paso en la Primera Parte, por haberlos tenido de este Reyno Nuevo de Granada, y la verdad que hay en ello ser hija legitima de esta historia, aunque el nombre se le puso en la ciudad de San Francisco del Quito en los reynos del Peru, desde donde ha volado por tantas partes, que pienso hay pocas, aunque sean remotas, no solo en este Nuevo Mundo, sino aun en todas las otras tres partes de él, por donde no esté estendido este nombre, y noticia de las provincias del Dorado, que ha sido ocasion de dejar á tantos no solo *desdorados*, sino perdidas sus haciendas, casas, y vidas; no habiendose perdonado nada de esto en los descubrimientos que se han intentado de las tierras que publica esta fama, fingiendolas cada uno donde quiere, y poniendo la proa de sus diligencias para donde la gobiernan sus pensamientos sin mas luz que unas ciegas relaciones, que algunos dan sin bastante fundamento. Si bien es verdad, que todos las enderezan hacia el corazon y entrañas de esta tierra firme, de quien solo estan habitadas de Españoles todas sus riberas en redondo del Mar de que está cercada: porque lo está por una parte de el del Norte, por otra del mar de Etiopia, por otra del estrecho ó canal de Magallanes, y por la otra del mar del Sur; de hacia donde corre y vacia en el mar del Norte por las Bocas del Drago el famoso rio Orinoco, por cuyas feroces aguas suele meterse el animo y brío Español, como hemos dicho en nuestra Primera Parte lo hizo Don Diego de Ordas, y Don Pedro de Silva, y otros muchos; porque desde las margenes de este rio, que subiendo por el demoran á la mano derecha hasta las del rio Papamene, que bajando por las provincias del Caguan, que está á las espaldas de este Nuevo Reyno, entra en el mismo Orinoco; cerca de sus bocas fingen las de los que dan estas noticias, estar las del Dorado: en cuya demanda se han puesto en ejecucion grandes y costosas jornadas, trasegando mares y rios, trastornando tierras y provincias de dificultosisimos caminos, estalages, y habitaciones; sin haber surtido otro efecto, que perdidas de familias, que á la fama de este nombre campanudo del Dorado, no han reparado en dejar sus tierras en los reynos de España, y venir á buscar su perdicion y total ruina. De que son buenos testigos los lastimosos fines que han tenido quantos han intentado estos caminos y entradas; sin que haya habido uno de los muchos que se han puesto á ello, que

* These two Historical Notices of Pére Simon will be very valuable to the future historian of America. They have never been published, and were copied from the MS. of the author.

le haya sucedido otra cosa que calamidades sin un dia de descanso ; que no deja de ser ocasion de espanto, ver que todos los que intentan esto, corren igual fortuna de desgracias. Cuya verdad nos desempeñan los sucesos referidos en la Primera Parte de las jornadas de Don Diego de Ordas por el Orinoco, las dos de Don Pedro de Silva; la del capitan Juan de Cerpa ; las del capitan Antonio de Berrio desde este reyno, y la del capitan Domingo de Vera : cuyos fines han sido lastimosas tragedias, celebradas con tristes y mal enjugadas lagrimas que duran hoy.

2. El fundamento pues que hubo, de donde se han levantado estas polvaredas del Dorado, fue de esta suerte. Recien poblada la ciudad de San Francisco del Quito por el capitan Sebastian de Belalcazar el año de 1534, siendo adelantado del Peru Don Francisco Pizarro, y su teniente general el Belalcazar, este capitan andando con cuidado, inquiriendo por todos los caminos que podia sin perder ocasion, de todas las tierras y provincias de que pudiese tener noticias, entre los demas Indios de quien se andaba informando, la tuvo de que habia alli en la ciudad un forastero, y preguntandole por su tierra, dijo, que se llamaba Muizqueta, y su cacique Bogota, que es como hemos dicho este Nuevo Reyno de Granada, que los Españoles le llamaron Bogota. Y preguntandole si en su tierra habia de aquel metal que le mostraba, que era oro, respondió ser mucha la cantidad que habia y de esmeraldas, que el nombraba en su lengua piedras verdes. Y añadia, que habia una laguna en la tierra de su cacique, donde el entraba algunas veces al año en unas balsas bien hechas al medio de ella, yendo en cueros, pero todo el cuero lleno desde la cabeza á los pies y manos, de una trementina muy pegajosa, y sobre ella echado mucho oro en polvo fino ; de suerte que quajando de oro toda aquella trementina, se hacia todo una capa, ó segundo pellejo de oro, que dandole el sol por la mañana, que era quando se hacia este sacrificio, y en dia claro, daba grandes resplandores, y entrando así hasta el medio de la laguna, alli hacia sacrificio y ofrenda, arrojando al agua algunas piezas de oro, y esmeraldas con ciertas palabras, que decia. Y haciendose luego lavar con ciertas yerbas, como jaboneras todo el cuerpo, cahia todo el oro que trahia á cuestas en el agua: con que se acababa el sacrificio, y se salia de la laguna, y vestia sus mantas. Fue esta nueva tan aproposito de lo que deseaba el Belalcazar y sus soldados, que estaban cebados para mayores descubrimientos con los que iban haciendo en el Peru, que se determinaron luego á hacer este de que daba noticia el Indio. Y confiriendo entre ellos que nombre le darian para entenderse, y diferenciar aquella provincia de las demas de sus conquistas, determinaron llamarle la Provincia del Dorado, que fue como decir : llamese aquella la provincia donde va á ofrecer sus sacrificios aquel hombre ó cacique con el cuerpo dorado. Esta es la raiz y tronco de donde han salido por el mundo las estendidas ramas de la fama del Dorado ; y fuera de esto todo lo demas es pura ficcion y nombre sin cosa sobre que caiga, si no es que lo fingen donde lo pone el deseo que tienen de hallar tanto oro, que puedan dorarse como el otro cacique, y asi poder llamar á la tierra que tan abundantemente se descubriese, otro Dorado ; y de esta suerte irlos multiplicando hasta los que quisieren, de que yá dejamos tratado en nuestra Primera Parte.

3. Pero para que sepa el lector de fundamento, el que el Indio tuvo para decir lo que dijo de esta su tierra de Bogota, habré de hacer aqui una forzosa digresion, en que se dira á donde y como se hacia aquel ofrecimiento del Dorado, segun mas cierta opinion ; con que se hallará aqui consecutivo, uno tras otro, sin atormentar el deseo, mientras no lo halla escrito, y yo quedaré ya desocupado, para quando llegue á la parte donde me era forzoso decirlo, no pudiendome escusar por ser cosa de consideracion en esta historia. Pues para que mejor se entienda la que aqui hay, digo, que entre las demas supersticiones que tenian los Indios de este Nuevo Reyno (de que despues hablaré mui largo,) en ofrecer sacrificios á sus fingidos y falsos dioses, entre los quales ponian en primer lugar al Sol, era ofrecerles sacrificios en las aguas, no porque tuviesen á las aguas por dioses, sino porque el demonio, cuyas eran las trazas por donde estos miserables se governaban, se las tenia dadas, de manera que lo honrasen á él en las aguas, queriendo con su depravada voluntad igualarse en esto con Dios, que tanto se da por honrado y servido en las aguas, como lo dió á entender luego á los primeros pasos de la creacion del mundo, quando el espiritu del Señor anduvo sobre las aguas* : tambien quiere, que le bendigan todas las aguas del mar, fuentes, y rios, y al fin quiso ser honrado con las aguas del baptismo, ordenando que ellas fuesen instrumento con que saliesen las almas del poder del demonio, y se escribiesen y alistasen debajo sus banderas de Cristo, por la gracia que alli reciben.

* Gen. cap. ii.

Capitulo II.

1. *Describese la Laguna de Guatabita.*
2. *Ahogase la Cacica en la Laguna; y cuentase la hechizeria para sacarla con unas Niñas que tambien se ahogaron.*
3. *Ofrendas, que se hacian en la Laguna; y Adulterio de la Cacica, y su castigo.*
4. *Segunda hechizeria para sacar la Niña: la sacan muerta, y la vuelven al agua.*

1. Lo qual asi determinado por el demonio y obedecido por ellos, hacian estas ofrendas, no en qualquiera aguas, sino en aquellas que parecia habia alguna particular razon, por ser extraordinario su sitio, asiento, ó disposicion, como en partes extraordinarias de rios, como lo hacian en una parte peñascosa del de Boza, quando pasa por cerca de un cerro que llaman del Tabaco, dos leguas y media de esta ciudad de Santafé; en lagunas de sitios y puestos peregrinos, como se hacia en una que está cerca de este pozo del rio, en la mitad de tierra que hay desde él al pueblo de Suacha. Llaman á este puesto Bochachio (ó Bazazio). Pero entre todas estas partes, el mas frequentado y famoso adoratorio fue la laguna que llaman de Guatabita, que está una legua poco mas del pueblo asi llamado, de quien ya dejamos dicho algo. Esta laguna tiene mil razones de las que los Indios buscaban, y el demonio pedia para hacer en ella sus ofrecimientos. Porque está en la cumbre de unos muy altos cerros á la parte del Norte respecto del pueblo. Causase de unas fuentezuelas, ó manantialejos, que salen de lo alto del cerro, que la sobrepuja, que manaran por todos como un brazo de agua, que es la que de ordinario sale de la laguna, ó poca mas; aunque puede ser tenga otros manantiales dentro de agua, que aun no se ha podido saber por ser tan profunda: la qual no tiene de ancho en redondo aunque un poco ovalada, mas de un tiro largo de piedra. A la redonda subira desde el agua otro tanto por lo mas alto, porque no estan parejas las cumbres, que la cercan. Algunos arboles bajos, como los consiente la frialdad del páramo donde está, cercan sus riveras de sus aguas claras, aunque no gustosas, por picar un poco en sabor de agua de bomba.

2. Aqui pues, como en lugar acomodado de los que el demonio pedia, se solian hacer algunos ofrecimientos con el modo que el les tenia ordenado; el qual se solia aparecer en las mismas aguas en figura de un dragoncillo, ó culebra grande. Y en apareciendo, le habian de ofrecer algun oro, ó esmeraldas, para lo qual estaban con vigilancia los Xeques aguardando en unas chozuelas á la vera del agua. Duraron estos ofrecimientos, que no eran muy en grueso, hasta que se aumentaron despues con lo que sucedio á la muger del cacique Guatabita. El qual en tiempos muy atrasados, quando todos los caciques gozaban libremente de su señorio, antes que el Bogota tiranicamente los sugetase, era el mas poderoso Señor, que habia en todo este Reyno de los Moscas, reconociendole superioridad muchos caciques sus convecinos, no por modo de tirania y servidumbre, como despues sucedio con el Bogota, sino por un respeto y reverencia, que le tenian como á mayor Señor, y de mayor linage, sangre, y prendas. Sucedio pues en aquella edad, que entre las mugeres que tenia, estaba una de tan buenas partes en sangre y hermosura, que asi como en esta excedia á las demas, tambien les excedia en la estimacion que hacia de ella el Guatabita. Lo qual no advirtiendo la Cacica como debiera, hizole traycion con un caballero de los de la corte, y no tan en secreto, que no llegara á los oidos del marido; el qual puso tan buenas diligencias en haber á las manos el adultero, que presto le cayó en ellas, y desde aquellas en aquel cruel tormento de muerte, que usaban en tales casos, como era empalarlos, habiéndole primero hecho cortar las partes de la puridad, con las quales quiso castigar á la muger, sin darle otro castigo, que darselas á comer guisadas en los comistrages que ellos usaban, en una fiesta que se hizo, por ventura, solo para al proposito en publico, por serlo ya tanto el delito. De que fueron tan grandes los sentimientos de la muger, que no hubieran sido mayores, si hubiera pasado por la pena del agresor; á que se añadieron otros no menores, cantando el delito los Indios en sus borracheras y corros, no solo en el cercado y casa del cacique, á la vista y oidos de la muger, sino en los de todos sus vasallos, ordenandolo asi el Guatabita, para escarmiento de las demas mugeres y castigo de la adúltera.

3. En la qual fueron creciendo tanto los sentimientos de estas fiestas amargas para ella, que por huir de ellas, trató de huir de esta vida con desesperacion, para entrar en mayores tormentos en la otra. Y asi un dia en que halló la ocasion que deseaba, se salió del cercado y casas de su marido, á deshora con el mayor secreto que pudo, sin

llevar consigo mas que una muchacha, que llevaba cargada una hija que habia parido poco habia, de su marido el cacique; y caminando á la laguna, apenas huvo llegado, quando por no ser sentida de los Xeques, que estaban á la redonda en sus chozuelas, arrojó á las niñas al agua, y ella tras ellas, donde se ahogaron, y fueron á pique sin poderlas remediar los Mohanes que salieron de sus cabañas al golpe, que oyeron en el agua; aunque conocieron luego, por ser de dia, quien era la que se habia ahogado. Y asi viendo no tenia ya aquello remedio, partio uno de ellos á mayor correr, á dar aviso al cacique del desgraciado suceso; el qual partiendo al mismo paso para la laguna con ansias mortales, por no haverse persuadido que los sentimientos hubiesen trahido á tal estado á su muger que hiciese aquello, y por la desgracia de su hija, luego que llegó, y no las vido, por haberse ya sumido los cuerpos que pretendia sacar si estuviesen sobreaguados, mandó á uno el mayor echicero de los Xeques, que hiciese como sacar á su muger é hija de aquel lago. El Xeque trató luego con sus vanas ceremonias y supersticiones de poner por obra lo que se le ordenaba. Para lo qual mandó luego encender lumbre á la lengua del agua, y poner en las brasas unos guijarros pelados, hasta que quedasen como las demas brasas. Y estándolo ya, y el desnudo, echolos en el agua, y el tras ellos, zabullendose sin salir de ella por un buen espacio de tiempo, como lo hace un buen nadador, ó buzo, como el era, hasta que salió solo, como entró, diciendo, que habia hallado á la cacica viva, embuste que el demonio le puso en la imaginacion, y que estaba en unas casas y cercado mejor que el que dejaba en Guatabita, y tenia el dragoncillo en las faldas, estando alli con tanto gusto, que aunque le habia dicho de parte de su marido el que tendria en que saliese, y que ya no trataria mas del caso pasado, no estaba de ese parecer; pues ya habia hallado descanso de sus trabajos, á que no queria volver, pues el habia sido causa de que le dejasen ella y su hija, á la qual criaria alli donde estaba, para que la tuviese compañia.

4. No se aquietó el cacique con el recado del Xeque; y asi diciendole, que le sacará siquiera á su hija, sela hizo buscar otra vez. Con los mismos guijarros hechos ascuas repitio la ceremonia zabullendose; y volviendo á salir, trajo el cuerpo de la niña muerta, y sacados los ojos, diciendo, se los habia sacado el dragoncillo estando todavia en las faldas de la madre, para que no siendo la niña con ojos, ni alma de provecho entre los hombres de esta vida, la volviesen á enviar á la otra con su madre, que la quedaba aguardando. A que acudio el cacique, por entender asi lo ordenaba el dragoncillo, á quien el reverenciaba tanto; y asi le mandó volver á echar el cuerpezuelo en la laguna, donde luego se hundio, quedando el Guatabita sin poder consolarse en nada, por lo mucho que queria á la hija y madre, no obstante lo que habia usado con él.

Capitulo III.

1. *Aparecese el Demonio en figura de la Cacica, para confirmarlos en sus Supersticiones, y el modo que tenian de hacerlas.*
2. *Echose mucho oro en la Laguna, quando se supo de la llegada de los Españoles.*
3. *El desague, que le hizo Antonio de Sepulveda, para sacar el Oro, y en lo que paro.*

1. No fue perezosa la fama en divulgar por toda la tierra este supuesto, asi en lo que tuvo de verdad, como en lo fabuloso y mentira, como lo era el decirse estaba la cacica viva, despues de haber muerto en las aguas de la laguna; lo qual se creyó con la facilidad que la verdad del caso. Porque el enemigo de ella disponia los animos á que se persuadiesen á ello: con que tambien lo quedaron de ser verdad lo que ya les tenia introducido, de que despues de muertos, habia otra vida, donde comian y bebian, y eran servidos de sus criados, como en esta. Por donde se venian á perder mas temprano tantas almas, como eran las de aquellos criados y criadas que enterraban consigo vivos, los caciques y señores, demas de sus comidas y bebidas, armas, vestidos y telas, con que se hacen otros en rompiendose aquellos con que los enterraban. Luego comenzaron á tomar fuerza los sacrificios que se hacian en la laguna, yendo con ellos alli en todas las necesidades, pareciendoles á los vasallos de Guatabita, que pues estaba alli viva su cacica se las remediaria; y lo mismo hacian los que no lo eran, á quien habia llegado esta fama, que fue por largas tierras, viniendo de todas con sus oblaciones á la laguna. Y asi habia muchas carreras ó caminos anchos, que estos Indios usaban para ir á sus santuarios, que llegaban á la laguna, y cada pueblo tenia y conocia el suyo, que guiaba desde aquella parte por donde venian, como el de Tunja, ó Choconta, Ubate, Bogota, &c. por donde entraban á echar

sus sacrificios, que venian hechos desde media legua antes de llegar á la laguna, como los hallaron los Españoles, y aun hoy se conocen, y yo los hé visto. Los sacrificios se hacian por medio de los Xeques. El demonio viendo lo bien que le habia salido la traza, para asegurarlos mas en aquellas vanas supersticiones, se aparecia de quando en quando sobre las aguas de la laguna, en figura, gesto, y talle de la cacica, desnuda de medio para arriba, y de alli para abajo ceñida de una manta de algodon colorada; y diciendo algunas cosas que habian de suceder de las que penden de las disposiciones y causas naturales, que el tambien conoce, como que habia de haber secas, hambres, enfermedades, muertes de tal ó tal cacique que estaba enfermo; desapareciase, quedando los miserables persuadidos en que la cacica era la poderosa para enviar, ó quitar por su mano aquello que habia dicho, y veian, que sucedia. Con que no perdonaban al buen oro, joyas, esmeraldas, comidas, y otras cosas, que no ofreciesen en sus necesidades, usando de esta ceremonia en el ofrecimiento. Tomaban dos cuerdas, que pudiesen atravesar la laguna por el medio, y cruzandolas de una parte á otra, en la cruz que hacian, se venia á conocer el medio ó centro de la laguna, á donde iban dos Xeques, y la persona que hacia el ofrecimiento, en unas balsas, que son de hazes de eneas ó espadañas secas, juntos, atados unos con otros, ó de palos, con que se hace un modo de barca, donde pueden ir tres, quatro ó mas personas, segun son de anchas y largas, con que tambien se pasan los rios, donde no hay puentes. Con estas pues llegaban al medio de las aguas de la laguna; y alli con ciertas palabras y ceremonias echaban en ellas las ofrendas, menores ó mayores, segun para la necesidad que se hacia, y el posible del que la hacia; viniendo á ser algunas de tanto valor, como hemos dicho en el capitulo antes del pasado numero 2, hacia el cacique Guatabita, dorandose el cuerpo; por donde vino á decir el Indio en la ciudad de Quito, lo que dijo, y los Españoles á ponerle á esta provincia el nombre del Dorado.

2. Y porque concluyamos con lo que hay que decir de esta laguna, digo, que como este era su principal santuario y comun de toda la tierra; y aun hay quien diga haver sido entierro de algunos caciques, mandando quando morian echar en aquellas aguas sus cuerpos con sus riquezas, quando se fue divulgando que entraban unos hombres barbudos, y buscaban con cuidado el oro entre los Indios, sacaron muchos el que tenian guardado, llevandolo, y ofreciendolo en la laguna, ó rogando con aquel sacrificio que les librase la cacica de aquellos hombres que entraban por sus tierras, como de las plagas que les solian venir; ó queriendo mas tenerlo ofrecido en su santuario que en sus casas, á peligro que lo hubiesen á las manos los Españoles. Hicieron esto algunos en tanta cantidad de oro, que solo el cacique del pueblo de Simijaca echó en la laguna quarenta cargas, que llevaron quarenta Indios desde el pueblo á la laguna, como se verifico de ellos mismos y del cacique, sobrino y succesor en el cacicazgo, al qual lo envio, que fue el que iba con los Indios que lo llevaban, y lanzó en la laguna, que quando menos serian quarenta quintales de oro fino. Tomose motivo para averiguar esta verdad, de que el encomendero del pueblo, que es el capitan Gonzalo de Leon Venero, persuadiendo al cacique, que se llamaba Don Alonso, que le mostrara algunos santuarios, pues era mejor servirse del oro, que tenerle en ellos sin provecho ofrecido al demonio, le respondio el Indio de amistad y con secreto, que si desaguaba la laguna de Guatabita, sacaria infinitas riquezas, porque su tio solo habia enviado con él las cargas de oro referidas. De que se hizo averiguacion ser asi, y haber hecho otros muchos lo mismo, unos con mas, otros con menos.

3. De cuya fama movidos muchos de los soldados que descubrieron la tierra, intentaron desaguar la laguna, como lo puso en egecucion el capitan Lazaro Fonte, despues que salio de las borrascas en que se vido; aunque como no fue mucho el caudal con que lo intentó, no pudieron ser las diligencias que eran menester para conseguir el efecto con provecho. Y asi con menos de esto que de gasto, dió de mano á la labor; aunque no faltó quien la pasase adelante mas de proposito, por hallarse con mas caudal y suficiente á su parecer para hacer el desagüe, pareciendole no poderlo emplear en cosa de mayor ganancia que en la que esperaba sacar de la laguna. Y asi determinose á esto un Antonio de Sepulveda, mercader de esta ciudad de Santafé. Pasó desde aqui en España por los años de 1580, donde sacó del consejo una cedula con ciertas condiciones, para poder él, y no otro, desaguar la laguna, y que sele diese de la real audiencia todo el favor que fuese necesario, y los Indios que pidiese para la labor del desagüe. El qual se pasó á hacer luego que fue de vuelta de España mui de proposito, haciendo casas junto á la laguna, y un barco para ella, desde donde sondaba la altura, que se halló ser por medio de 25 brazas. Juntó luego muchos Indios gastadores, que tomando las zanjas desde la altura, que parecio á los ingenieros bastaba, las iban siguiendo con mil dificultades, que se ponian delante de grandes peñas. Con que se comenzó á descubrir luego, ser la dificultad mayor que lo que se entendia; aunque rompiendo por todo con grandes gastos de herramientas y vino, por ser la tierra de frios paramos, y no poder los Indios de otra suerte sufrir el trabajo, se fue llegando el desmonte de los dos cerros,

que tiene á los lados el desaguadero de la laguna, á donde yendo cortando la una y otra parte del cerro, y apuntalando, ó ademando con maderos mui gruesos, se comenzó á abrir boca al desaguadero; de manera que ya iba vaciando mas de lo ordinario, y dejando descubiertas sus orillas, donde iban hallando algunas joyas de oro de mil hechuras,—chagualas, ó patenas, sierpezuelas, águilas, esmeraldas, que sacaban de entre la lama y cieno, que se iba descubriendo. Y la razon porque las hallaban, era, porque no todos entraban á ofrecer al medio de la laguna, quando eran de poco precio los ofrecimientos, sino desde fuera del agua las ofrecian por las orillas. Al fin aquello poco, que alli hallaban, daba al Sepulveda animo de pasar adelante con la esperanza de sacar lo que gastaba, y mucho mas, como fuera sin duda, si su caudal hubiera sustentado la labor que fue menester: porque á cada desagüe que iban dando, se hallaban mayores y mas ricas piezas de oro, y esmeraldas, y tal vez sacaron una como un huevo, una mitra y baculo de obispo hecha de planchas de oro, y el baculo aforrado de las mismas canoillas de oro y otras joyas; que fue todo hasta en cantidad de cinco ó seis mil ducados, que iban metiendo en la caja real, por haber sido una de las condiciones con que se le habia dado la licencia, para que se partiese despues de junto todo lo que se sacase por mitad al mercader y la caja, habiendole pagado la costa, de la qual no habia de poner el rey alguna. Al fin siendo mas la que hacia, que lo que podia su bolsa, sucedio que no teniendo bien puntalados los cortes del desagüe, y sobreviniendo muchas aguas del invierno, dieron abajo la una y otra banda de las barrancas, volviendo á cegar la salida del agua en tiempo que yá no alcanzó el caudal del mercader á volver á limpiar la tierra. Y asi le fue forzoso dejar la rancheria y labor, y irse á morir á un hospital, sin haberle quedado caudal para otra cosa, ni haber habido despues quien se atreva á tomar entre manos la empresa de proposito.

Capitulo IV.

1. *Sale el Capitan Belalcazar de la Ciudad de Quito en demanda de Bogota, con titulo de buscar el Dorado, que es el Nuevo Reyno de Granada.*
2. *Vuelve otra vez Belalcazar á Quito, y desde alli sale otra vez á buscar el Dorado.*
3. *Viene Belalcazar por muchas dificultades y trabajos á dar al Valle de Neyba. De la Gente, y Conquistadores del Reyno.*

1. No se le cocia, como dicen, al Belalcazar el pan en el horno de los deseos, que se le habian encendido en el pecho de hacer jornada para esta tierra del Dorado ó Bogota, de que el Indio le habia dado las noticias, y el nombre. Y asi luego que se desembarazó de las guerras que se levantaron con los naturales de la tierra y distrito de Quito, procurando poner en efecto estos sus deseos, despachó con buen avio la gente con que se hallaba de presente con el capitan Juan de Ampudia, para que fuesen delante de el, que se quedaba á allegar mas soldados á la villa del Pasto, que estaba recien poblada; y desde alli pasase á la provincia del Popayan, de quien se tenian noticias y de sus muchas riquezas; desde donde pasase á la tierra del Dorado para donde le iba guiando el Indio que habia dado las noticias. Salio con estos propositos de Quito el capitan Ampudia, y llegando á Pasto, pasó hasta dar vista á la tierra de Popayan, y desde alli á la de Cali, donde advirtiendo le enfermaba la gente, determinó de torcer el camino á la mano izquierda ó vanda del Norte, contra las voces que daba el Indio de Bogota, diciendo que su tierra y Dorado estaba á la mano derecha. Pero no queriendo seguir por entonces lo que el Indio decia, el qual murio de alli á pocos dias, por ventura de pena en ver no guiaban los soldados acia su tierra, llegaron á la provincia donde despues se pobló la ciudad de Cartago, desde donde por los muchos naturales que habia, no atreviendose por entonces con ellos por ser pocos los soldados, se retiraron á la tierra de Cali, donde pobló la villa de Ampudia, y donde no les faltaron refriegas con los Indios y Indias, que peleaban mejor que los hombres. Estando alli celebrando la semana santa, aunque una semana antes que lo fuese por la impericia de los curas, que sabian poco de computo, el año de 1536, llegó Belalcazar con la gente que pudo recoger: el qual mandó luego despoblar el pueblo, aunque veia la grosedad de la tierra, porque tenia concebido en su entendimiento era mucho mayor la del Dorado de Bogota, que iba buscando; y para volver á aquella tierra no faltaria ocasion, sin perder por entonces la que se le ofrecia de sus noticias, y la que tambien pensaba hallar para hacer viage á España, donde intentaba ir á negociar para si el govierno de aquellas tierras, que habia descubierto.

2. De manera que dos intentos sacaron del Quito al general Belalcazar para intentar esta jornada: el uno des-

cubierto y claro, á titulo del qual hizo la gente que trahia, que fue venir á Bogota en demanda del Dorado, con que doró sus acciones y encubrio en su pecho el otro, que era el ir á España á lo dicho: Y pienso era este el que mas cuidado le daba, como se vio en la diligencia que luego hizo. Salieron desde este sitio de la villa despoblada de Ampudia, y llegaron al rio que llamaron de la Vieja, bien celebrado en esta tierra por una que hallaron alli, que lo era segun su aspecto de mas de cien años; pero tan llena toda de oro fino, que parece queria suplir con la hermosura de aquel metal la que sus años le habian quitado. Del qual estaba tan cargada con orejeras, collares, manillas, y una muy ancha cinta de oro batido con que ceñia por la cintura sus arrugadas y curtidas carnes, que las trahia sin mas defensa que la del pellejo, que pesaba todo mas de seiscientos ducados. De que la desocupó un soldado llamado Miguel Muñoz, no haciendo la buena vieja resistencia, antes parecia holgarse de que la descargasen ya de aquel pesado metal, dejandole por paga puesto al rio el nombre de su edad. De alli pasaron hasta el sitio donde despues se pobló la villa de Ancerma; y de alli revolvieron á la provincia de los Indios Garrones, desde donde envio el general Belalcazar al capitan Juan Ladrillero con algunos soldados á descubrir si hallaban camino para la Mar del Sur, por donde pensaba si se hallara, dar con tonada á Don Francisco Pizarro, por no podersele escapar de otra suerte, para ir en España á sus intentos; aunque por entonces quedaron defraudados, por haberlo quedado tambien los que tenia el Ladrillero, de hallar camino para el Sur, por las espesuras y malezas de las montañas, que lo defendian; y asi le fue forzoso sin ningun buen efecto volverse á su general. El qual trató por entonces de revolver hacia la ciudad de Quito, á donde llegó, dejando de camino pobladas la ciudad de Popayan y la villa de Cali el año de 1536. Dio cuenta de lo hecho á Don Francisco Pizarro, el qual confirmandole en su oficio de su teniente general, le dio nuevos poderes para poderse alargar á todos los descubrimientos que se le ofreciesen, no habiendo el Don Francisco alcanzado á hacerlos de los intentos del Belalcazar, porque se los supo bien ocultar. Y asi con ellos y sus nuevas licencias, y este ruido de ir á buscar el Dorado, allegó buena compañia, con que saliendo de Quito, donde quedaba Don Francisco Pizarro, llegó á Popayan el mes de mayo de 1538; y reparando alli poco por el pio que trahia de llegar á esta provincia del Reyno en demanda de su Dorado, luego que el tiempo les abrió, escogiendo trescientos hombres, los ciento de a caballo, con gran carruage y Yanacones y otros Indios y Indias sirvientes, con prevencion para quatro años de sedas, lienzos, paños, y otras cosas de Castilla, y caballos en que se cargase, comenzó su jornada á la parte del oriente, por donde les decia el Indio Bogota estaba su tierra.

3. Era la que comenzaron luego á encontrar, tan aspera y doblada de riscos, cerros, montañas cerradas, rios, quebradas, ramblas, pantanos, tremedales y balzares, con malas influencias del cielo, que si el no les ayudára perecieran todos, segun comenzaron luego á enfermar. Pero con tal ayuda vinieron á dar en el valle de Neyba*, tierra como dejamos dicho mal sana por entonces, aunque llana y desahogada de montañas, pues no las tiene sino á la margen del Rio grande de la Magdalena que lo baña, y de los que entran en el por ambas partes. Por la que llegaron, que es la tierra de los Coyaymas, hallaron muchos lugares poblados, y muchos despoblados por unas sangrientas guerras civiles, que se habian levantado entre ellos; por donde se vinieron á dividir y apartar despues á los llanos los Coyaymas de los Pixaos, que se retiraron á las sierras, de que trataremos quando en nuestra Tercera Parte llegue la historia á esta tierra: en la qual estuvo algunos dias el general Belalcazar reformando su gente por haber comidas abundantes, no con falta de guazabaras, que les daban los Indios, en especial los Geporoges con sus caciques Acatulo y Yapaolos: en una de las quales mataron un criado del general, llamado Saldaña, cerca de un gran rio que baja de las sierras, con que le quedó hasta hoy al rio el mismo nombre; aunque otros dicen, que al pasar el rio se le ahogó el criado. Y fue bueno estar los Indios en sus guerras para no tenerlas mayores con los nuestros, á quien les bastaban las que trahian de enfermedades y disgustos de hallar la tierra sin oro. Por lo qual pareciendole á Belalcazar seria acertado no dejar sin poblar la de Timana, que sabian lo tenia, envió á los capitanes Juan de Ampudia, y Pedro de Añasco con alguna gente con setenta hombres, que volviesen á Popayan, y desde alli el uno á poblar á Timana, quedandose él con los demas, y los capitanes Juan de Cabrera, Juan Tafur, Juan de Avendaño, Martinez, y Luis Sanabria: de los quales el Tafur, Avendaño, y Sanabria, se habian tambien hallado en la conquista de Cubagua. Ya quando iban caminando el valle abajo, llegaron al parage de las fortalecillas, donde habian llegado por esta otra banda del Rio grande los soldados, que dias habia, habian ido á buscar con el general Quesada la casa del Sol. Tuvieron nuevas de los Indios, que ya habia otros hombres como ellos en la tierra; de que recibieron harta pena, por haberles en esto sucedido lo que el Belalcazar se sospechaba, por saber andaban muchos conquistando por muchas

* Antes de llegar á Neyba se estuvieron en Timana, por la riqueza que en ella hallaron del contrato del hayo, de que fue y es mui abundante, y hallaron cosa de 5000 Indios en aquella provincia.

partes. Y esas eran las causas que le hacian andar siempre con priesas para hacer este descubrimiento, por los temores que tenia no se le hubiese otro, anticipado en cosa que el se prometia una gran grosedad por las nuevas del Indio. Tampoco falto otro que las diese al general Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, de como esos estaban en el valle de Neyba; de cuya verdad quedó bien enterado, por irse refrescando á cada hora de Indios amigos; los quales para mayores señas de ser asi, decian que no venian vestidos como ellos estaban de mantas de su tierra, sino de otras cosas mejores, y trahian mucha gente que les servian.

Capitulo V.

1. *Sale Fernan Perez de Quesada á saber que Gente es la que viene por el Valle de Neyba, y vese con Belalcazar.*
2. *Convida Fernan Perez á Belalcazar, si quiere venir á Santafé, y no se resuelve por entonces.*
3. *Tiene noticia Lazaro Fonte de la venida del General Nicolas de Fedreman por la orilla de los llanos, y dala al General Ximenez de Quesada.*

1. No dejó de causar novedad al Gonzalo Ximenez y sus soldados por las que se podian seguir de juntarse diferentes conquistadores. Pero para certificarse mas de la verdad, y disponerse para lo que pudiese suceder, se determinó saliese una esquadra de buenos soldados, y por cabo su hermano Fernan Perez de Quesada, á quien quisieron acompañar los capitanes Juan de Cespedes y Pedro de Colmenares. Fueron caminando con cuidado, y con solas las noticias que sacaron de Santafé hasta llegar á Guataqui cerca ya del valle de Neyba, donde las hallaron mui mas claras por unas xaras emplumadas, que los Indios les mostraban, que habian trahido de las que los Peruleros tiraban; á cuyo sitio, y alojamiento los fueron guiando los mismos que mostraban las xaras, hasta llevarlos al rio, que llaman Sabandija, (cuyas aguas me han apagado algunas veces la sed,) que era ya cerca del alojamiento de los Peruleros; donde se escondieron el capitan Pedro de Colmenares, Juan Rodriguez, Gil y Juan de Frias, con algunos otros soldados en emboscada, para si acaso se ofreciese ocasion de descuido en los del Peru, cogerlos, y saber que gente era. Estando asi encubiertos entre las yerbas de la margen del rio Sabandija, llamado asi por una culebrilla que vieron en el los primeros que le descubrieron, llegó á el un mancebo á caballo, y á vista de los escondidos comenzó desde el caballo á pescar con una caña y anzuelo; y determinando salir para pescarlo á él, apenas se hubieron meneado quando lo sintio el caballo, y apuntando con vista y orejas hacia ellos, al punto volvio los ojos el mozo á donde el caballo, y viendolos apretóle las piernas, con que llegó como un viento á donde los compañeros, dando arma con mil desentonadas voces, que entendieron venia el mundo sobre ellos. Envio luego Belalcazar al capitan Juan Cabrera, con los capitanes Pedro de Puelles, Juan Diaz Hidalgo, y Juan de Arevalo, con algunos otros de á caballo, que llegaron hasta veinte, á reconocer la gente de Quesada: la qual iba ya al descubierto á verse con los del Peru. Con que en breve se encontraron los unos con los otros, entre los quales hubo grandes cortesias de ambas partes; y dandose cuenta unos á otros en suma de sus descubrimientos y trabajos, se fueron mano á mano á descansar de los suyos, los de Quesada á las tiendas de Belalcazar, donde los recibio con gusto sagaz, pues nunca se aseguró tan del todo, por lo que pudiera succder, que se descuidase de andar sobre aviso; el que tampoco faltó en los de Quesada prevenidos para todo suceso.

2. Pero aseguraronse luego de ambas partes quedando sin ningunas sospechas unos de otros: con que abrió del todo su pecho el Fernan Perez, y dando á Belalcazar un mui cumplido y cortesano recado de parte de su hermano, le contó mas á la larga el descubrimiento que habian hecho, la disposicion de la tierra, y el aparejo que desde ella se habia hallado para otras mayores, por las vistas que se habian dado á los llanos, de que no se pensaba dejar de tomar noticia en habiendo oportunidad de pertrechos y caballos. Admitió Belalcazar el recado y cortesías de Fernan Perez, y con las mismas hizo el retorno, ofreciendo soldados, caballos, y quanto el trahia para que consiguiesen los intentos que tenian de mayores descubrimientos; por que los suyos ya no eran por entonces sino de cumplir los que dias habia le solicitaban, de irse á España por el camino que veia abierto de los del Reyno, supuesto que la tierra de su hombre dorado ya tenia dueño: Deseando con esta diligencia serlo él tambien en propriedad y no como teniente de la que habia descubierto y poblado desde Quito para abajo. Estimó en mucho el Fernan Perez estos ofrecimientos, y haciendolos mui cumplidos de todo lo que se quisiese servir Belalcazar de la rancheria de Santafé,

donde quedaba su hermano, le suplicó se sirviese ir alla á verse con él, con quien se podia tratar de los intentos de la ida á España, pues el estaba con los mismos, y con una gran voluntad que desde luego de su parte le ofrecia para servirle á él, y á todos sus soldados. Los quales, como no siempre el vulgo es de una opinion, se dividieron en tenerlas diferentes, y aun que no del todo al descubierto, hubo algunos que dieron á entender, fuera bueno librar en las armas el derecho de la tierra descubierta. Fuele esta platica al capitan Juan de Cespedes, y no sabiendo de burlas en cosas que pedian veras, dijo en alta voz: Señores, á las tierras que nosotros hemos ganado, otros no han de entrar á poseerlas, sino por las puntas de las lanzas: y pues á nadie quitamos sus trabajos, estas dificultades hallará, el que intentare quitarnos los nuestros. Oyó estas razones el capitan Juan Cabrera, hombre de mui gran suerte y valor en toda ocasion; y viendo que aquella lo era de encenderse algunos pesados disgustos, procuró pisar aquellas centellas, diciendo: Señor Capitan, bien pienso que quando el negocio viniera á eso, no nos las dieron en las espaldas, porque no sabemos volverlas á mayores peligros. Pero ahora no deseamos sino paz y amistad, y que cada uno goze lo que su buena suerte y trabajos le hubieren dado; porque sabemos lo que cuesta conquistar un palmo de tierra, como nos lo ha dicho la experiencia á los curtidos en esto. Y asi mas deseo saber el nombre de vuestra merced, para servirle, que no pasara delante inquietudes. Llamome Juan de Cespedes, respondio, mas conocido que la ruda, y mi nombre bien sabido de todos por mares y tierras de estas Indias. Aunque hé andado muchas partes de ellas, respondio el Cabrera, nunca há llegado á mi olor de ruda criada entre tales cespedes: porque yo soy un pobre capitan llamado Juan de Cabrera, hijo del olvido y de mis obras. Y aunque estos cavalleros le quieren, porque ellos son, dar otros titulos, el que yo tomaré de aqui adelante, será de mui criado de vuestra merced, de que blasonaré mas que de mis hazañas. No quedó sin conveniente respuesta este honrado termino, por saberlo tener con todos el capitan Cespedes: con que quedaron estos dos valerosos capitanes mui en amistad y conformes, y á su imitacion todos los demas, aunque sin acabarse de resolver el general Belalcazar, si llegaria á Santafé. Por lo qual despidiendose de él y de todos el Fernan Perez de Quesada, á quien todos acompañaron por buen trecho, se volvio á Bogota y conto á su hermano la gente que era, y lo sucedido con ellos.

3. Mientras pasaban estas cosas, pasaban otras mas de afliccion y fatiga sobre el pobre desterrado y preso Lazaro Fonte, en su pueblo de Pasca: porque si bien le acudian los Indios en sus necesidades, con que se relevaban algo los trabajos, no era tan del todo, que no fuesen mui grandes en considerarse entre barbaros de una condicion tan mudable, que lo suele ser tras cada hora por levisimas ocasiones. Y asi no se aseguraba un dia sin sobresaltos de quando seria aquel, en que mudasen de parecer, y á él de esta vida. Y asi solo ponia la suya en el Autor de ella, no dejando de encomendarsela de dia, ni de noche. En los quales egercicios estaba, quando por caminos mui otros de los nuestros, le dispuso y envio su remedio, con unas nuevas que tuvo de ciertos Indios que venian por la parte del Oriente, que es la de los llanos de Venezuela, de unos hombres como él; y que estaban ya menos de seis leguas de alli, con caballos y perros como los que ellos trahian. Certificose de la nueva por medio de su sirvienta, y sabida la verdad trató luego de avisar de ella á su general. Y asi tomando un pedazo de cuero de venado bien bruñido, que halló entre los Indios, escribio con bija ó almagre una carta con estas razones: Mui Señor, nueva cierta he tenido que viene gente Española por los llanos, y que está tan cerca que llegará aqui mañana; vea vuestra merced lo que se debe hacer, y avise con brevedad. Llegó con mucha priesa el Indio que la llevaba, y dió le en mano propia al general, despues de seis ó siete dias de como habia llegado su hermano Fernan Perez del valle de Neyba de ver á Belalcazar.

Capitulo VI.

1. *Sueltan de la prision á Lazaro Fonte, y entra Nicolas de Fedreman en el pueblo de Pasca.*
2. *Viene Fedreman á Santafé, y recibele Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada con toda la demostracion de amistad que pudo.*
3. *Conciertanse ambos Generales de hacer Compañia por escritura publica, de estar aunados para todo buen ó mal suceso, y particion de ganancias.*

1. Con la brevedad que pedia el caso y carta, y dando muestras de agradecimiento á quien la envió, mandó el general se aparejase una esquadra, en que fuesen con los demas los capitanes Juan de Junco, Gonzalo Suarez Rondon, Pedro Fernandez Valenzuela, Paredes, Calderon, y otros de quien tenia mejor confianza, con orden de que llegasen á Pasca

á paso largo, y que con el mismo le avisasen de lo que habia, dando ante todas cosas libertad al capitan Lazaro Fonte, apesarado ya de lo que habia hecho con él de mala informacion, lo qual procuró despues reparar en todas ocasiones; pues no se ofrecia ninguna en que con demostraciones no le hiciese favor. No incitó poco á los soldados para abreviar la llegada á Pasca, el desear tambien el dar á Lazaro Fonte soltura de su prision; en que le hallaron ya con mas alientos por haverlos cobrado con las esperanzas de su libertad, con las nuevas que le habian venido de gente nueva Española. La qual llegó luego que llegaron á Pasca los Quesadas; porque apenas se habian apeado, quando entró en el pueblo el capitan Pedro de Limpias, conquistador antiguo de la provincia de Venezuela, que con otros compañeros venia sobresaliente descubriendo la tierra por el capitan Nicolas de Fedreman, Tudesco de nacion, y teniente general del gobernador de la provincia de Venezuela Jorge de Espira, de quien largamente queda tratado en nuestra Primera Parte. Llegó otro dia Fedreman con el resto de la gente que habia quedado sola una jornada atras; á quien recibieron con todas las cortesias y agasajos, que pudieron los de Santa Marta, dandoles tambien cuenta de los descubrimientos que se habian hecho en esta tierra del Reyno, y el estado en que todo estaba. De que tuvieron mucho gusto los de Venezuela; porque aunque no dejaron de sentir el verse defraudados de ser ellos los primeros conquistadores de aquella provincia á donde la suerte los habia trahido, pero tuvieronla por buena, pues Dios lo habia ordenado asi, de haber llegado donde hallasen socorro para tantas necesidades como trahian, y descanso de trabajos tan intolerables como habian pasado en cinco años, que habia, habian salido de Coro, en los quales se habian consumido 300 soldados; pues de 400 que salieron, solo llegaron alli ciento el año de 1539; y estos tan gastados y desarropados, que los mas venian vestidos de cueros de venados, y abarcas de las mismas pieles. Con que parece pudieron los de Santa Marta perder el empacho que pudieran haber cobrado, en verse vestidos de mantas de algodon delante de los Peruleros, que lo estaban de sedas y perpiñanes: en que se verifica el dicho comun, que nadie es tan pobre, que no pueda ser otro mas; y lo que le sucedio al otro, que hallandose con solos dos maravedies en la bolsa, y con ganas de comer, le parecio ser el mas pobre del mundo, pues su caudal no llegaba á mas; y al fin arbitrando en que emplearia, que fuese suficiente á matar su hambre, determinó comprar una libra de habas verdes; y saliendose del pueblo para ir á otro, ibaselas comiendo solos los granos, y arrojando las cascaras, y volviendo la cabeza vido á otro que las venia cogiendo y comiendo, por ser mas pobre que él, y no haver tenido con que comprarlas: con que conocio no ser él el mas pobre del mundo.

2. Movieron á compasion á los del Reyno, viendo soldados tan valientes y que á muchos de ellos conocieron, por ser de los que prendio Fedreman ó su gente, en las costas del Cabo de la Vela, con su capitan Juan de Rivera, como dejamos dicho en nuestra Primera Parte, y que viniesen tan gastados de vestidos, y necesitados de todo. Despachose luego á dar aviso al general Quesada de como era Nicolas de Fedreman y su gente, la que habia llegado, yendo á llevarlo Paredes, Calderon, y otro soldado de los recien llegados, llamado Fernando Montero, que despues fue vecino de la ciudad de Tocayma, á quien recibio el general Ximenez benignamente, dando le algunas finas telas de algodon con que se vistiera, y una chaguala de fino oro, que pesaba 200 ducados. Y tratando luego del recibimiento que se le debia de hacer á Fedreman, hizo apercibir los peones y caballos, y avisar á los caciques mas cercanos para que se hallasen con sus gentes: con que vinieron en bien crecido numero con sus gallardos peñachos de rica plumeria, dardos, lanzas, y macanas, con todos sus caracoles, fotutos, trompetas, y los demas pertrechos de guerra, como si fuera para algun rompimiento de batalla. Quando supo el general que ya llegaba Fedreman, hizo dividir los Indios en dos mangas, yendo él con su pendon delante acompañado de algunos de á caballo y los demas con la infanteria. Y dispuestos en buen orden caminaron desde Santafé hacia las grandes llanulas del pueblo de Boza, hasta que vieron asomar por el alto de la loma que se remata cerca del pueblo, á Fedreman con treinta de á caballo, de los quales eran los mas de los que habia enviado á su recibimiento el general Ximenez: el qual al tiempo que llegaban cerca los unos de los otros en aquellos espaciosos y agradables prados, mandó que se tocasen todas las trompetas, cajas, caracoles, fotutos, y los demas instrumentos que se hallaban: con que parecio se representaba una sangrienta y reñida batalla. Sobresaltose Fedreman de ver la gente tanta y tan en orden militar, y sonar los instrumentos en modo de rompimiento, temiendo no lo quisiesen hacer con él y su gente. Y volviendo á la de Santa Marta que le acompañaba, dijo: Señores, ya sabeis que me hé fiado de vosotros, por haber conocido sois gente noble y de sencillos tratos. No querria hallarlos ahora dobles, en tiempo que yo y los mios no nos podemos disponer para la defensa de algun daño ó agravio, si se nos pretende hacer. Ninguno se hará á la persona y gente de vuestra merced, respondio Gonzalo Suarez. Y asi puede estar vuestra merced bien seguro, pues ninguno pretende sino servir á toda su compañia con personas y haciendas con mucho gusto, por ser este el nuestro y de nuestro general, como se experimentará desde

luego. Yban prosiguiendo con esto su camino los unos y los otros, hasta juntarse en distancia de veinte pasos, á donde Fedreman con terminos humildes y cortesanos se apeó de su caballo; y haciendo lo mismo Gonzalo Ximenez, llegaron á abrazarse ambos con mui grandes cumplimientos y cortesias, y con terminos y palabras se prometieron amistad el uno al otro, con tan firmes palabras como se conocio despues por las obras. En lo qual habiendo gastado un moderado espacio de tiempo, volvieron todos á subir en sus caballos, y los peones y Indios en su orden se vinieron mano á mano á la nueva ciudad de Santafé.

3. Donde fueron los recien venidos agasajados con todo lo que fue posible amigablemente, festejando la venida con fiestas de á caballo por algunos dias. En los quales habiendo conocido el general Ximenez la afabilidad y nobleza de Fedreman, que la tenia con mui grande agrado pareciole confederarse con el por ventura por lo que podia suceder con los Peruleros, que tenia á la puerta, no quisiesen como gente arriscada, y que ya se habia traslucido algo, como hemos dicho, hacer pendencia la posession de la tierra, si se determinasen llegar á ella. Y asi con esta buena prudencia, por escritura publica se concertaron ambos generales en que fuesen partibles por mitades todas las ganancias que desde aquel dia que entraron, se hiciesen, en todo bueno ó mal suceso participantes todos, como quienes eran ya de una misma masa y hermandad. Del qual concierto vino á tener fundamento y fuerza el repartirles encomiendas á los soldados de Fedreman, que se quedaron en este Reyno, sin haber sido conquistadores ni descubridores primeros de él. Si bien lo merecian por ser gente toda de tanto valor, como se conoció en jornadas de cinco años, y en otras ocasiones que se ofrecieron de harta consideracion en el Reyno, donde por no estar aun todo pacificado, fueron menester sus buenos brios y valor, como se vieron en reducir los Indios de los alzamientos del termino de la ciudad de Velez, y de las retiradas y alzamientos de los peñoles de Simijaca, Suta, Ocabita, y el pantano de Duytama, como diremos, queriendo el Señor, quando llegue por aquellas tierras la historia.

Capitulo VII.

1. *Llega á Santafé el capitan Sebastian de Belalcazar, y lo que alli pasó, se cuenta.*
2. *Platica que hizo Belalcazar sobre la utilidad de las Fundaciones, que se deben hacer, en lo que se va conquistando.*
3. *Determinase el general Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada á poblar dos Ciudades, y reformar la edificacion de la de Santafé.*

1. Bien pocos dias pasaron despues de la llegada de Fedreman á Santafé, quando vino nueva que venia acercandose á la misma ciudad Belalcazar. Y esta fue tan cierta, que apenas la habian recibido, quando lo vieron asomar por la misma loma, que vino Fedreman, á él, y á toda su gente; que acercandose al pueblo hacian por aquellos campos mil visos y tornasoles con los varios colores de que venian vestidos, de sedas, granas, perpiñanes, con encrespadas plumas, bien opuestos en estas galas á las que trahian en Santafé los de Santa Marta y Venezuela, pues á los que mas se alargaban, era á ser telas de algodon con monteras, y alpargates de lo mismo, por haber sido sus caminos tan prolixos y dificultosos, que lo tuvieron á buena suerte haber quedado vestidos de sus pellejos, y estos tan curtidos que casi no sentian el picarles los mosquitos. Si bien la falta de vestidos la suplia la fortaleza de los animos, que suele apocarse entre vestidos blandos. Llegó á Santafé Belalcazar con toda esta demostracion de bizarria, donde fue bien recibido y agasajado como merecia su persona, y las de sus compañeros, que todos eran de prueba para qualquier acontecimiento: Aunque por el que podia suceder, todos comenzaron sus hospedages sin descuidos, hasta que ya se aseguraron unos de otros y trabaron estrechas amistades, siendo el enlaze de todas la prudencia del general Ximenez de Quesada, que la tenia singular para negocios arduos, como lo era este de juntarse y conservarse en paz tres valientes y briosos conquistadores sobre una provincia de tanta consideracion, como es esta del Reyno. Porque si es verdadero el refran, que dos gorriones en una espiga hacen mala liga, si se juntan tres, que seran? Y asi siempre me há parecido ser providencia del cielo el haberse ofrecido los estropiezos que dijimos, para que dejara el general Quesada el viage que habia comenzado para España, por haber de ser de la importancia que ahora fue, su talento y persona, para que no se turbara la paz entre estos tres conquistadores y el que dejaba Quesada por su teniente: Porque no obstante, como era hombre mui de hecho, como veremos que lo fue en la venida de Geronimo Lebron, pues no lo fue para defender su govierno, con todo eso 'Neque Hercules contra duos'. Y asi no fueron estas las que atajaron y lo compusieron todo,

sino las buenas razones en quien de ordinario suele residir mayor fortaleza que en las armas ; y mas si entre lo uno y lo otro tercian ayudas de costa, en que no pienso anduvo corto el Quesada, si creemos á la fama parlera, que si fue asi, fue echar el sello á la prudencia, comprando mucho con poco sin amancillar la conciencia.

2. Fue la entrada de estos dos capitanes en Santafé por todo el mes de febrero del año de 1539, donde se detuvieron todos tres generales hasta fin de mayo del mismo año, descansando de tan crecidos trabajos como todos habian pasado, y disponiendo lo necesario al viage que todos tres pretendian hacer á España, en que luego se declararon y concertaron. Era en este tiempo su ordinario entretenimiento la caza de venados de que hervia entonces la tierra, como se echará de ver por los muchos que aun hay ahora, despues de haver los seguido ochenta y dos años que há hoy que paso esto. Pero entre estas ocupaciones considerando el general Belalcazar como mas experimentado en conquistas, la bondad de esta tierra del Reyno; su buena disposicion para labranzas y crianzas; la infinidad de Indios que la habitaban, y ser de animos tan dociles, pues tan sin resistencia habian dado la amistad; por la que habia cobrado con el general Quesada, le dijo un dia delante del general Fedreman, y de los demas lucidos capitanes y soldados: Sin duda, Señor Capitan, que si esta grosedad de Indios y tierras huviera llegado á mis manos, esta fuera la hora que las tuviera empleadas en la poblacion de tres ó quatro pueblos, y repartidos los Indios á los moradores de ellos: porque si no se le ponen á lo conquistado estos fundamentos, quedarse ha sin ningunos, y el trabajo perdido en valde, como sabe el Señor Capitan Nicolas de Fedreman ha sucedido en sus conquistas de la provincia de Venezuela. Y asi tendré por grande acierto, que vuestra merced lo ponga luego por obra, pues de hacerlo no se seguirá ningun daño, y podran seguirse infinitos provechos ; y uno de los principales vendra á ser en orden á las jornadas que para mayores descubrimientos se hicieren, pues para el malo ó buen suceso que tuvieren, es bien tener de asiento ciudades y casas proprias que no falten, ya que lo demas corra con varios sucesos. No habrá por donde mejor se llene esta tierra de buena gente en pocos dias, que con la voz que se diere, de que ya hay ciudades pobladas, y Indios que dan demoras y labranza en las tierras, que pagan bien con sus frutos los trabajos de quien las cultiva. Todo esto hará facil las dificultades, que he sabido que hay en los viages hasta las costas del mar; y mas si á esto se añaden descubrimientos de minas, de quien han dado tan claras muestras el oro y esmeraldas que se han hallado en el Reyno. Este es mi parecer, no porque yo tengo intentos de permanecer en esta tierra, pues solo son por ahora de ir en España á pedir el premio de mis sudores, que no han sido pocos en conquistar y poblar las provincias y ciudades del Quito, Pasto, Popayan, Cali, y Timana. Y aun pues vuestras mercedes no se quedan atras en merecimientos, será bien tampoco se queden en pedir la gratificacion de ellos, pues para todos tiene pecho nuestro invictisimo Cesar, y la mano sabrosa de hacer otras mayores mercedes que las que le pediremos. Y asi si en esto nos resolvemos, es menester lo hagamos tambien en determinar por donde ha de ser el viage ; y si se hiciere por el rio grande, que le tengo por mas acertado, se disponga luego la fabrica de los bergantines en que podamos bajar sin impedimento, pues no lo tendremos en la embarcacion desde los puertos, en especial del Señor general Ximenez, por ser ya muerto el gobernador el adelantado Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, como lo tengo por una carta que dias ha, recibi. Trahia por su maestre de campo Belalcazar al capitan Melchor Valdes, hombre valeroso, como lo habia mostrado en las conquistas del Peru, y gran confidente del Marques Don Francisco Pizarro, por haber sido uno de los mejores capitanes que tuvo; y por tal se le habia dado para este efecto de maestre de campo al Belalcazar. Y sabiendo su determinacion de pasar á España á pedir por govierno lo que habia conquistado, le dijo con mucha libertad, no cumplia con lo que debia á la confianza que de él hacia el Marques, que lo habia enviado á hacer aquellas conquistas en su nombre ; con que se repuntó mucho con el Valdes el Belalcazar: pasara á mas, si Quesada no terciara de buena, rogando al Valdes se quedara en el Reyno con su hermano Perez de Quesada, como lo hizo, y permaneció toda la vida que le restó, que fue de muchos años, que gastó en conquistas en este Reyno, haciendo su principal vecindad en la ciudad de Ybague.

3. Bien hubo menester la tibieza que hasta alli habia tenido el Licenciado Ximenez en poblar, que se avivara con el calor del general Belalcazar, que como mas experimentado, sabia lo que convenia las poblaciones para la conservacion de lo ganado en servicio de Dios y del Rey, y ampliacion de otras conquistas. Y asi tomando el consejo como de amigo, y viendose ya con el aumento que se habia hecho de soldados con los de Fedreman, y algunos que ya habian dado muestras de quedarse de los de Belalcazar, y que ya se le habia levantado mas el animo y esperanzas con haber sabido la muerte de Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, su gobernador, que se le haria merced del gobierno en propriedad de todo lo que habia descubierto, luego trató con sus capitanes, como quien sabia bien la disposicion de la tierra, en que partes de ella se podrian fundar dos ó tres ciudades. Y resolviendose, que lo mas á proposito

era el sitio donde estaba Tunja, y aquella parte por donde se habia entrado por la provincia de Chipata, quedandose esta de Santafé en el sitio que se habia comenzado á poblar, pues era acomodado. Parecio al Ximenez poner luego manos á la obra en esta ciudad de Santafé; porque aun no tenia, como hemos dicho mas que los doze buhios, y la iglesia, y todo en forma de rancheria. Y asi comenzandose la á dar de ciudad, se fueron luego señalando calles, plaza, y solares, dandole el mejor en la mejor parte de ella á la iglesia, que es el que ahora tiene; y los demas á todos los vecinos, segun sus calidades, cerca, ó desviados, de la plaza; y en ella casas de cabildo, donde lo hiciesen los que para él señalaron, á los primeros de Abril del mismo año de 1539, que fueron por alcaldes Geronimo de la Inza, y Juan de Arebalo: regidores el capitan Juan de San Martin, el capitan Juan de Cespedes, el capitan Antonio Diaz Cardoso, el capitan Lazaro Fonte, el Alferez Hernan Venegas, Pedro de Colmenares, y Hernando de Roxas: alguacil mayor Baltazar Maldonado; porque alguacil mayor del reyno era Perez de Quesada, hermano del licenciado Gonzalo Ximenez, teniente general: escribano Juan Rodriguez de Benavides. El titulo de la iglesia fué de la Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, como hoy lo tiene. El primer cura, que luego alli se señaló en nombre del rey, fue el bachiller Juan de Berdejo, y su teniente el Padre Fray Vicente Requesada de la Orden de San Augustin, que ambos entraron con Nicolas de Fedreman.

Capitulo VIII.

1. *Fundase mas de proposito la Ciudad de Santafé, con la iglesia de tapias.*
2. *Envia Sebastian de Belalcazar á poblar la villa de Neyba al capitan Juan de Cabrera.*
3. *No pudo el general Quesada repartir la tierra antes de su partida, y dejo para ello comision á su hermano.*

1. Fundada ya de proposito la Ciudad de Santafé, y señalados los que se habian de avecindar en ella, comenzaron luego todos en los solares que se les habian repartido, á ensancharla, cimentando casas un poco mas de proposito que lo estaban, aunque no de mas fundamento que el que daba lugar los pocos albañiles, y muchos embarazos que habia de otras cosas mas importantes por entonces; aunque quando estas lo dieron, se fueron mudando las flacas paredes de barro y cañas, en tapias y adobes; á que dio principio el capitan Alonso de Olalla de los que vinieron con Fedreman, porque él fue el primero que la tubo de tapias, aunque la cubierta de paja como las demas. Despues hizo la suya de teja Pedro de Colmenares, padre de Luis de Colmenares, que la tubo el primero de esta cubierta: hizose tambien de tapia la iglesia, y duró asi hasta la venida del obispo Don Fray Juan de los Barrios, de nuestra sagrada religion, que con su buena industria y ayuda del pueblo, se hizo de piedra y teja, como diremos mas largo en otra parte. En la que estaba en ella al lado del evangelio fundó la primera capilla, y la dotó con titulo de Santiago apostol, patron de España, el capitan Gonzalo Garcia Zorro.

2. La priesa que tubieron los tres tenientes generales de su ida en España, no daba lugar á dilaciones en nada; y asi luego entrando el mes de Abril el mismo año, enviaron oficiales que labrasen un mui buen barco para el viage á la ribera del rio grande de la Magdalena, en aquella parte cerca de donde fue despues poblada la ciudad de Tocayma, por donde determinaron embarcarse y seguir su camino. Para el qual se dispuso buen matalotage de lo que entonces daba la tierra, que lo mejor fue cecinas de venado con cantidad de maiz, sin poderse ayudar de otras carnes. Porque aunque el general Belalcazar trahia puercos con sus hembras, y Nicolas de Fedreman gallinas, no fueron mas que los que eran menester para casta; de que luego comenzó á crecer en tanto numero lo uno y lo otro, que en breves dias se llenó toda la tierra, por haberla hallado tan á su proposito en abundancia de comidas y buen temple. Envió el general Belalcazar al capitan Juan Cabrera con la mayor parte de sus soldados á poblar el valle de Neyba, porque aunque lo habia primero que él descubierto el general Gonzalo Ximenez, quando fue rastreando la casa del sol, como digimos, no llegó tan arriba, como despues, quando venia Belalcazar, que lo fue descubriendo. Por lo qual lo tuvo por tierra que entraba en su conquista, á lo menos aquella parte donde se pobló el pueblo: aunque quando Don Alonso de Lugo vino al reyno por gobernador juzgando ser aquello tambien de su gobierno, escribio una carta al gobernador Belalcazar, que era de vuelta de España con el gobierno y adelantamiento que pretendio, en que le decia no pasase aquella poblacion de Neyba adelante, pues cahia en las tierras de su gobierno del reyno: á lo qual respondio Belalcazar con un grande enfado, que le tenia no tanto por lo que le escribio quanto por haber sabido

de su aspero proceder y malos tratamientos que hacia á los del reyno, con quien el hábia cobrado tanta amistad, y aun estuvo casi determinado de venir á ampararlos; que si lo hiciera, se viera en harto peligro el Don Alonso, segun tenia de avispados á todos los de su gobierno. Al fin con no venir cesó todo; pero no la poblacion; la qual hecha por el capitan Juan de Cabrera, se volvio al reyno, ya que se habian ido los generales: con los que se fueron á esta poblacion, y con otros que se fueron tras de los generales con el Belalcazar en España, fueron pocos los que de ellos quedaron en el reyno, todos hombres de mucha suerte fuera de unos dos, Antonio de Luxan, y Francisco Arias, hombres inquietissimos, y que fueron causa de que lo estuviese el reyno, quando vino Don Alonzo, por haberse ido á el en cosas con los pareceres.

3. No pudo el general Ximenez hacer apuntamientos ni repartimientos de Yndios á sus soldados, ni señalarles estancias ó heredades antes que se fuera, por no estar aun del todo pacifica la tierra, ni saber con que igualdad se podian repartir. Y asi todo lo remitio á su hermano Fernan Perez de Quesada, á quien dejó por su lugarteniente con dos poderes para mayor abundamiento; el uno en quanto teniente general que era de Don Pedro Fernandez, el gobernador de Santa Marta; y el otro como conquistador y descubridor del Nuevo Reyno; aunque este segundo mas parece le dio, como lo da á entender en él, por haber dudado si podia dar el primero, por ser el tambien teniente. Ambos despachó á 8 del mes de Mayo del mismo año de 1539; y por quitar del todo estas sospechas si podia ó no quedar el Fernan Perez por teniente, aun con ambos titulos, presentandolos á doze del mismo mes, que fue el mismo dia que se partio de la ciudad para Castilla el licenciado Ximenez, en el cabildo de la ciudad, para que lo recibieran; dilataron en el recibir le aquel dia; y luego á trece tuvo por mejor el cabildo, no quitando ninguna fuerza á los poderes, eligirle ellos de nuevo en nombre del rey, para que gobernase lo descubierto y por descubrir del Nuevo Reyno, hasta que el rey, ó el gobernador que de nuevo viniese á Santa Marta, supuesto que ya sabian era muerto el Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, ordenase otra cosa. Tambien al capitan Gonzalo Suarez Rondon, demas de la comision que le dio para poblar una ciudad en Tunja, le hizo su justicia mayor para lo que tocaba al termino de dicha ciudad; el qual señaló en la misma provision, para que entendiera hasta donde se extendia su jurisdiccion: y lo mismo hizo con el capitan Martin Galeano con la comision que le dio para poblar la ciudad de Velez. Con que ambos en sus distritos tuvieron facultad para hacer las encomiendas de Yndios que se fueran allanando y repartiendo. Y despues la tuvo el capitan Suarez para hacer las del distrito de esta ciudad de Santafé, quando fue gobernador y justicia mayor de todo el reyno. Los dos generales Fedreman y Belalcazar vendieron á los soldados que se quedaron, sus esclavos y pertrechos de guerra á buenos precios, como eran perros, caballos, paños, sedas, arcabuces, polvora y ballestas. Porque un caballo razonable daban por mil pesos; y no tal, ochocientos; y mui bueno, dos mil pesos; y á este modo el Belalcazar y los que de sus compañeros le siguieron, la vara de paño, sedas, telas, perpiñanes granas, y otras cosas; con que se juntaron gran suma de oro y esmeraldas. En las quales diligencias y otras para el viage, se iban ya llegando los doze de Mayo del mismo año de 1539, que fue el dia en que juntos se partieron de Santafé; dejando á todos encargada la paz y hermandad, si querian conservarse en las tierras en que quedaban, para donde pensaba el general Quesada dar promto la vuelta; aunque le sucedio mui de otra suerte, como lo dira la historia á su tiempo; porque el de ahora solo es de proseguirla en las cosas del Reyno.

Capitulo IX.

1. *Embarcanse los tres generales en el Rio Grande, y llegan á Cartagena.*
2. *Son los primeros que dan en Cartagena las nuevas del descubrimiento, y porque se habia ignorado.*
3. *Llegan las nuevas del descubrimiento á Santa Marta, y disponese Geronimo Lebron á subir al Nuevo Reyno.*
4. *Requierelo Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada desde Cartagena, que no suba por no ser de su gobierno.*

1. La mayor y mejor parte de los capitanes y soldados fueron desde Santafé, acompañando á los tres generales y á los soldados que con ellos se iban á España, hasta llegar al Rio Grande, donde ya estaba hecho el barco bien capaz

para todos: en que se embarcaron con hartos sentimientos á la despedida de los que se quedaban y se iban; y volvieron los otros á Santafé sin sucederles encuentros con los Panches, por estar algo atemorizados con los sucesos pasados. Los del rio fueron navegando, sin tenerlos malos, hasta que llegaron al salto del rio que ahora llaman de Honda, por los Indios que habia allí poblados, llamados asi, donde estan pobladas las bodegas y casas de los señores de las canoas que bogan con negros y Indios Guataquies el rio: el qual encontrandose alli con algunas piedras grandes se alteran sus aguas de manera que impide el pasar las canoas, á lo menos cargadas de allí para arriba, aunque yendo hacia abajo suelen pasar no sin riesgo: de suerte que por asegurar la carga las descargan á la parte de arriba de este que llaman el salto, aunque mas propriamente se puede llamar raudal; y pasando por las orillas los vasos vacios, que será su distancia hasta cien pasos, vuelven á tomar la carga que se lleva á cuestas por la playa todo lo que es el raudal hasta lo manso de el rio, donde aguarda la canoa. Esto les sucedio á los tres generales quando llegaron á este raudal, que descargando el barco lo pasaron vacio quatro soldados que iban dentro, buenos nadadores; y volviendo á tomar la carga, mientras descargaban y pasaban el barco y ropa, tuvo traza el general Quesada de entender como tenian oro aquellos Indios Hondas, y que lo trahian de la tierra de hacia Poniente, que es donde ahora esta poblada la ciudad de Mariquita. Esto escribio el general Quesada desde Cartagena á su hermano, y con estas noticias que se le dieron, el año de 1551 conquistó aquella tierra y pobló la ciudad el capitan Pedroso, como á su tiempo diremos. Prosiguieron su viage no sin encuentros con los Indios del rio, de que salieron bien por ir soldados de tanto valor, y tan bien prevenidos de armas y polvora, que llevaban los de Belalcazar; á que les ayudó mucho el ir rio abajo, y bogando quando lo pedia la necesidad de verse cercados de canoas que salian en algunas partes á saludarlos, y darles el buen viage con nubadas de flechas envenenadas, de donde con buena ayuda de Dios, y su buena diligencia escaparon todos libres hasta llegar á la tierra del cacique Malambo, que tenia dada una no mui fundada paz á los Españoles; desde donde fueron cortando por caminos mal abiertos hasta la ciudad de Cartagena, a donde hizo tan gran ruido su llegada, por las nuevas que luego se extendieron de las grandezas que se habian descubierto en el Reyno, y de ver á los soldados vestidos á lo nuevo y nunca visto en aquella tierra, de telas de algodon, que se alborotó toda ella, y llenaron de brio los pechos de todos para intentar hallarse en las infinitas riquezas que la fama iba aumentando que se hallaban en esta tierra del Reyno; sin aprovechar á que no se extendiese esto en el vulgo á mas de lo que era, el hablar con moderacion del descubrimiento los tres generales, en especial el Gonzalo Ximenez, como quien mas de raiz sabia la substancia de la cosa.

2. En este tiempo ya habia alguno que gobernaba en Santa Marta por comisiones de la audiencia de Santo Domingo por la muerte del adelantado Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, Geronimo Lebron, sin atender á mas de las cosas del gobierno y defender la ciudad de los Indios alterados; porque de la jornada que habia hecho los años de antes el licenciado Quesada al descubrimiento de los nacimientos del Rio Grande no se trataba, ni aun habia casi quien se acordase de ella con la muerte del adelantado, y por tener ya por muertos á todos los que la emprehendieron, ya por las malas nuevas que trajeron del viage el licenciado Gallegos y Diego de Rincon, quando llegaron desbaratados y heridos con los bergantines de vuelta, y ya porque se habian pasado mas de dos años, y no habian sabido rastro ni nueva de ninguno. Y fue la causa, que como el camino fue tan dificultoso como hemos visto, y despues de pasado se halló el general Ximenez entre tanta infinidad de Indios y con tan pocos Españoles, por haber consumido á tantos los trabajos, le parecio ser menos inconveniente que se dilatase el dar aviso á su gobernador de lo que se habia descubierto, que desmembrar algunos de sus pocos soldados para que fuesen á dar la nueva en ocasion y tierra donde uno le hiciera falta; y mas habiendo de ser necesariamente razonable compañia la que se habia de despachar, si se hiciera á dar la nueva, para que se pudieran vencer las dificultades del camino, asi las de la tierra y aguas, como las de los enemigos, que estaban peores y mas avispados y alertos, que á la subida; demas que siempre intentó el general Ximenez desembarazarse lo antes que pudiera para ser el mensagero, como se echó de ver en haber intentado su viage otra vez antes que lo efectuase ahora, como dejamos dicho.

3. La fama pregonera metió en pocos dias estas nuevas harto mas acrecentadas de lo que en si era la cosa, desde la ciudad de Cartagena en la de Santa Marta, y la llegada de Gonzalo Ximenez á Cartagena: con que se alborotó el gobernador Geronimo Lebron de manera que dando á sus provisiones el sentido que su deseo quiso, y que hasta allí no les habia dado, le parecio estirarlas un poco, y que le daban jurisdiccion hasta todo lo que se decia que habian descubierto en el Reyno, por haber tenido el descubrimiento origen de los soldados de aquella ciudad; á que no dejaban de ayudar los capitanes y soldados que habian quedado en ella, quando se partieron los descubridores del Reyno, por el deseo que luego se les infundió de subir á ver lo que la fama decia, deseando reparar con esto su desgraciada

suerte en no haber subido con el licenciado Ximenez á gozar de lo que él y sus compañeros habian hallado. Determinóse con esto Geronimo Lebron á subir al Reyno para reconocerlo, como cosa que pertenecia á su gobierno, y que lo reconociesen á él como á su gobernador. Para lo qual trató luego se dispusiese lo necesario al viage con el mismo modo que supo habian tenido en él los que habian subido al descubrimiento; porque pretendia seguir sus pasos asi con los bergantines por el rio, como con los caballos y soldados por la margen de él; hallando favor para todo esto en los capitanes y soldados, que andaban deseosos de que se emprehendiese el viage.

4. Al qual como la misma fama lo llevase á Cartagena y á los oydos del general Ximenez de Quesada, y viese, que era tan contra los intentos que le llevaban á España, que eran de pedir para si el gobierno de lo descubierto por él y sus soldados, le envio á requerir no intentase la jornada, pues sus provisiones solo se extendian al gobierno de Santa Marta, de quien era cosa distinta lo que se habia descubierto en el Reyno, y que hasta que el rey determinase otra cosa, á cuya presencia el iba al caso, no se atreviese á entrar en el Reyno, como en cosa que pretendia pertenecer á su gobierno. Pudo mas con el gobernador el deseo que tenia de hacer la jornada que las notificaciones; y asi no dejó de hacer se dispusiese lo necesario á ella hasta que la puso en ejecucion, como despues diremos, como el Gonzalo Ximenez la suya con sus compañeros Fedreman y Belalcazar, llegando á la corte con prospero viage todos; donde los dejaremos negociando en sus pretensiones, hasta que la historia desocupada de otras cosas que se ofrecen ahora, buelva á tropezar con ellos.

Capitulo X.

Catalogo de los capitanes y soldados que quedaron en el Nuevo Reyno de Granada, asi de los de Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, como de los de Nicolas de Fedreman y Sebastian de Belalcazar, quando los tres se fueron en España, con convenientes advertencias para la historia.

Pareciome no ser de poca importancia poner aqui con distincion los nombres de los capitanes y soldados que quedaron en este Nuevo Reyno, quando se partieron de él los tres generales á España, para que se sepa quales entraron con el uno y quales con el otro, por lo mucho que importa para esta tierra que se sepa quales fueron los primeros descubridores y conquistadores de ella, y quales los que entraron despues que estaba la tierra descubierta y la mayor parte conquistada: porque aunque es asi, que los unos y los otros trabajaron mucho cada qual por su parte para llegar á esta ciudad de Santafé, y despues fueron mui lucidos los trabajos de todos, y bien conocido su valor en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieron en pacificar las rebeliones de los Indios que se alzaron en muchas partes del reyno, como lo irá diciendo la historia; con todo eso, quando entraron en el reyno el general Nicolas de Fedreman con sus soldados, y Sebastian de Belalcazar con los suyos, hallaron, como dicen, la mesa puesta y amigos que los recibiesen con buen agasajo, y la tierra pacifica por los trabajos y industria del general Ximenez de Quesada y sus soldados, que fueron los descubridores y primeros conquistadores. Y asi estas ventajas no se les pueden negar á estos por haber excedido en ellas á los demas, y ser iguales á ellos en los trabajos que despues de todos juntos se siguieron. Conforme es esta distincion á la que los reyes hacen para premiar trabajos de unos y otros, pues ponen en primer lugar á los descubridores, conquistadores y pobladores, como lo fue Gonzalo Ximenez y sus soldados, que á los pobladores solamente, como lo fueron los demas; aunque como hemos dicho, tuvieron algo de conquistadores, pero ninguna cosa de descubridores. No podré poner aqui los nombres de todos, porque la tardanza de mas de ochenta años se ha comido los nombres de algunos; debiendo estimar en mucho que hayan quedado los que ponemos aqui. Y asi, si algunos mas se hallaren haber quedado (que bien sé, que son mas) no es nuestra la falta, sino de las memorias y de la mucha antiguedad de tiempo, el qual, como dijo el filosofo, de suyo mas hace que se pierda la ciencia y las memorias, que no que se adquieran: *Tempus magis est deperditivum scientiæ, quam adquisitivum.*

Copia de los capitanes y soldados que quedaron en este Nuevo Reyno de Granada quando el teniente general Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada y Nicolas de Fedreman y Sebastian Belalcazar fueron en España.

En primer lugar ponemos al licenciado Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, teniente general de Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo; porque aunque se fue á España y estuvo por allá doze años, despues de ellos volvio al reyno y hizo asiento

en el hasta que murio. El padre Juan de Lescanes, clerigo, capellan del egercito porque el padre Alonzo de las Casas de la orden de nuestro padre Santo Domingo se fue á España con el licenciado Ximenez de Quesada, de donde no volvió mas como queda dicho. Hernan Perez de Quesada hermano del general Ximenez de Quesada, que venia por alguacil mayor del egercito. El capitan Gonzalo Suarez Rondon. El capitan Juan de Cespedes. El capitan Martin Galeano. El capitan Juan del Junco. El alferez Fernan Venegas. El capitan Gonzalo Garcia Zorro. El capitan Baltazar Maldonado. El capitan Antonio Diaz Cardoso. El capitan Juan de San Martin. El capitan Juan Tafur. El alferez Antonio de Olalla. El capitan Lazaro Fonte. Juan de Montalbo. Hernando de Prado, hermano del capitan Juan de Cespedes. Pedro de Colmenares. Antonio Bermudez. Gomez de Cifuentes. Pedro Rodriguez de Carrion y de los Rios. Juan de Quincozes de Llana. Miguel Lopez de Partearroyo. Pedro Fernandez Melo. Juan Lopez Sachica. Pedro del Acebo Sotelo, secretario del general Ximenez de Quesada. Martin de las Yslas. Alonzo Dominguez Beltran. Domingo de Aguirre. Pedro Ruiz Herrezuelo. Francisco Gutierrez de Murcia. Pedro Yañez. Martin Ropero. Miguel Seco Moyano. Bartolomé Camacho. Juan de Olmos. Francisco de Figueredo. Pedro de Salazar. Francisco Gomez de la Cruz. Pedro Nuñez de Cabrera. Juan Martin y Diego Martin de Yniesta, hermanos. Baltasar de Moratin. Antonio Perez. Cristoval Arias de Monroy. Cristoval Bernal. El capitan Geronimo de la Ynza. Cristoval Ruiz Clavijo. El capitan Francisco Salguero. Diego Romero. Andres Vazquez de Molina. Juan Sanchez de Toledo. Diego Parades Calderon. Pedro Gomez de Orosco. Juan de Torres. Bravo. Segura. Pedro Vasquez de Leyba. Pedro Briseño. Juan Ortiz de Zarate. Juan Gomez. Luis Gallegos. Aguirre. Trugillo. Mateo Sanchez Cogolludo. Gonzalo Macias. Juan de Chincilla. Juan Alonso. Alonso Machado. Martin Pujol. Simon Diaz. Hernan Gomez Castillejo. Diego Suarez Montañez. Bartolomé Sanchez Suarez. Francisco Rodriguez. Cristoval de Roa. Juan Valenciano. Miguel de Otañez. Gil Lopez. Valenzuela. Villalobos. Novillo. Juan de Ortega. Francisco Hernandez. Alonso Martin Cobo. Juan Ramirez. Hernando Navarro. Ruano Benito de Carco. Calbeche. Pedro Corredor. Juan de Frias. Juan de Pinilla. Francisco Diaz. Paniagua. Nicolas de Troya. Francisco de Tordehumos. El capitan Juan de Madrid. Pedro Bravo de Rivera. Juan Rodriguez Gil. Pedro Sanchez Sobaelbarro.

Capitanes y soldados del general Nicolas de Fedreman, Tudesco. El bachiller Juan Berdejo y el padre Fray Vicente Requesada, capellanes del egercito. El capitan Juan de Abellaneda. El capitan Cristoval de San Miguel, que despues fue muchos años contador de la real hacienda en este reyno. El capitan Alonso de Poveda. Francisco Maldonado del Hierro. Domingo de Guevara. Pedro de Almarcha. Bartolomé Hernandez Berrero. Hernando Gallego. Pedro de Miranda. El capitan Luis Lanchero. El capitan Domingo Lozano. El capitan Garcia Calbete de Hazo. Francisco de Monsalve. El capitan Alonso de Olalla. Diego Rodriguez Valderas. El capitan Rivera. Gonzalo de Vega. Melchor Ramirez de Figueredo. Mateo Sanchez Rey. Hernando de Santa Ana. Juan de Contreras. Sebastian de Porras. Miguel Holguin. Juan de Trugillo. Alonso Martin. Francisco de Murcia. Diego de Espinosa. Francisco Ruiz. Diego Sanchez Castilblanco. Diego Franco. Juan Fuerte. Cristoval de Toro. Hernando de Alcocer. Cristoval Gomez. Miranda. Cristoval de Oro. Juan Gascon. Miguel de la Puerta. Pedro de Valenzuela. Alonso Moreno. Villapasas. Francisco de Aranda. Diego Ortiz. Juan Cabezon. Diego de Huete. Juan Mateo s Pedro Gutierrez. Juan Pedro, negro. Luis Hernandez. Juan Martin Hincapie.

Capitanes y soldados de Sebastian de Belalcazar. Melchor de Valdez, que vino por maestre de campo de Belalcazar. El capitan Juan de Avendaño, que vino por su alferez. Ximenez de Quesada, hermano del general Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada y de Hernan Perez de Quesada, que fue de los que se hallaron en la conquista de Chile, y vino á este Nuevo Reyno de Granada luego que se fueron los tres generales á España. El capitan Maldonado que vino por la misma orden. Pedro de Arebalo Orozco, á diferencia de otro Orozco llamado el mozo. Hernando de Roxas. Juan de Arebalo. Cristoval Rodriguez. Juan Burgueño. Antonio de Lujan. Francisco Arias. Alonso Fernandez de Esniesta. Pedro de Puelles. Juan Diaz Hidalgo. Juan de Cuellar.

Avertencias.

Antes que pase de aqui la Historia, para su mayor luz, y que á nadie se le quite lo que es suyo, será de importancia advertir dos ó tres cosas. La primera que todos los capitanes y soldados que hemos puesto en estas tres copias, se han nombrado con sus oficios y estado en que los dejaron sus tres tenientes generales quando se fueron á España, y asi muchos de ellos no quedaron con oficio de capitanes entonces; y si despues los tuvieron, fue por haberlos

adquirido por sus manos en conquistas y ocasiones que se ofrecieron en este Reyno y fuera de él, en que pudieron mostrar su valor y hacerse dignos de tal nombre y de otros mui mayores. Y aunque en algunas partes de esta historia nombramos capitanes á los que entonces no lo eran, ha sido por haber llegado a tiempo á descubrirse que no solo lo habian sido ya casi todos, pero aun que ya son todos muertos con mas honrados oficios. Si bien tiene ya en estas partes de las Yndias tanta facilidad el dar á uno titulo de capitan, que solo por ir á buscar dos esclavos cimarrones se le suele dar; al modo que la hay en llamarse licenciado á qualquiera que ven con manteo, sotana y bonete, habiendolos graduado de este nombre solo la ropa, sin que hayan sido doctores de universidad ni letras.

La segunda es bien se advierta, que quando nuestros conquistadores descubrieron este Reyno, no habia Español puesto el pie en él, ni tenido noticias con muchas leguas de la redonda de sus terminos: lo qual me obliga á advertir, por lo que dice el padre Fray Antonio Daza en la cuarta parte de la Cronica de Nuestra Sagrada Religion, lib. 2, cap. 58, el qual, habiendole engañado en los memoriales que le dieron acerca de esto, de quien fueron no se debia de fiar, por no haber estado en estas tierras, dice que un virrey de Nueva España, llamado Don Antonio de Mendoza, por noticias que le dio el padre Fray Marcos de Nisa de nuestra sagrada religion, por haber estado en él, envio á descubrir y conquistar este Nuevo Reyno de Granada, y que le puso este nombre, habiendolo hallado y conquistado, porque era natural de Granada en España: que es lo que nosotros tenemos dicho, sucedio con Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, quando lo descubrió y puso nombre. Y tambien le engañaron en la memoria que le dieron, diciendo, que el dicho padre Fray Marcos de Nisa caminó desde Nueva España á pie mas de mil leguas hacia el Poniente, llevando por guia el sol, por ser esto imposible, siendo como es, todo mar hacia estas partes de Nueva España en la Mar del Sur, que es hacia donde se va á poner el sol. Y quando queramos deshacer este engaño y decir que pudo ir caminando á pie al norueste, por ser por alli toda tierra firme hasta el reyno de Quivira y Anian, no llevaba mas camino para poder descubrir por alli este Nuevo Reyno de Granada, que si uno quisiese en España caminando desde Toledo á Lisboa descubrir á Barcelona ó á Valencia, pues está este Reyno Nuevo de Granada respecto de la Nueva España hacia los reynos que hemos dicho que pudo caminar este bendito padre, á sus espaldas, y que parece iba huyendo de él, que es buena traza para haberlo de hallar. De manera que todo esto es engaño, como otras cosas que dice en el mismo capitulo, como son, que el rey Bogota era señor de la gran mina de esmeraldas; pues de dos minas que hay de ellas en este reyno, la una en Somondoco, que fue la que halló Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, y la otra mas famosa en la ciudad de la Trinidad de los Muzos, sobre ninguna tenia jurisdiccion el Bogota; pues la primera estaba en la del Tunja, y la segunda en los Muzos, enemigos mortales ambas á dos jurisdicciones del Bogota, á quien tambien dice este padre quemaron los Españoles y lo herraron como á bestia: pero todo es ficcion y malas informaciones tomadas del Obispo de Chiapa, que con leves pensamientos y apasionados testigos dijo en su libro muchas cosas contra razon y su nacion, que fueran bien excusadas. De manera que concluyamos haber sido nuestros conquistadores los primeros que descubrieron y dieron vista á estas tierras del reyno, y le pusieron el nombre en la manera que queda dicho, sin que otro ninguno les hubiese precedido.

La tercera se ha de advertir para los que no lo hicieren ni coligieren de lo que hemos dicho en la historia, que toda la costa que se hizo en el descubrimiento de este reyno, á lo menos hasta que le dieron vista en la provincia de Chipata, se le debe á Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, adelantado de Canaria, y adelantado y gobernador de Santa Marta, pues él desde alli á su costa, y sin que nadie le ayudara para ello, envió á este descubrimiento al licenciado Ximenez de Quesada, y armó dos veces los bergantines, y á los soldados de armas, y caballos, y todo lo demas que fue necessario al viage, como se ha visto en la historia. De manera que á nuestros conquistadores y descubridores solo se les debe los valientes animos que tuvieron, y gran tolerancia y perseverancia en el sufrir tan immensos trabajos y atropellar tan grandes dificultades, como se les ofrecieron en el camino, en que tuvo excelencia el adelantado, que despues fue, Gonzalo Ximenez de Quesada, al fin como caballero, y á cuyo cargo estaba el dirigir las cosas de la jornada, para que tuvieran el dichoso fin que tuvieron. A cuyos trabajos atendieron nuestros reyes para premiarles en la forma que lo quedaron muchos de los conquistadores, como fue el dicho general Quesada, á quien despues de doze años de haberse obscurecido su justicia y servicios, le volvieron á enviar con titulo de mariscal, y despues de adelantado de este reyno, con 6000 pesos de renta, y otros honores debidos á su valor, prudencia, y calidad. En cuyos servicios, aun mas que en los premios, le han sucedido sus sobrinos descendientes de dos hermanas suyas, que viven en este reyno, Don Fernando de Berrio, que hoy es gobernador de la Guayana, y Don Francisco de Berrio su hermano, que lo es de Caracas, y el capitan Francisco de Berrio, que lo es de Antioquia, todos imitadores de su buen tio, y en este especial de su gran talento en manejar negocios.

CUARTA NOTICIA

HISTORIAL

DE LAS CONQUISTAS DE TIERRA FIRME.

Capitulo I.

1. *El modo con que se han venido á saber las antigüedades de estos Indios.*
2. *Lo que sentian los de la Nueva España y Peru de su origen.*
3. *Lo que sienten otras provincias de su origen y descendencia.*
4. *Ha sido dificultoso de arrancar las idolatrias de entre ellos.*

1. YA en este tiempo por la experiencia y cuidado que tuvieron de informarse de los Indios, fueron los Españoles teniendo algunas noticias acerca de sus costumbres en su religion y gobierno, que juntas con las que despues se han procurado saber, se han venido á sacar las que iremos diciendo: porque solos estos dos caminos se han podido hallar para descubrir esto, pues el de las escrituras ó modos de escribir, ó poner en memorias y entenderse en sus anales nos ha faltado totalmente en esta tierra del Nuevo Reyno, y aun en todo lo que trata nuestra historia; que no fuera poca ayuda de costa haber hallado algo de esto, como lo fue á los que han escrito las cosas de los Indios de la Nueva España, que las tenian en memoriales escritas con ciertos caracteres y figuras; y los que escribieron de las del Peru, que las hallaron como vivas en aquellos quippos que tenian hechos de hilos de diversos colores con diversos nudos. De donde se sacaron en ambas partes mucha parte de las memorias de los años y cosas pasadas en ellos de aquellas tierras. Aunque á la verdad no me ha puesto en cuidado esto, pues no hallo otra diferencia de aquel modo de conservar sus memorias al de estas tierras, sino estar las cegueras é ignorancias de aquellos por escrito, y las de estos del Reyno y las demas partes que tocan á nuestra historia, tenerlas de memoria: porque ya que los que han tenido este modo de escrituras por figuras y hilos puedan haber conservado con ellas mas enteros y de mas atras los sucesos de su antigüedad, que los que solo los han fiado de la memoria, trasegandolos de gente en gente, en que nunca deja de perderse algo por descuido ó flaqueza de la memoria; en el conocimiento de su origen, de un Dios, y del modo de sus idolatrias y ceremonias, á todos los hallamos en unas mismas tinieblas y ciegas obscuridades. Y los figuro yo, que han sido como los que juegan á la gallina ciega, que como lo estan quando oyen dar la palmada, por ir adonde la oyen, ya se abrazan del cofre, ya del bufete, ya de la silla, pensando que aquello es lo que buscan y los llama; y asi se entretienen en aquello sin topar con el que les hizo la seña y les movio á que lo buscasen. Naturalmente la luz de la razon con que está amasada la naturaleza humana, nos dice que tuvimos algun principio, y que nosotros no pudimos serlo de nosotros mismos, por ser lo contrario de esto totalmente imposible; pues ya eso fuera tener ser antes de tener ser. De donde se sigue necesariamente que antes que tuvieran ser todas las cosas, habia de haber una que no dependiera de otra cosa, para que fuera principio de las demas. Todo este conocimiento que naturalmente pueden tener todos los hombres con la luz de la razon, es como darnos una palmada y avisarnos con verdad, y como hacernos señas para donde hemos de ir á buscar este primer principio. Pero el que está ciego,

esto es, ofuscado el entendimiento, y mal afecta la voluntad, aunque conozca esta verdad, como es imposible deje de conocerla, no atina con quien será verdaderamente este principio y origen suyo, y de los demas. Y asi sin averiguar mas, ni ocupar en esto la razon, dejase llevar por los sentidos y asese de las criaturas, algunas veces de las mas hermosas, pareciendole hay en ellas mayor razon de deidad que en las otras, como son el sol, la luna, y estrellas, adorandolas por entender que es aquel su primer principio, á quien conocen se les debe naturalmente adoracion, sumision, y obediencia. Otros con mayores tinieblas y obscuridades adoran cosas muy inferiores, engañados por el mismo modo; pues ha habido naciones tan ciegas, que han adorado serpientes, monas, ratones, gatos; y aun quien ha tenido por dioses las legumbres de las huertas: en que no quiero detenerme por estar tan llenas de esto las escrituras divinas y humanas, y mis intentos por ahora no ser mas que tratar la ceguera y tinieblas en que los Indios de este Nuevo Reyno han estado acerca de esto: pues han corrido por persuasion del demonio, enemigo del hombre, y padre de la mentira, igual y ciega fortuna, como dicen, que los demas de estas Indias. Porque si tienen persuadida alguna verdad, está tan envuelta en fabulosas mentiras y vanidades, que con ellas se confunde y quita su fuerza. Y para que se vea ser esto asi, diré de paso las tradiciones de los Indios de otras provincias acerca de sus principios, de donde se verá haber todas estas tierras á un mismo paso quebradose los ojos en unos mismos estropiezos.

2. En las librerias que se hallaron entre los Indios de Mexico y sus comarcanos está en pintura y por historia, segun dice el padre Acosta*, que el postrer paso que dan en el origen de sus antepasados es hasta llegar á siete cuevas, ó á una que significa siete, con este vocablo Chicomoztotl, como quiere Torquemada†; de donde salieron siete linages ó parcialidades, de la parte del norte respecto de esta ciudad, para poblarla y á sus tierras comarcanas, aunque algunos dicen fueron las familias doze ó trece. Pero todos convienen en esta obscuridad y ignorancia, que se originan de la obscuridad de las cuevas, sin darles otro principio. Del que tuvieron sus mayores no tienen menores neblinas los naturales del Peru, como escribe Levinio Apolonio‡, y otros graves autores, pues mirando aquellos sus mazos de hilos y nudos, y preguntandoles lo que saben de su primer origen y descendencia, dicen que de la parte del norte respecto del Cuzco, que era la principal de aquel reyno, vino una cierta cosa, (y llamanle asi, porque dicen no tenia nervios, huesos, ni miembros humanos,) y que esta crio todos los hombres de aquella tierra; levantó y empinó los montes, siendo antes llana; aunque dejo entre ellos caminos, por donde andar. A esta le llamaban Conn, ó hijo del sol y la luna. No le tuvieron los Indios el respeto que se le debia á quien los habia criado, en especial los que vivian en las tierras maritimas que llaman de los llanos, que son las que hay entre la mar y sierras: con que indignado trató luego de castigar estos atrevimientos, llenandoles la tierra de arena como ahora lo está, y mandando á las nubes no llovieran sobre ella; con que perdio la fertilidad que tenia antes, y quedó totalmente esteril fuera de las margenes de los rios, con que alcanzan á regar alguna parte de ella, dejandoselos para esto y para que bebiesen, para que no pereciesen del todo.

3. Con esta fabula les tenia introducida el demonio la razon porque no llueve jamas en todos aquellos llanos y costas de entre el mar y las sierras, siendo cosa natural como todos la tienen disputada, y aqui la tratariamos si no fuera salir de nuestro intento. Alargan esta su fabula y ridicula relacion, y dicen que despues de algunos tiempos que pasó esto, vino de la parte del Sur otro llamado Pagacamac, hijo tambien del sol y la luna, y muy mas poderoso que el primero; pues luego que este aparecio, desaparecio de miedo el otro; con cuya ausencia, como las personas que él habia criado quedaron sin amparo ni quien las defendiese, y el segundo sin contrario y con plena autoridad determinó hacer hombres nuevos y de su mano; y para que cupieran estos desocupar la tierra de los que habia hecho el otro. Y asi los convirtió y transformó en los animales que hay ahora en ella, haciendo luego otros hombres de nuevo, que son los que ahora estan; á quien enseño á labrar y cultivar los campos, porque le tuviesen por supremo dios. Y le edificaron un sumtuoso templo con mil pasos de cimenterio á la redonda, donde se enterraban los principales de la tierra. Y no eran estas ignorancias tan generales en toda ella, que en muchas de sus provincias no hablasen con diferente lenguage acerca de su origen: pues los del valle de Xauxa dicen que oyeron á sus antiguos que descendian de un hombre y una muger que salieron de la fuente de Guarubalia: los del valle de Andabayla dicen, que salieron del lago Sogdocota: los del Cuzco en otra parte de la que hemos dicho, que se originan de la laguna Titiaca. Los Indios que llaman Pijaos en este Reyno, de quien trataremos largo en nuestra Tercera Parte, dicen que nacieron sus primeros padres en el centro de la tierra, y que salieron á este mundo por las montañas que

* Acosta, lib. 2. cap. 2. Histor. Ind. † Lib. 2. cap. 11. Histor. ‡ Apolonio, lib. 2. Histor. Peruvian.

estan entre el rio Cacarayma y el valle de Anayma. Los Indios de Sogamozo, de quien luego hablaremos, dicen que tuvieron su primer origen de un antiguo Cacique de aquel valle, y de un sobrino suyo Cacique del pueblo de Ramiriqui y Tunja.

4. Estas y otras semejantes fabulas, de que no podremos excusar de tratar adelante, introducia el demonio en esta gente ciega, con que se entretuviesen y no tratasen de buscar la verdad clara de estas cosas, con que se hiciesen á ellas y dificultasen de creer la verdad que se les enseñase, si en algun tiempo, como ha sucedido en estos, tuviesen ministro de ella. Y no le salieron en vano sus intentos; pues la mayor dificultad que ahora se halla, para introducirles la verdad evangelica, y en que mas tiempo se gasta, es en arrancar estas diabolicas persuasiones del demonio, para plantarles despues las verdades evangelicas. Con que se vé cumplido lo que dijo Dios que habia de hacer el profeta Jeremias * en la predicacion de los gentiles, dandole á entender con quatro terminos el mayor trabajo que le habia de costar el destruir las malas costumbres y supersticiones de los oyentes, que el que habia de tener en plantar su doctrina, pues esto con solos dos lo significa.

Capitulo II.

1. *Lo que sentieron estos Indios del Reyno acerca de la Creacion del Mundo.*
2. *La opinion que tuvieron del origen y principio de los hombres y mugeres.*
3. *El primer hombre y la primera muger que segun la opinion de los naturales, hubo en este Nuevo Reyno.*
4. *Caso que le sucedió al Padre Molina sacando un santuario.*

1. Viniendo pues ya á tratar de lo que sienten nuestros Indios del Reyno de sus principios y origen, hemos hallado, que conservando sus memorias de gente en gente, tienen noticia de la creacion del mundo, y la declaran diciendo, que quando era de noche, esto es, segun ellos interpretan, antes que hubiera nada de este mundo, estaba la luz metida allá en una casa grande, que para significarla le llamaban Chiminigagua, de donde despues salió; y que aquella cosa ó Chiminigagua en que estaba metida esta luz (que esto quieren decir, que es lo mismo que nosotros llamamos Dios) comenzó á amanecer y mostrar la luz que en si tenia. Y dando luego principio á criar cosas aquella primera luz, las primeras que crió fueron unas aves negras grandes, á las quales mandó al punto que tuviesen ser, fuesen por todo el mundo echando aliento ó ayre por los picos; el qual ayre todo era lucido y resplandeciente. Con que habiendo hecho lo que les mandaron, quedó todo el mundo claro é iluminado, como está ahora; sin advertir, como no tienen fundamento en lo que dicen, que es el sol él que dá esta luz. A este dios reconocen por omnipotente, Señor universal de todas las cosas, y siempre bueno, y que crió tambien todo lo demas que hay en este mundo, con que quedó tan lleno y hermoso. Pero como entre las demas criaturas veian la mas hermosa al sol, decian, que á él se debia adorar, y á la luna como á su muger y compañera. De donde les vino, que aun en los idolos que adoran, jamas es uno solo, sino macho y hembra; y no se persuaden á que entre las demas cosas crió Dios hombres y mugeres, sino que estando el mundo lleno de las demas, faltaban estas dos; y asi se remedió esta falta de esta manera.

2. En el distrito de la ciudad de Tunja, á quatro leguas á la parte del norte-este, y una de un pueblo de Indios que llaman Iguaque, se hace una coronacion de empinadas sierras, tierra muy fria, y tan cubierta de paramos y ordinarias nieblinas que casi en todo el año no se descubren sus cumbres, sino es á medio dia por el mes de Enero. Entre estas sierras y cumbres se hace una mui honda laguna, de donde dicen los Indios, que á poco de como amaneció ó apareció la luz, y criadas las demas cosas, salió una muger que llaman Bachue, y por otro nombre acomodado á las buenas obras que les hizo, Turachogue, que quiere decir muger buena, porque *tura* llaman á la muger, y *chogue* es cosa buena. Sacó consigo de la mano un niño de entre las mismas aguas de edad hasta tres años; y bajando ambos juntos de las sierras á lo llano, donde ahora esta el pueblo de Iguaque, hicieron una casa donde vivieron hasta que

* Jeremias, i.

el muchacho tuvo edad para casarse con ella, porque luego que la tuvo se casó. Y el casamiento fue tan importante, y la muger tan prolifica y fecunda, que de cada parto paria quatro ó seis hijos; con que se vino á llenar toda la tierra de gente; porque andaban ambos por muchas partes, dejando hijos en todas; hasta que despues de muchos años estando la tierra llena de hombres y mugeres, y los dos ya mui viejos, se volvieron al mismo pueblo; y de él un dia llamando mucha gente que los acompañara á la laguna de donde salieron, junto á la qual les hizo la Bachue una platica exhortando á todos la paz y conservacion entre si, la guarda de los preceptos y leyes que les habia dado, que no eran pocos, en especial en orden al culto de los dioses, y concluida se despidió de ellos con singulares clamores y llantos de ambas partes. Y convirtiendose ella y su marido en dos mui grandes culebras, se metieron por las aguas de la laguna y nunca mas parecieron por entonces: si bien la Bachue despues se aparecia muchas veces en otras partes, por haber determinado desde allí los Indios contarla entre sus dioses en gratificacion de los beneficios que les habia hecho.

Siguieron de este engaño otros muchos, y no fué el menor persuadirles el demonio, fundandolos en esto, á que le hicieran sacrificios en las aguas, como ya tocamos, tratando de la laguna de Guatabita; en que tuvieron todos estos naturales ordinaria frecuencia; pues no habia arroyo, laguna, ni rio en que no tuviesen particulares ofrecimientos, como en especial los hacian en una parte del rio que llaman de Boza, que es el que recoge estas aguas del valle de Bogota, donde son mas ordinarias sus pesquerias; y mas en cierta parte peñascosa por donde pasa cerca de un cerro que llaman del Tabaco, á donde por ser mayor la pesca que hacen, ofrecian entre las peñas del rio pedazos de oro, cuentas y otras cosas, para tener mejor suerte en las pesquerias: y en otra lagunilla cerca de este puesto al oriente, donde tenian una costilla de un animal tan grande como de vaca ó camello, á quien hacian la veneracion y ofrecimiento por estar dentro de las aguas; que causó no poca admiracion á los Españoles que la hallaron alli, por no haberse hallado en estas tierras animal tan grande de donde la pudieran haber sacado: si bien es opinion de algunos que pudo ser la costilla de un camello, de quien luego hablaremos. Al fin en todas partes que huviese aguas con algun extraordinario asiento ó disposicion, no quedaban sin ofrecimiento de unos ó de otros.

3. Siguiose tambien el levantar idolos al muchacho que sacó la Bachue ó Baque de la laguna, de la estatura y edad que tuvieron, quando salieron. Y fue esto de tanta veneracion, que en alguna parte le hicieron estatua maciza de oro fino, como la tenian en el mismo pueblo de Iguaque, viendose por ventura mas obligados á esto que otros, por haber sido el pueblo y sitio donde se crió el muchaco, se casó, y comenzaron á tener hijos.

4. Verificose esto en lo que le sucedió el año de 1572, al padre Fray Francisco de Molina de nuestra religion, siendo cura y doctrinero de este pueblo; donde teniendo muy en secreto, casi en la mitad de él dos casas de adoracion, que se comunicaban la una con la otra, vino á rastrearlas el padre por medio de una India madre de un muchacho que le servia. Pero aunque se certificó del todo por otras pesquisas que hizo, no se atrevió por la ferocidad de los Indios á destruirles á solas su adoratorio. Y asi dando parte á un Español llamado Bartolome Perez Garzon, y á un mestizo Santa Ana, trazó que para cierta noche viniesen en secreto al pueblo y posada, para desde alli con el silencio posible saquear y destruir el santuario. Fueron los dos puntuales en el concierto; y asi una noche con recato y la obscuridad que hacia á la mitad de ella, en compañia de estos dos, y tres Indios forasteros, salió el padre de su casa para las del santuario, que estaban cercadas de madera y fagina, comun cerca que hacen estos Indios á sus casas por la parte de afuera: aunque estas por la de adentro tenian otra de maderos mui gruesos juntos unos con otros; pero las puertas del cercado y buhios tan flacas, que no eran mas que unas delgadas cañas asidas con cordeles de cabulla. Pudieron llegar á la cerca sin ser sentidos de los Indios, porque no estaba de la casa del padre mas que hasta 250 pasos; el qual cortó con un cuchillo los cordeles de las puertas; y quedandose los dos Españoles fuera del buhio dentro del cercado, y el un Indio á la puerta para guardarla, entró el padre Molina dentro de la primera casa con los otros dos Indios. Sacó lumbre y encendió una hacha, y comenzando á mirar la primera casa, donde vido ofrecidas al santuario y puestas por orden en barbacoas, mas de tres mil mantas de algodon finas y bien hechas que cada una valia mas de dos pesos de buen oro. Y no hallando alli otra cosa, pasó en la segunda, donde vido una immensa riqueza de oro fino en pedazos de barras, tejos, y santillos, de los que ellos hacen sus ofrecimientos, con figuras de hombres, aves, sierpes y otras sabandijas: algo de esto puesto en petacas sobre barbacoas, y en adorotes entre paja. Pero lo que mas le admiro, fue una figura de un muchacho, de hasta tres años, puesto en pie, de oro macizo, y una piedra de moler maiz de las comunes que usan los Indios, que suelen pasar de tres y quatro arrobas, con su mano, que llaman toda, del mismo oro macizo, como se echa de ver, pues no pudo el padre levantar al muchacho ni piedra, probando levantar de tierra, con ser él hombre de las mayores fuerzas que se ha conocido en

esta: pues se atrevió con ellas en cierta ocasion, como dejamos dicho, de embestir con un valiente cayman en el rio grande de la Magdalena, para quitarle un caballo como lo hizo, en que habia hecho presa y se lo llevaba al rio. No pasó mucho tiempo despues que el padre andaba ocupado en esto, quando sintiendo los Indios el robo de su santuario en un instante acudieron mas de 300 á la defensa, y cargando sobre los dos Españoles que estaban á la puerta dentro del cercado, fue tanta la brabeza con que les embistieron, que despues de haberse defendido un rato, tuvieron por buena suerte escapar huyendo por donde pudieron, y desamparar al padre: el qual siendo un poco sordo, desde lo que le sucedió con el cayman, y con la ocupacion que trahia dentro, no oyó el ruido que pasaba fuera. Y sin duda los Indios le cogieran dentro, si el que tenia la hacha encendida, oyendo el tropel no la apagara y cogiera la puerta: tras quien viendose á obscuras salió el padre, riñendole porque la habia apagado. Y de manos á boca se halló dentro mas de cien Indios, que ya iban entrando en el buhio, y estaban entre él y la puerta del cercado, donde si la capa de la noche que era bien negra y obscura, y una que el llevaba por ir disfrazado, con un sombrero del mismo color, no deslumbraran á los Indios, lo pasara peor de lo que lo pasó: porque si conocieran que era el padre, entendieran ser él el que les queria despojar de su santuario, y le embistieran con mas furia; aunque no entendiendolo, fue á purgar á la otra vida, como dicen, el atrevimiento: pues un Indio á vueltas de la tropa, y otros muchos macanazos que le dieron en el cuerpo, le acertó con uno en la cabeza, de que quedó con una mui mala herida, y perdiendo el sentido cayó medio muerto. Bien pensaron los Indios lo estaba del todo y no medio, pues lo sacaron fuera del cercado arrastrando, como cosa que no tenian mas en que ocuparse; donde lo hallaron los Indios del servicio del encomendero, que salieron al ruido en este tiempo con hachos de paja encendidos, y conociendolo y pensando tambien que estaba muerto, lo cargaron y llevaron á su casa y cama; y mirandole la herida, y viendo que lo tenia puesto en peligro de muerte, una India vieja curandera le aplicó unas yerbas que conocia, con las quales y la ayuda de Dios escapó de las manos de la muerte. No volvió en si hasta el otro dia á las ocho, ó nueve de la mañana, que ya no se conocia viendose tan acardenalado y molido de los golpes que le habian dado en el cuerpo: de manera que ya la herida de la cabeza la estimaba en menos que los demas golpes, de que despues de muchos dias quedó sano con el favor divino, y escarmentado de la burla, que contaba muchas veces. Cargaron los Indios con todo lo que habia en el santuario aquella noche, y guiando á la parte de la laguna lo escondieron, de suerte que hasta hoy no se ha podido rastrear á donde, por grandes diligencias que se han hecho por algunos Españoles, como tambien en desaguar la laguna por la fama que hubo se habia echado en ella el muchacho, piedra y el demas oro, con otro mucho en otras ocasiones de ofrecimientos de mucha grosedad: pero por ser de tantas las sierras que ciñen esta laguna, les ha hecho dar de mano á sus intentos, despues de haber gastado en ellos algun cuidado, sudor, trabajos y dineros.

Capitulo III.

1. *Rastros que se han hallado de haber tenido luz estos Indios del Reyno, de la ley evangelica.*
2. *Y de habersela venido á predicar algun Cristiano.*
3. *El modo que tubo de predicar y enseñarles algunas otras cosas de vida politica.*
4. *Aparecióse luego el demonio en figura de una muger, predicandoles contra lo que el primero les habia enseñado.*

1. Despues que entré en estas tierras, me ha solicitado el deseo de saber si en algun tiempo entró en ellas por algun camino la luz del evangelio, y se ha adelantado este en estas ocasiones que he visto cosas que me parecen centellas de eso, como son: que estos Indios esperan el juicio universal por tradicion de sus mayores, diciendo que los muertos han de resucitar, y vivir despues para siempre en este mismo mundo, de la suerte que ahora viven, porque entienden que ha de permanecer siempre este mundo de la manera que ahora lo vemos; que las almas son immortales, y que quando salen de los cuerpos que solos mueren, ellas bajan al centro de la tierra por unos caminos y barrancas de tierra amarilla y negra, pasando primero un gran rio en unas barcas ó balsas de telas de araña; y por eso dicen no osan matarlas, porque no falte quien los pase. Allá dicen, que tiene cada qual provincia sus terminos y lugares señalados, como acá, donde hallarán hechas labranzas, porque en esto no hacen diferencia, de que ya trataremos algo tratando de la laguna de Guatabita. Tambien hallamos, como dejó escrito el adelantado Don Gonzalo Ximenez de

Quesada en un quaderno de su propria mano, que ponian cruces sobre los sepulcros de los que habian muerto picados de viboras ó otras culebras y serpientes; aunque no saben decir el principio que tuvo el poner esta señal á estos difuntos mas que á los de otras muertes, para diferenciar los unos de los otros, hallandose tambien esta misma figura de la santa cruz bien hecha, y formada con un almagre tan fuerte que la antigüedad ni las aguas lo han podido borrar, en algunas peñas altas, que las hallaron hechas quando entraron los Españoles, de que yo he visto algunas cerca de los pueblos de Boza y Suacha. Los Indios Pijaos, y algunos del distrito de Tunja, han tenido figuras en sus santuarios con tres cabezas humanas, ó con tres rostros en solo un cuerpo, que dicen ser tres personas con solo un corazon; de todo lo qual, aunque embuelto y deslustrado con mil fabulas y obscuridades, parece salen las centellas dichas.

2. A que ayuda mucho una tradicion certissima que tienen todos los de este reyno, de haber vivido en el veinte edades (y cuentan en cada edad setenta años) un hombre no conocido de nadie, ya mayor en años y cargado de lanas, el cabello y barba larga hasta la cintura, cogida la cabellera con una cinta, de quien ellos tomaron el traher con otra cogidos los cabellos como los trahen, y el dejarles crecer: andaba los pies por el suelo sin ningun calzado: una almahalafa ó manta, puesta con un nudo hecho de las dos puntas, sobre el hombro derecho; y por vestido una tunica sin cuello hasta las pantorrillas; á cuya imitacion andaban ellos tambien descalzos, y con este modo de vestido; aunque á la tunica han llamado los Españoles camiseta, y á la capa almahalafa ó manta; si bien ya no se usa en todas partes el traher nudo dado al hombro con las puntas; y aun traher la camiseta no es habito de los Moscas, sino de los del Peru, de quien estos Moscas lo tomaron, desde los primeros que entraron aqui con los primeros Españoles que bajaron del Peru; pues el propio habito de los de este reyno es ceñirse una manta, y cubrirse con otra, como se ve en los Indios viejos que andan siempre asi, y jamas con camiseta. Dicen que vino por la parte del Este, que son los llanos que llaman continuados de Venezuela, y entró á este reyno por el pueblo de Pasca al Sur de esta ciudad de Santafé, por donde ya dijimos habia tambien entrado con su gente Nicolas de Fedreman. Desde alli vino al pueblo de Boza, donde se le murió un camello que trahia; cuyos huesos procuraron conservar los naturales, pues aun hallaron algunos los Españoles en aquel pueblo quando entraron; entre los quales dicen, que fue la costilla que adoraban en la lagunilla llamada Bozacio los Indios de Boza y Suacha. A este pusieron dos ó tres nombres, segun la variedad de las lenguas que habia por donde pasaba: porque en este reyno, pocos eran los pueblos como ya hemos dicho, que no tuviesen diferentes lenguas, como hoy las tienen. Y asi en este valle de Bogota comunmente le llamaban Chimizapagua, que quiere decir mensagero de el Chiminigagua, que es aquel Supremo Dios á quien conocian por principio de la luz que tiene. Y asi á los Españoles entendiendo que eran sus hijos á los principios que entraron, no supieron darles otro mas acomodado nombre, que el del mismo sol, llamandoles Gagua, hasta que los desengañaron con sus crueldades y malos tratamientos; y asi les mudaron el nombre, llamandoles Suegagua, que quiere decir diablo ó demonio con luz porque con este nombre Suetiva nombran al diablo, y este les dan hoy á los Españoles.

3. Otros le llamaban á este hombre Nemptererequeteva: otros le decian Xue. Este les enseño á hilar algodon y tejer mantas, porque antes de este solo se cubrian los Indios con unas planchas que hacian de algodon en rama, atadas con unas cuerdezuelas de fique unas con otras, todo mal aliñado. Y aun como á gente ruda, quando salia de un pueblo les dejaba los telares pintados en alguna piedra lisa y bruñida, como hoy se ven en algunas partes, por si se olvidaban de lo que les enseñaba, como se olvidaron de otras cosas buenas que dicen les predicaba en su misma lengua á cada pueblo, con que quedaban admirados. Enseñoles á hacer cruces, y usar de ellas en las pinturas de las mantas con que se cubrian, y por ventura declarandoles sus misterios, y los de la encarnacion y muerte de Cristo, les traheria alguna vez las palabras que el mismo dijo á Nicodemus, tratando de la correspondencia que tuvo la cruz con la serpiente de metal que levantó Moyses en el desierto, con cuya vista sanaban los mordidos de las serpientes. De donde pudo ser la costumbre que hemos dicho tenian, de poner las cruces sobre los sepulcros de los que morian picados de serpientes. Tambien les enseñó la resurreccion de la carne, el dar limosna, y otras mui buenas cosas, como lo era tambien su vida. Que si esto es asi, no solo estas de que se acuerdan ellos, sino otros muchos misterios de nuestra fé les enseñaria. La qual tradicion, ni apruebo ni repruebo: solo la refiero, como la he hallado por cosa comun entre los hombres graves y doctos de este reyno. Desde Boza fue al pueblo de Hontibon, al de Bogota, Serrezuela, y Cippacon; desde donde dio la vuelta á la parte del norte por las faldas de la sierra, yendose abriendo los caminos alli, y en todo lo demas que anduvo por montañas y arcabucos: fue á parar al pueblo de Cota, donde gastó algunos dias predicando con gran concurso de gente de todos los pueblos comarcanos, desde un sitio un poco alto, á quien hicieron un foso á la redonda de mas de dos mil pasos, para que el concurso de la gente no

le atropellara, y predicara mas libremente; á donde despues en reverencia suya hicieron santuarios y entierros los mas principales Indios. Recogiase de noche á una cueva á las faldas de la sierra, todo el tiempo que estuvo en Cota, desde donde fue prosiguiendo su viage á la parte del nordeste, hastar llegar á la provincia de Guane, donde hay mucha noticia de él; y aun dicen hubo Indios alli tan curiosos que lo retrataron, aunque muy á lo tosco, en unas piedras que hoy se ven, y unas figuras de unos calices dentro de las cuevas donde se recogia, á las margenes del gran rio Sogamozo. Desde Guane revolvió hacia el leste, y entró en la provincia de Tunja y valle de Sogamozo, de donde se desapareció, quedando hasta hoy rastros de nuestra fé en toda aquella provincia, como presto diremos.

4. Despues que pasó este predicador, se conforman en decir vino una muger á estas tierras hermosisima y de grandes resplandores, ó por mejor decir el demonio en aquella figura, que predicaba y persuadia contra la doctrina del primero; á la qual llamaron tambien con varios nombres: unos le decian Chie; otros Huytaca; y otros Xubchasgagua. Pero los que mas bien dicen á su parecer afirman, que fue aquella Bachue, que dicen los engendró á todos, y se metió hecha culebra en la laguna. Seguian á esta en sus predicaciones mucho mas que al otro; porque les predicaba vida ancha, placeres, juegos, y entretenimientos de borracheras: por lo qual el Chiminizagagua la convirtió en lechura, y hizo que no anduviera sino de noche, como ella anda. Comenzó con esto á caher la doctrina que les habia enseñado el otro; porque en quanto á la limosna, les persuadia no la hicieran, aunque fuera á sus padres y en caso de necesidad, y asi lo guardan hoy: pues siendo viejos y sin fuerzas para el trabajo, los echan y no quieren recoger en sus casas. De que se siguen grandes inconvenientes para su conversion; pues viendose necesitados y sin poder trabajar, se andan de casa en casa por los pueblos, viejos y viejas convidando si quieren que hagan hechizerias y adivinaciones, mascando tabaco y embriagandose con el humo, para adivinar con esto mil vanidades, los fines y sucesos de las cosas que intentan, que no es pequeño estropiezo para disuadirles de su gentilidad y engaños del demonio, por tener á estos viejos por sus oraculos. Tambien se les confundió la doctrina de la Cruz; pues á las que mandaba poner el primer predicador á las mantas, les iban quitando sus formas perfectas, echandoles unas rayas desde los extremos, como hoy las trahen, que mas parecen signos de escribanos que otra cosa. La resurreccion de la carne y la immortalidad del alma, la fueron envolviendo como vimos en mil fabulas y cosas ridiculas, de que tenian tantas é infinitas transmutaciones, que si hubieramos de tratarlas, se pudieran hacer mayores libros que hizo Ovidio de sus Metamorfoseos, que todos fueran sartas de disparates, como lo son decir que hubo siempre entre ellos tan grandes hechizeros, que quando querian se convertian en leones, osos y tigres, y despedazaban los hombres como estos animales verdaderos. Pero todo debia de ser ilusiones que les ponia el demonio, como sobre quien tenia tanto señorio.

Capitulo IV.

1. *La diferencia que tenian de Dioses en nombres y figuras.*
2. *Los Gazofilacios para las ofrendas que les hacian.*
3. *La razon porque adoraban el Arco del Cielo.*
4. *Otras naciones le adoraron tambien.*

1. Despues de la adoracion del Sol, que estimaban por la mas famosa, veneraban otros dioses de diversos nombres, á quien adoraban para necesidades diferentes. Los mas principales de estos eran Chibchatchum y Bochica. El primero era proprio de toda esta provincia de Bogota, y asi le pusieron el nombre conforme á ella, que comunmente le llaman Chibcha, y la lengua de esta zavana que es la mas universal de esta tierra, se llamaba la lengua Chibcha, y *tchum* quiere decir baculo en esta lengua, donde juntando los dos vocablos y diciendo Chibchatchum, significa Baculo de esta provincia Chibcha; porque este nombre le daban á este dios por lo mucho que les favorecia, no ausentandose jamas de la provincia, para acudirles con mas facilidad. El Bochica era dios mas universal, y aun casi señor de este otro; pero ambos les daban leyes y modos de vivir. Respondian en los oraculos que les consultaban, aunque nunca los veian los xeques ni otros, porque eran unas cosas incorporeas ó como de ayre. A estos dos siempre que les ofrecian, habia de ser oro, con el modo que despues diremos; porque aunque eran dioses universales de todos, mas en particular era el Bochica de los caciques y capitanes, y el Chibchatchum de los mercaderes (de que se preciaron mucho siempre estos Indios), plateros y labradores; y como de gente rica, no querian les ofreciesen

sino oro. Otro dios tenian que llamaban Chuchaviva, que decian era el ayre resplandeciente, ó como mejor interpretan otros, era el Arco del Cielo, de que luego hablaremos; y aunque era dios universal, mas en particular le tenian por abogado de las mugeres de parto, y enfermos de calenturas; y ofrecianle alguna vez oro bajo; pero lo ordinario era ofrecerle esmeraldas y cuentas de Santa Marta. A otro dios llamaban Nemcatacoa. Este era dios de las borracheras, pintores y tejedores de mantas: ayudaba á traher arrastrando los maderos gruesos para los edificios. Apareciase en figura de oso, cubierto con una manta, la cola de fuera: baylaba y cantaba con ellos en las borracheras. No le hacian ofrecimientos, porque decian le bastaba hartarse de chicha con ellos, ni el pedia otra cosa. Y esa era la razon porque se hallaba al arrastrar de los palos, porque en aquella ocasion se bebia mucho: llamabanle otros el To, que quiere decir zorra, porque en figura de este animal se aparecia algunas veces, para que correspondiese la zorra con la borrachera. A otro dios llamaban Chukem. Este tenia á su cargo los terminos y los puestos que señalaban, quando en algunas fiestas ordenaba el cacique corriesen los mas valientes Indios la tierra, con premios que para esto se ponian. Dedicabansele tambien los adornos de las borracheras y fiestas con toda la plumeria que usaban en ellas y en las guerras. Tambien la diosa Bachue era comun á todos; pero en especial era el amparo de todas las legumbres; ofreciendole sahumerios de moque y resinas. Las figuras de estos dioses, hechas al modo de cada uno que los adoraba ó mandaba hacer, y otras que imaginaban, tenian en templos comunes y particulares; pero todos sin ornato ni grandeza; al fin como para quien eran: pues solo era una casa ó buhio mui ordinario, lleno de barbacoas ó poyos á la redonda, donde estaban puestas varias figuras de diversos metales y materias, ningunas pintadas, porque las mas eran de oro. Y estas usaron mas despues que entraron los Españoles, por haberles visto estimarlo en tanto; otras de madera; otras de hilo de algodon; otras de barro blanco; de cera hacian otras; pero de todas habia macho y hembra, revueltos en mantas: unas sin cabellos; otras los tenian mui largos; unas con largas colas de dos y tres varas; otras las tenian mui pequeñas; pero todas en rostros y talles de figuras tan abominables, que representaban bien á quien estaban dedicadas.

2. Tenian en los templos comunes dos maneras de cepos ó gazofilacios, en que metian las ofrendas que se les hacian. La una era una figura de hombre hecha de barro, sin pies, toda hueca, abierto todo el casco de la cabeza, por donde echaban las ofrendas, que eran hechas de oro con figuras de animales varios, como culebras, ranas, lagartijas, mosquitos, hormigas, gusanos, leones, tigres, monos, raposas, y de toda suerte de aves: estas solo las ofrecia el xeque. Tapaban lo abierto de la cabeza de la figura con un bonete redondo ó con quatro picos, como los de nuestros clerigos; unas veces hecho de palmas; otras del mismo barro de que era la figura, con un palillo en medio de un dedo de grueso, para quitarlo y ponerlo. El otro cepo era una vasija á modo de mucura enterrada en el suelo del templo, sin dejar descubierto mas que la boca á raiz de la tierra, donde tambien iban echando las ofrendas, hasta que ambas estaban llenas; porque luego el xeque ponia otras en su lugar, llevando aquellas á enterrar á otro fuera del templo, asi llenas como estaban: de que han tenido buena suerte algunos Españoles, en que les hayan venido algunas de estas á las manos por su buena diligencia, con que han mudado el pelo de sus capas.

3. El fundamento que hubo para adorar estos Indios con ofrecimientos el Arco del Cielo, Cuchaviva, aunque envuelto en fabulas fue de esta manera: todas las aguas que entran por una parte y otra de sus serranias, que no son pocas en este valle de Bogota, no tienen mas que una salida por lo ultimo de la parte del sudeste, donde se junta de todas un copioso rio, que llaman Funzhua. Este corre por una estrechura ya al desembocar del valle, que llaman de Tekendama, por entre dos piedras tajadas y otra que está en medio de ellas, con que hace dos canales tan estrechos que muchas veces no bastando á dar salida á las muchas aguas que por alli van á embocar, en especial en tiempo de invierno, rebalsan atras, con que se anegan grandes pedazos de la zabana, en especial cerca de los pueblos de Boza, Hontibon, y Bogota; con que quedan por todo lo mas del año grandes anegadizos. De los rios que dan mas agua á este grande, son principalmente uno que llaman de Sopo, que toma el nombre de un pueblo de Indios que se llama asi, por donde pasa, y el otro Tibito, ó rio de Choconta, porque comienza á hacerse en los paramos de un pueblo de Indios que se llama asi, á la parte del nordeste respecto de Santafé, y terminos de su jurisdiccion como hemos ya tocado. Fundan sobre esto su razon diciendo que por ciertas cosas, que habia usado con ellos, al parecer en su agravio, el dios Chibchatchum, le murmuraban los Indios y ofendian en secreto y en publico: con que indignado Chibchatchum, trató de castigarlos anegandoles sus tierras; para lo qual crió ó trajo de otras partes los dos rios dichos de Sopo y Tibito, con que crecieron tanto las aguas del valle, que no dandose manos, como dicen, la tierra del valle á consumirlas, se vino á anegar gran parte de ella; lo que no sucedia antes que entraran en el valle los dos rios; porque el agua de los demas se consumia en las labranzas y sementeras, sin tener necesidad de desagüe. Fue

tan en lleno y universal este castigo, é iba creciendo cada dia tantas varas la inundacion, que ya no tenian esperanza del remedio, ni de darlo á las necesidades que tenian de comidas, por no tener donde sembrarlas, y ser mucha la gente. Por lo qual toda se determinó por mejor consejo de ir con la queja y pedir el remedio al dios Bochica, ofreciendole en su templo clamores, sacrificios, y ayunos. Despues de lo qual una tarde reverberando el sol en el ayre humedo contra esta sierra de Bogota se hizo un arco, como suelen naturalmente, en cuya clave y capital se apareció resplandeciente el demonio en figura de hombre representando al Bochica, con una vara de oro en la mano; y llamando á voces desde alli á los caciques y mas principales, á que acudieron con brevedad con todos sus vasallos, les dijo desde lo alto: Oydo he vuestros ruegos, y condolido de ellos y de la razon que teneis en las quejas que dais de Chibchatchum, me ha parecido venir á daros favor, satisfecho de lo bien que me servis, y á pagaroslo y á remediar la necesidad en que estais, pues tanto toca á mi providencia: y asi aunque no os quitaré los dos rios, porque algun tiempo de seca los habreis menester, abriré una sierra por donde salgan las aguas y queden libres vuestras tierras. Y diciendo y haciendo arrojó la vara de oro hacia Tekendama, y abrió aquellas peñas por donde ahora pasa el rio: pero como la vara era delgada, no hizo tanta abertura como era menester, por las muchas aguas que se juntan en los inviernos, y asi todavia rebalsa. Pero al fin quedó la tierra libre para poder sembrar y tener el sustento, y ellos obligados á adorar y hacer sacrificios, como los hacen, en apareciendo el arco, aunque llenos de temores, por los que despues les puso el Chibchatchum de que habian de morir muchos en apareciendose el arco, por el castigo que á él le habia dado el Bochica por el hecho, que fue cargar en sus hombros toda la tierra, y que la sustentara; la qual antes de esto, dicen se sustentaba sobre unos grandes guayacanes; y esa es la razon porque ahora tiembla la tierra, lo que antes de esto no hacia, porque como le pesa mucho el mudarla de un hombro á otro, le hace se mueva y tiemble toda ella.

4. No fueron solos estos Indios del Reyno los que cayeron en este error de adorar al Arco; pues de los del Peru afirma lo mismo el padre Acosta *, y que el arco era las armas ó insignias imperiales del Inga, con dos culebras asidas las colas á las puntas del arco y se tocaban en medio de él con las cabezas. De este embuste con que el demonio abobaba á estos Indios del Nuevo Reyno y de otros infinitos, de que estaban llenas y lo estan las historias de estas Indias, se conoce quanta verdad tenga el dicho comun de los santos, que el demonios es un simia ó mona de Dios, y que lo que sabe hizo ó mandó Dios hacer, quiere él poner por obra, permitiendoselo asi en gente poco alumbrada. Sabia el demonio que Dios para señal de que se habian ya apaciguado sus iras con el castigo de las aguas, habia dado por señal el arco del cielo, en el qual libró la certidumbre de que no vendria otra vez el diluvio á anegar la tierra, diciendo á Noe que en viendo el arco en las nubes se acordaria de este concierto, como lo llemos en el Genesis †, que tenia hecho con él y sus hijos y todos los animales de la tierra. Y asi en aseguracion y remedio de la necesidad que tenian los Indios de que se les desanegase su tierra, le pareció al demonio seria bueno tomar por instrumento el arco del cielo, y aparecerse encima de él, y hacer desde alli aquellas monerias de arrojar la vara de oro, y que con aquello quedaba desaguada la tierra, para que asi quedase introducido otro nuevo genero de idolatria al arco, y los pobres Indios cargados de mayores errores y pecados, que es lo que siempre ha pretendido, pues á vuelta de estas mentiras de desaguar este rio, y otras, se sorbe él los rios enteros de almas, como lo dijo el santo Job ‡.

Capitulo V.

1. *Como se llama el Sacerdote de los Indios, y como se enseñaba y graduaba.*
2. *Modos de ofrecer los sacrificios por las necesidades comunes y particulares.*
3. *Modo de ofrecer en los campos ofrendas particulares.*
4. *Quan pegado se tengan hoy en las entrañas la idolatria, ponese un exemplo.*

1. A los sacerdotes que tenian de los idolos para las ofrendas y sacrificios, á quien respetaban mucho, llamaban Chque, y los Españoles Xeque, por la dificultosa pronunciacion que le hallaron, y porque tiene alguna correspondencia el uno con el otro; y este sabian los Españoles, porque es proprio del capitan ó señor de algun aduar, que son como pueblezuelos ó parcialidades que hay en el reyno de Mazagan en Africa, cerca de la ciudad de Oran, que comunmente llaman Moros sin rey ó Alarabes, y ellos á su principal y señor, Xeque. Y los Sophes de Persia se llaman Xeques, como dice Pineda en su Monarquia Ecclesiastica, lib. 2. cap. 1; con el qual vocablo se han quedado

* Acosta, lib. 5. cap. 4. † Gen. cap. 9. ‡ Job, cap. 4.

y se entienden los Españoles en este reyno, quando se trata de estos sacerdotes; á los quales heredaba siempre el sobrino, hijo de hermana, como á los caciques. A este que habia de succeder, quando era de mediana edad, lo sacaban de casa de sus padres y metian en otra apartada del pueblo, llamada Cuca, que era como academia ó universidad, donde estaban algunos pretendientes, con otro Indio viejo, que les hacia ayunar con tal abstinencia que no comian al dia mas que una bien tasada porcion de mazamorra ó puches de harina de maiz, sin sal, ni agi, y alguna vez algun pajarillo que se llamaba Chsinia, ó algunas sardinetas que cojen en los arroyos, no mas larga cada una que la primera coyuntura del dedo mayor de la mano, que llaman guapucha; pero de todo mui poco. Tambien les enseñaba las ceremonias y observancias de los sacrificios, en que gastaban doze años; despues de los quales les horadaban las orejas y narices, en que se ponian zarcillos y caracuries de oro: ibanle acompañando muchos Indios hasta una quebrada limpia, donde se lavaba todo el cuerpo y vestia mantas nuevas finas: desde donde iba con el mismo, ó con mas acompañamiento á la casa del cacique, el qual le daba la investidura del sacerdocio, concediendole y dandole de su mano, para que trajera el Poporo y mochila del hayo, y algunas buenas mantas finas y pintadas, y licencia para ejercer el oficio de Xeque en toda su tierra, porque en cada una los habia particulares. Y con esto quedaba del todo graduado en su oficio; por cuya solennidad hacian grandes fiestas de mucha bebida y bayles, ofreciendo sacrificios para que ejercitara el oficio. Metiase despues de celebrar las fiestas en una casa que le tenian hecha cerca del templo, ó en el campo para el proposito, de donde no salia mas que para hacer los ofrecimientos, porque su sementera y labranza se la hacian de comunidad; y para su vestir le daban mantas los que venian á hacer las ofrendas, para que mas desocupado de estos estorbos, se diese mas del todo al servicio de los dioses; por cuya razon tampoco consentian se casase por toda su vida. Y asi era austerisima la que pasaba, sin compañia de nadie, siempre en asperos ayunos y martirios diabolicos; pues mui de ordinario se sajaba y sacaba abundancia de sangre de muchas partes de su cuerpo.

2. Ningun sacrificio ni ofrenda se podia hacer sino por su mano, particular ni comun, porque todavia en las ofrendas comunes y por causas graves sacrificaban al Sol, que como hemos dicho era el principal á quien adoraban no en templos, porque decian era imposible meter tanta majestad entre paredes; sino en altas cumbres á la parte que miraban al Oriente, á donde llevaban los Xeques, juntandose muchos para esto, un niño de los que habian cogido en guerra de sus enemigos, que para esto tenian reservados muchos, y guardados en ciertas casas y regalados con delicadas comidas. Llegados al puesto del sacrificio, con algunas ceremonias tendian al muchacho sobre una manta rica en el suelo, y alli le degollaban con unos cuchillos de caña: cogian la sangre en una totuma, y con ella untaban algunas peñas en que daban los primeros rayos del Sol, porque esto hacian en dias claros y á esta hora. El cuerpo de el difunto unas veces lo metian en una cueba ó sepultura, y otras lo dejaban sin sepultura en la cumbre, paraque lo comiera el Sol y se desenojara; entendiendo que por estarlo con ellos, les venian aquellos trabajos. Y asi quando despues de algunos dias de como lo habian dejado, volvian á verlo y lo hallaban consumido, decian habersele comido el Sol, con que estaria ya aplacado y en su favor para sus necesidades. De esta costumbre vino el arrojarles sus niños desde el cerro los Indios de Guacheta á los Españoles, quando iban entrando en estas tierras, por entender eran hijos del Sol, como ya digimos. Compañeros tuvieron los Indios de este reyno en estos sacrificios, pues tambien los del Peru sacrificaban niños, como dice Gregorio Garcia *.

En las ofrendas y sacrificios particulares de los caciques era otro el modo; porque á las entradas y esquinas de sus casas tenian unos gruesos y levantados maderos, en que hacian trabazon las cercas de las casas, y en lo mas alto de ellos hechas unas gabias como de navios, que servian de hermosear los palos y esquinas, y de poner quando se habia de hacer el sacrificio un niño de los que tenian para esto, á donde lo mataban con flechas y dardos que le tiraban de abajo, donde estaban los Xeques cogiendo la sangre con unas totumas que cahia el madero abajo, que porque no se afease con ella, lo tenian todo enalmagrado ó enbijado: bajaban el cuerpo de estos muertos, y con él y la sangre, á quien le tenian gran reverencia, iban con muchas danzas por una carrera que tenian muy limpia y ancha, como para dos carretas, que salia desde el cercado del cacique hasta un cerro alto, que solia ser de mas de media legua de distancia; donde apartandose los Xeques del vulgo, untaban las piedras de la frente del Sol con la sangre y el cuerpo lo enterraban. Usaban tambien estas carreras en dias de sus fiestas, que tenian ya para esto dedicados; en los quales habian de concurrir todos los vasallos del cacique, y de cada parcialidad, traher una danza con invenciones nuevas, y mucha plumeria y flautas, fotutos y tamboriles. Y haciendo por el caminomil entremeses y

* Lib. 3. del Orig. de los Ind. cap. 3. § 4.

juegos, llegaban al alto, donde las carreras, que siempre iban á parar á estos puestos. Y hecha alguna ofrenda á sus dioses, se volvian por la misma carrera con los mismos juegos, regocijos y libreas, que muchos tambien llevaban de pieles de animales, con diademas de oro fino en la cabeza, que eran á modo de medias lunas, las puntas para arriba. Llegados ya de vuelta á la casa del cacique, loaba las invenciones de las danzas, juegos, regocijos y libreas: daba algunas mantas en premio á los que las habian sacado mejores, y esfuerzo de chicha para el camino: con que se volvian á sus casas y acababan en ellas con borracheras lo restante de la fiesta. Quando el año era seco, de manera que picaba la hambre por la falta de aguas, ayunaban asperisimamente unos dias los Xeques, y al fin de ellos subian á un monte que tenian dedicado para esto, donde quemaban moque y mechones de trementina, y tomando las cenizas las esparcian por el ayre, diciendo que de aquellas se habian de congelar las nubes y llover, y suceder despues bien el año.

3. No todos tenian sus adoraciones en los templos, pues las de muchos las tenian dedicadas en lagunas, arroyos, peñas, cerros y otras partes de particular y singular disposicion y compostura; no porque tubiesen estas cosas por dioses, sino que por la singularidad que tenian, les parecian ser dignas de mayor veneracion, ó porque pasando por ellas les habia sucedido alguna singular cosa, como zumbarles los oydos, temblarles las manos, haber venido mucho viento, algun gran trueno ó rayo, diciendo que con aquello les hacia seña el demonio para que lo venerasen en aquellos lugares: en que no faltaban un punto, porque aunque conocian que era malo, le obedecian porque no les hiciese mal. Teniendo cada uno pues alguna de estas partes señaladas para su devocion y ofrecimientos, quando tenia alguna necesidad hombre ó muger, la comunicaban con el Xeque, que para solo esto tenia licencia de mirar y hablar á las mugeres: comunicada, mascaba el Xeque tabaco en su casa, y ora se lo revelase el demonio, ó él lo imaginase, ordenaba á los que querian hacer la ofrenda, los dias que querian ayunar, porque ninguna se hacia á que no precediese ayuno, tan preciso de parte de los necesitados y el Xeque, que aunque murieran, no lo habian de quebrantar, con ser estrechisimo y no de pocos dias. Quando se iban acabando, mandaba el Xeque se hiciesen de oro, cobre, hilo ó barro, las figuras que habian de ofrecer, que solian ser de una aguila, serpiente, mona, papagayo ó otras asi. Aquella noche que se le daban, iba á la mitad de ella al lugar de la devocion de los que ofrecian, que ya lo sabia, el Xeque; y veinte pasos antes que llegara, se desnudaba y quedaba todo en carnes, mirando primero si sonaba algun ruido, y sin hacer él ninguno, iba con gran reverencia aquellos veinte pasos, y llegando al lugar del santuario, levantaba en ambas palmas la figurilla que llevaba envuelta en algodon; decia algunas palabras en que significaba la necesidad del que ofrecia, y pedia el remedio para ella; y puesto de rodillas la arrojaba en las aguas de manera que se fuese á pique, ó metia en una cueva, ó la envolvia en la tierra, segun era el santuario. Y volviendo, dando pasos atras sin volver de ninguna manera las espaldas, llegaba asi hasta donde habia dejado el vestido, y poniendoselo volvia á su casa en lo intempestivo de la noche. Y viniendo luego á la mañana el que ofrecia, y sabiendo del Xeque que ya aquello estaba hecho, dabale por su trabajo dos mantas y algun oro; y volvia á su casa, y mudandose otro vestido del que se habia puesto para el ayuno, y lavandose, convidaba á sus parientes, y hacia con ellos gran borrachera, que era en lo que venian á parar todas sus fiestas. Al modo con que hacian reverenciar á sus santuarios en esta ocasion, lo hacian en todas las que entraban á ofrecer en los templos; pues iban desde la puerta de ellos con pasos cortos y ojos bajos, haciendo muchas y grandes humillaciones, lo que tambien guardaban al salir hasta fuera de la puerta.

4. En esta zabana y valle de Bogota tenian estos mil modos de idolatrias, en que no puedo detenerme, pues basta lo dicho para que se entienda quan connaturalizado tenian el corazon en ellas. Y como es vicio tan pegajoso, no han sido bastantes los immensos trabajos que padecen los ministros del evangelio en toda ocasion para desarraygarlo de ellos; pues como ven que los persiguen en esto, hacen sus ofrecimientos y santuarios entre peñascos y desrumbaderos, y aun debajo de los saltos que hacen las aguas en los arroyos y quebradas, por tenerlos mas seguros de que no los hallen los padres. De manera que no lo hay del Indio que parece mas Cristiano y ladino, de que no tenga idolos á quien adore, como nos lo dice cada dia la experiencia. Suelen hoy ofrecer á los idolos quanto topan de los Españoles, como se vido en un santuario que sacó un padre de nuestra religion en el pueblo de Cipaquira, en donde halló una bota para vino, un rosario, una capilla de frayle francisco, un bonete de clerigo, y una suma de casos de conciencia de Durando. Yo hé visto sacar de algunos llaves y imagenes de nuestros rosarios. Tambien le sucedió á un padre doctrinero de nuestra religion en el pueblo de Cogua, ocho ó diez leguas de esta ciudad de Santafé, que habiendo vivido un Indio de los principales con muestras de muy Cristiano, le dió la enfermedad de la muerte, y yendole á visitar el padre entre otras veces, ya que estaba cerca de ella, para ayudarle á bien morir, halló que lo

estaba ya haciendo un sobrino del enfermo, teniendole puesta en las manos una cruz hecha de las palmas de domingo de ramos; y tomandola el padre y comenzandole á exhortar lo que Dios le inspiraba, parece le inspiró tambien, que desenvolviese las palmas de la cruz, porque le parecio pesaba mas que lo que las palmas podian pesar. Y desenvolviendolas halló en ellas un idolo de oro, que representaba al dios Bochica, en cuya adoracion se disponia para morir, como lo hizo luego, admitiendo poco las exhortaciones del padre, el qual hizo castigar al sobrino, porque no habia sido poca parte en que muriese su tio en aquel estado.

Capitulo VI.

1. *Modo de heredar los cacicazgos, y cosas que precedian antes de tomar la posesion de ellos.*
2. *Lo que se hacia despues de tomada la posesion del cacicazgo.*
3. *Modo de elegir Cacique, quando faltaba heredero.*
4. *Respeto grande, que se les tenia á los Caciques.*

1. No heredaban á sus padres los hijos de los caciques, sino era las haciendas que se hallaban tener quando morian, que se repartian entre todos y las mugeres que dejaban: porque el estado lo habia de heredar el sobrino, hijo de hermana, y no de hermano, para asegurar con aquello su sangre, por la poca satisfaccion que tenian de la fidelidad de las mugeres. Faltaba esta regla en la succesion del cacique ó rey de Bogota, pues le succedio el cacique del pueblo de Chia, como ya dejamos dicho y la razon y principio que esto tuvo. Y no era el heredar los cacicazgos tan á secas y sin ceremonias y prevenciones, que no le diesen dos ayos al que habia de succeder, luego que llegase á los años de discrecion, que le fueran enseñando é industriando en buenas costumbres y vida honesta hasta que llegaba á edad de 15 ó 16 años: porque entonces lo metian á que ayunara uno en la casa, que para esto tenian diputada y apartada del comun trato de la gente, pues solo veian de quando en quando á sus maestros. En este año de ayuno les oradaban en las narices y orejas; y cumplido, les decian los Xeques de su pueblo y parcialidad lo que habian de ofrecer aquella primera vez á los dioses, ó figuras de leon, aguila, tigres ú osos, que hacian los plateros de oro fino, ó como se lo daba el pretendiente; de cuyas manos iba á las de los Xeques, y de ellas á las de los dioses, con las ceremonias y respetos dichos. Lo qual acabado, acababan tambien con gran cantidad de su vino en una gran fiesta que hacian de todos los caciques convecinos, á quienes les volvia los retornos doblados de los presentes que á él le hacian, de mantas, oro, armas y otras cosas. Y en especial se hacia esta fiesta mas crecida quando le daban la envestidura del cacicazgo y lo metian en posesion, quando faltaba el antecesor por muerte; porque esta duraba diez y seis dias con grandes bayles y embriaguezes, despues de haberle concedido el Bogota que entrase en posesion de su estado; porque aunque les vinieran de derecho, no los gozaban sin que él los confirmase y aprobase primero: y asi luego que tomaban la posesion del estado, venian al Bogota para la confirmacion, acompañados de los mas principales, y cargados de dones de valor y estima; con que la hacia mui grande el Bogota de sus personas, y los confirmaba en el estado, y volvia á enviar á sus pueblos; á cuya entrada estaban sus vasallos aguardandolo con presentes ricos, para con ellos hacer el reconocimiento que debian á su señor natural, y dar el parabien de las mercedes que le habia hecho el gran Cippa, que asi se llamaba en esta lengua el supremo señor de todos los demas.

2. Desde entonces le obedecian con tanta puntualidad, sin faltar en nada, que pienso han sido en esto estas naciones las superiores de quantas hemos conocido; aunque ya ha cahido esto casi del todo, por el recurso que tienen los Indios á las justicias Españoles de los agravios ó injusticias que les hacen los caciques; y asi son mal obedecidos en pagarles los tributos y en lo demas que les ordenan. Comenzabase entonces, como digimos, la fiesta mas de asiento, que llamaban de la coronacion, por espacio de quince dias: y al ultimo trahian todos los principales las joyas y coronas de oro adornadas de caracuries de Santa Marta, que habian hecho para el efecto, orejeras y narigueras de oro para las narizes y orejas, chagualas para el pecho, y medias lunas para la frente; y dandoselas en presente los mas principales al cacique, y vistiendole los caballeros de ricas telas de algodon, y poniendole un bordon de guayacan bien labrado en la mano, y una corona de oro, cuentas verdes y blancas, y otras joyas ricas en la cabeza, con las que no eran de tanto valor, daban remate á la fiesta, partiendo de carrera todos hasta llegar á la primera cerca, que estaba mas inmediata de donde se celebraba, y arrojandolas al agua, se quedaban alli en alabanza de sus dioses: al modo de estas eran las fiestas que se hacian en la posesion que tomaba el Bogota, aunque con mayores gastos y grandeza.

3. Quando sucedia que le faltaba heredero al cacique, no tenia licencia el pueblo de elegirlo, porque el Bogota lo ponia de su mano, escogiendo para esto los hombres de mas nobleza, y mejor sangre, costumbres y valentia; entre los quales eran preferidos aquellos valentones, que digimos se llamaban Guechas, y estaban en las fronteras de sus enemigos los Panches: pero á estos que escogia el Bogota para poseer estos cacicazgos, en ninguna cosa ponia mas cuidado para examinar sus costumbres, que en saber por experiencia si eran honestos, conociendo de la mucha importancia que sea esta virtud para el gobierno: lo qual experimentaba publicamente con bien poca honestidad; pues en medio de todos los que habia en una plaza juntos para este examen, hacia traher una doncella de buen parecer con solo el vestido que le dio la naturaleza, y con el mismo salian dos de los pretensores y se ponian junto á ella, y si alguno tenia natural movimiento sensual, era excluido de la pretension del cacicazgo, y elegido el otro; y si ambos cahian en lo mismo ambos eran excluidos, hasta que viniendo otros, era elegido el que se mostraba enfrenado en aquella ocasion, juzgando el Bogota ser capaz de aquel señorio quien era enfrenado en tales ocasiones. Del Bogota nunca se supo haber faltado heredero, porque para esto tenian cuidado los caciques de Chia de tener muchas mugeres, con que nunca habia falta de quien los heredase. No eran iguales en linage todos los caciques; pues unos eran menores y de menos estimada sangre; otros eran de mayor estima, á quien llamaban Ubzaques, y estos eran en especial los que tenian sus pueblos en fronteras de enemigos, como el Pasca, Subachogue, Cagueza, Teuzaca, Fosca, Guasca, Pacho, Simijaca. El Tibacuy era como condestable; Guatabita y Ubaque eran como duques; el Suba como virrey, y el rey el Bogota, aunque por tirania, porque en las primeras poblaciones de estas tierras, cada cacique fue señor de lo que por entonces le cupo de tierra y vasallos, sin sugecion á otros; hasta que con violencia sugetó despues el Bogota á sus caciques, aunque muchos de sus convecinos nunca acabaron de darle perfecta obediencia, sin andar royendo el cabestro como luego veremos. Y lo mismo sucedio con el cacique de Tunja ó Ramiriqui, que con la misma violencia sugetó á muchos de la tierra. Tampoco heredaban los hijos legitimos á los capitanes y gente principal despues de los caciques, sino los sobrinos, salvo si los hijos eran habidos en esclavas, porque estos entraban heredando á sus padres.

4. El respeto que tenian sus vasallos al cacique era tan grande, que juzgaban perdersele si le miraban á la cara: y asi el hablarle era siempre á espaldas vueltas; lo que guardaban con tanta puntualidad, que solian dar por pena de infamia el hacerle á uno por fuerza que le viera la cara, como sucedia con el que era acusado de ladron, pues trayendole la primera vez delante del cacique á espaldas vueltas y reprehendiéndole el hecho, y la segunda reprehendiendole y castigandole con azotes, á la tercera como incorregible le daban mayor pena, que fuera para ellos la muerte natural, porque delante del cacique, que estaba sentado en una silla de autoridad, lo reprehendia un caballero de los de su casa, desde las espaldas de la silla del cacique, diciendole: ya os hemos castigado dos veces de vuestra mala vida, y no habeis tenido vergüenza de volver á ella, vos os debeis de considerar algun gran señor, y pues lo sois, bien podeis mirar al cacique. Y arremetiendole á él, le volvia con violencia la cabeza, y hacia que mirase al cacique, dejandole ir con sola esta pena á su casa. Pero era tan grande la infamia que con eso llevaba, que se acababa su linage, pues ninguno del pueblo ni su comarca le daba sus hijos ni hijas, para que se casara con los suyos, ni le ayudaban en labranzas, ni en necesidad alguna, y todos se tenian por afrentados de hablar con él, solo porque habia mirado al cacique. Y asi quando le llevaban algun presente para negociar y hablar con él, porque nadie lo iba á ver, ni visitar, que no presentase algo primero, entraban con la cabeza y cuerpo bajo, y puesto en suelo delante de los pies del cacique lo que llevaban, le volvian las espaldas, y sentandose en el suelo le trataban de su negocio.

Capitulo VII.

1. *Modos que tenian los Caciques en cobrar sus tributos y otras deudas.*
2. *Fiestas que se hacian, quando se acababan las casas nuevas.*
3. *Leyes universales del Bogota para todo su reyno.*
4. *Modos y leyes de los casamientos.*

1. Quando algun Indio retardaba la paga del tributo que le debia al cacique, le enviaba con un criado suyo un gato, leon, ó oso, que criaban en sus casas para este efecto. Amarrabanlo á la puerta de la casa del deudor, estando el que lo llevaba con él, á quien estaba el deudor obligado á mantener con mucho regalo, y darle cada dia que se detuviese

alli una manta de algodon, y darle á comer al animal tortolas, curiés, ó pajarillos; con que ponian al pobre Indio en tales apreturas, que por salir de ellos, diligenciaba con cuidado la paga, quedando escarmentado para lo de adelante. Lo mismo usaban, en especial el Bogota, quando enviaban á llamar algunos de sus vasallos, porque el gato era como seña de que ellos eran los que los llamaban. Si alguno no criaba de estos gatos, que eran monteses y bien diferentes de los nuestros, para apremiar á que se le pagara el tributo, usaban de otro modo, y era que en enviando á cobrarlo, si no pagaban en los dias que daban de espera, entraba el cobrador á sus casas y apagabales con agua la lumbre, y no se habia de volver á encender hasta que pagasen, con que procuraban los deudores fuese con brevedad, por la falta que les hacia el fuego.

2. Quando se hacia de nuevo la casa y cercado del cacique, en los hoyos que hacian para poner aquellos palos gruesos que usan en medio de buhio y á las puertas del cercado, hacian entrar, ya cavado el hoyo, una niña bien compuesta en cada uno, hijas de los mas principales del pueblo, que estimaban en mucho se quisiese servir de ellas para aquello el cacique. Y estando las niñas dentro de los hoyos, soltaban los palos sobre ellas, y los iban afijando con tierra, por que decian consistia la fortaleza y buen suceso de la casa y sus moradores en estar fundada sobre carne y sangre humana. Despues de acabada, convidaba el cacique á todo el pueblo para una gran borrachera que duraba muchos dias, en que habia muchos juegos, bayles y entretenimientos, en especial de truanes y chocarreros, de que habia muchos entre ellos, que ganaban á eso su vida, andandose de fiesta en fiesta, por las pagas que les daban de mantas y otras cosas, segun la calidad del que las hacia. El tiempo que duraban estas del cacique, estaban á la puerta del cercado, desde la mañana hasta la noche sin comer ni beber, dos Indios ya en edad mayores, desnudos todo el cuerpo, en pie, cubiertos con una red grande de coger pajaros, tañendo con unas flautas y haciendo una musica melancolica y triste, para significar con aquello mas al vivo lo que representaban, estando alli con aquella postura, que era la muerte, porque decian, que la red era instrumento suyo, pues mataban con ella las aves: el estar desnudos representaba como deja á los hombres quando los acomete, pues quedan desnudos de todas las cosas de esta vida; y á lo mismo aludia el no comer ni beber en todo el dia, pues tambien los priva de eso; de lo que era bien se acordasen en todos los juegos, fiestas y entretenimientos: y por eso estaban á la puerta de la fiesta, para que antes de ella, se lo representasen á todos los que se hallaban en ella que habian de morir. Y aun entre los regocijos de dentro habia Indios con instrumentos que hacian musicas tan tristes, que incitaban á llorar á todos de rato en rato, en medio de los regocijos y bayles. Usaban todos los Indios estas fiestas siempre que estrenaban casas nuevas; pero cada qual con gastos segun su posible: si bien en ninguna habian de faltar truanes, de que se han preciado tanto comunmente todos los Indios de estas tierras, que los de Mexico tenian sus dioses particulares y templos para ellos. Para mas solennizar estas fiestas de la dedicacion de sus casas, los caciques ordenaban, que algunos mozos de buena disposicion corriesen cierta distancia, que les tenian señalada en redondo, algunas veces de mas de quatro leguas, á que salian corriendo todos juntos los que se determinaban á eso; pero yendose aventajando á los demas los mas valientes, volvian mas presto á la casa de donde habian salido: donde les iba premiando el cacique su valentia, como iban llegando, porque al primero le daba seis mantas, y le concedia que cubriendose con la una, pudiera llegar la una punta de ella al suelo por detras, que le daba en los talones, cosa que nadie lo podia hacer sin privilegio del cacique, y les duraba por toda su vida: al segundo que llegaba, daba cinco mantas; al tercero, quatro y asi á los demas hasta seis, iban disminuyendo el premio, sin el qual se quedaban los demas. Y aun algunos por pasar con honra la carrera, rebentaban con el trabajo en ella.

3. Aunque cada uno de los reyes Bogotaes ponia particulares leyes, segun le parecia convenia á su republica y buen gobierno, tenian otras comunes y de immemorable antigüedad puestas por los reyes pasados, á cuya observancia ninguno faltaba, que eran asi. Mandaban, que quien mataba muriese, aunque lo perdonasen los parientes del muerto, porque la vida, decian, que solo la daba Dios, y que los hombres no la podian perdonar. Si algun hombre soltero forzaba alguna muger, habia de morir por ello; y si casado, habian de dormir dos solteros con la suya. Si alguno se hallase, que tubiese cuenta con su madre, hija, hermana, ó sobrina, que entre ellos eran grados prohibidos, lo metiesen en un hoyo angosto de agua con muchas sabandijas venenosas dentro, y cubriendolo con una gran losa, lo dejaban pereciendo alli; y la misma pena se daba á ellas. Los que incurriesen en el pecado nefando, muriesen con tormentos, y los que de ordinario les daban, era empalarlos con una estaca de una palma espinosa, hasta que les saliese por el cerebro; porque decian era bien fuese castigado por donde habia pecado. Y dejaba la ley puerta abierta, para que los reyes succesores pudieran agravar las penas: con que fue la gente de este reyno siempre limpisima en este pecado, y bien diferente de la de los llanos sus vecinos, y de los de Santa Marta, como diremos en la

Tercera Parte. Si alguna muger casada moria de parto, mandaba la ley que perdiese el marido la mitad de la hacienda, y la llevase el suegro ó suegra, hermanos ó parientes mas cercanos en defecto de padres. Mas quedando la criatura viva, solo estaba obligado á criarla á su costa. Y aun añidian en algunas partes, que sino tenia hacienda, habia de buscar algunas mantas el viudo con que pagar á los herederos la muerte; y si no, le perseguian hasta quitarle la vida.

Ninguno por prohibicion de la ley podia subir en andas para ser llevado en hombros de sus criados á alguna parte, sino solo el Bogota, y quien por privilegio y merced ganada con señalados servicios se le concediese. Estaban limitadas las pinturas, galas y joyas en sus vestidos y adornos á la gente comun, y concedidas de privilegio á los Ubzaques y á los demas caciques y otros principales, y la licencia para poder traher las narices y orejas horadadas, y ponerse en ellas y en el cuello las joyas de oro que quisiesen, como tambien estaba concedido á los Xeques. Era ley, que los bienes de quien muriese sin herederos, quedasen aplicados á su fisco y cofres reales. Que quien huyese de la batalla antes que el capitan que le governaba, le diesen una muerte vil al albedrio de su cacique. Que quien mostrase cobardia en la guerra, le vistiesen por afrenta ropas de muger, y usase los mismos ministerios y oficios que ellas usan en sus casas por el tiempo que quisiese el cacique. Estaban ordenadas tambien otras penas ligeras para mas ligeras y livianas culpas, como eran azotes, romperles la manta con que se cubrian, tresquilarles los cabellos, que por mucha gala trahen largos; y asi tienen por pena afrentosa hoy que se los hagan quitar los Españoles en pena de algunos delitos que cometen, aunque ya van perdiendo el miedo poco á poco á este castigo, viendo que alli se les quedan las raices con que luego se vá remediando aquella falta. Este castigo era comun á mugeres y hombres, y asi ahora lo es tambien comun el sentimiento de él.

4. Estas eran las comunes leyes que tenian puestas los Bogotaes á todo su reyno; sobre las quales habia otras costumbres comunes y aun particulares de cada pueblo, en especial acerca del casarse. Porque el que queria tratar de eso, ya que tenia determinado con quien, hablaba sin poner casamenteros, ni otras ceremonias, por su persona con alguna de las que tenian á su cargo y debajo de su amparo á la que pretendia, ora fuesen padres ó parientes, con quien trataba del precio que habia de dar por ella. Y si lo que ofrecia no les parecia bastante, añidia por dos veces la mitad mas de lo que prometia primero, y si á la tercera no bastaba, buscaba muger mas barata. Pero si en esto quedaba satisfecha y contenta la parte de la novia, entregabansela sin mas ritos ni dilaciones, quedandose ellos con la paga que el novio habia dado, sin que ella llevase mas de dote que algunas quinze ó veinte mucuras de Chicha, y algunas alhajuelas usuales de casa. De manera que iban por diferente camino que nuestra nacion, para echar esta mercaduria de casa: pues ellos la vendian, y se la pagaban con ser de menos valor; y entre nosotros se usa pagar porque las quieran llevar. Y aun pienso viene de hay el tratar estos Indios tan mal y como esclavas á sus mugeres, porque las tienen como compradas por el precio que dieron; y las nuestras ser tan respetadas y mandonas, porque parece compran el respeto con la dote que llevan.

Capitulo VIII.

1. *Leyes particulares de casamientos, y numero de mugeres que podia tener cada Indio.*
2. *Caso notable que sucedió á un Bogota de los antiguos con una muger.*
3. *Castigos que se daban á los adulteros.*
4. *Ceremonias que se usaban con las doncellas, quando les venia la primera vez su mes, y con los niños recien nacidos.*
5. *En cierta provincia de los llanos, quando pare la muger, se echa el marido en la cama con cierta supersticion.*

1. No eran las que hemos dicho leyes comunes á todos en los casamientos, pues en algunos pueblos se usaba, que el pretendiente enviaba sin hablar con nadie, á los parientes ó padres de la que pretendia, una manta, y si no se la volvian á enviar, luego volvia á enviar otra, y una carga de hayo, y medio venado, si era gente á quien les estaba concedido por los caciques comerlo, porque esta carne no se podia comer sin este privilegio, aunque era comun á todos comer de otras carnes, de conejos, curies y aves. Aquella noche siguiente de como habia enviado esto, se iba

al romper del alba, y sentaba á la puerta de sus suegros, sin hacer mas ruido que el que bastase para que entendiesen estaba alli; los quales en sintiendolo, decian desde adentro: Quien está alla fuera? Es por ventura algun ladron que viene á hurtar, ó buscarme á mi? Pues yo no debo nada á nadie, ni convido huespedes. A que no respondia el pretendiente, sino con silencio estaba aguardando que saliese la desposada, que no tardaba mucho con una totuma grande de chicha, y llegando junto á él, la probaba ella primero, y dandosela á él, bebia quanto podia, con que quedaba hecho el casamiento, y le entregaban la desposada, aunque ya sabian los padres y parientes era trabajador y podia bien sustentarla, en que se reparaba mucho, porque la tasa en el numero de las mugeres que podian tener, era la hacienda y diligencia con que las podian sustentar. Y asi los mas ricos tenian muchas mas, pues las de los caciques llegaban muchas veces á ser ciento, y aun las del Bogota afirman haber sido 300; setecientas menos de las que tuvo Salomon, pues estas llegaron á mil, como dejamos dicho. Ni hay que espantarnos hayan sido las de estos Indios tantas, por ser ellos tan dados á la sensualidad, y ellas tan de poca costa en su sustento; pues no habiendo menester tiendas de Milaneses para sus vestidos y afeytes, con solas dos mantas de algodon se concluia con los gastos del vestido, y su comida era un poco de maiz molido, y algunas yerbas y raices.

2. Quando el cacique sabia de algunas doncellas de buen parecer, las pedia á sus padres, que sin contradiccion se las traian á su casa, donde andaban desnudas hasta que dormia con ellas, porque despues se vestian al trage de las demas que tenia, de las quales siempre era una la mas principal y estimada del cacique. A uno de los antiguos de Bogota llamado Misquechua, sucedió que trayendole una vieja á una China doncella, que él habia enviado á pedir, se aficionó tanto á ella por ser hermosa, que empleando en ella toda su aficion, parece no le quedó ninguna con que acariciar á la principal de las demas que tenia, porque todo su entretenimiento de noche y de dia era con la recien venida; de que la otra rabiaba de zelos sin poderlo remediar, hasta que consultando el caso con un Xeque, y ayunando y haciendo ofrendas al santuario, le respondio el Xeque, que llegase una noche á la cama del cacique, quando estubiese en ella con la China; lo qual como hiciese la muger, halló al cacique su marido durmiendo, y con él una gran culebra, en que estaba convertida la China. Salió con silencio del aposento y casa, y yendose á la del Xeque, le dijo lo que pasaba: el qual le respondió, que á otro dia convidase á la India con otras de las mugeres á irse á bañar á este rio que llaman Bogota, ó por su propio nombre Funzua, quando pasa por bajo del salto de Tequendama (porque esto sucedió en la casa de recreacion que tenia alli cerca, á quien los Españoles llamaron casa del monte, quando entraron en esta tierra de quien ya hablamos). No se descuidó la muger en el convite y diligencia para el baño, en el qual estandose ya bañando todas las que fueron, á vista de las demas se convirtió la China en culebra grande, y se despareció por entre las aguas, sin que mas la viesen: con que quedó deshecho el engaño del demonio, y la cacica fuera de zelos. Algunos casos han sucedido con estos Indios al modo de este, siendoles el demonio incubo y succubo.

3. No reparaban mucho algunos Indios, quando se casaban, en hallar á sus esposas doncellas, no obstante la ley que habia acerca de esto; antes algunos quando conocian no habia llegado hombre á ellas, las tenian por desgraciadas y sin ventura, pues no la habian tenido en que hombres se les aficionasen; y con este pensamiento las abhorrecian como á mugeres desdichadas. Si bien es verdad, que sentian mucho despues el adulterio. Y asi á la que sentian sospechosa de esto, le hacian comer apriesa mucho agi, con que se abrasaba las entrañas, y con la misma le decian que confesára su delito; lo que hacian muchas veces con la fuerza del tormento, y aun lo que no habian hecho. Dabanles en confesando agua, con que mitigaban el ardor del pimiento, y sentenciabanlas á muerte, como lo disponia la ley, y á el adultero. Otras no confesaban, y quedaban purgadas con el tormento del indicio, y les hacian grandes fiestas. Si era el adultero rico, y ella de baja calidad, se rescataba la muerte con oro y mantas, de que llevaba su parte el cacique; lo que no se podia hacer, si se hacia el desastre con alguna de sus concubinas ó mugeres; por que sin remission habian de pasar ambos por muertes crueles, dejando los cuerpos sin enterrar en el campo, para escarmiento y ejemplo de los demas.

4. Las preñadas ofrecian al Cuchaviva sus santillos y figuras de oro bajo para tener buen parto; y si parian dos de un parto, mataban el segundo que nacia, teniendo por grande afrenta parir dos juntos, porque decian ser aquello demasiada luxuria; creyendo ser imposible engendrarse dos juntamente, sino que habia de ser por fuerza uno despues de otro con distintos ayuntamientos. Y asi por librarse de esto, era ley inviolable no llegar el marido á la muger hasta muchos dias despues de haber parido. No se han hallado parteras en esta tierra, porque no son menester; antes quando quieren parir, huyen si pueden de la gente, y se van á esconder cerca de un rio,

para en pariendo entrarse en él y lavarse con su parto, como lo hacen en particular las Indias Guayupes en San Juan de los Llanos al sur de esta ciudad de Santafé. Quando á la doncella le venia su mes la primera vez, la hacian estar sentada seis dias en un rincon, tapada con una manta cabeza y rostro: despues de los quales se juntaban algunos Indios, que llamaban para esto, y puestos en dos hileras como en procession, llevandola en medio, iban hasta un rio donde se lavaba, y despues le ponian el nombre de Ipaque, que es lo mismo que nosotros llamamos Doña. Y volviendola con esto á casa, hacian las fiestas que solian de chicha. Usaban de esta supersticion para conocer á los niños, si habian de ser venturosos ó desgraciados, que quando los destetaban, hacian un rodillo pequeño de esparto con un poco de algodon en medio, mojado con la leche de la madre; y yendo con él seis mozos buenos nadadores, lo echaban en un rio, y tras él los mozos nadando. Y si el rodillo se volcaba entre el olage del agua antes que lo alcanzasen á tomar, decian habia de ser desgraciado el niño por quien se hacia aquello. Pero si lo recobraban sin trastornarse, juzgaban habia de tener mucha ventura, y asi contentos se volvian á casa de sus padres, y diciendo lo que les habia pasado, se hacian fiestas segun el suceso. Llegaban luego cada uno de los mozos, y otros que tenian convidados, y quitaban con unos cuchillos de caña ó piedra al niño, que estaba sentado en una manta, los cabellos, hasta que lo dejaban sin ninguno. Estos los echaban despues en el rio donde lavaban al niño, que era cierto modo de bautizmo. Ofrecian al niño algunos dones, despues de estar bien remojados de chicha, con que se concluia la fiesta.

5. A las espaldas de estas sierras de Bogota, que es á la parte del leste, que llaman los Llanos, entre las demas naciones hay una que anda vagabunda en quadrillas pequeñas, desnudos del todo, sin casas ni sementeras: duermen, donde les coge la noche, por ser tierra caliente: comen frutas y rayzes silvestres: usan arcos y flechas: nunca se detienen en parte ninguna, sino es quando ha de parir la muger; porque entonces hace el marido un hoyo tan hondo como ella, algo espacioso, donde pare á solas. Y si es varon el del parto, hace el marido una barbacoa ó tablado de cañas encima del hoyo, levantado en alto como una lanza, sobre quatro palos, sobre que se sube; y aqui está por tres dias sin moverse de un lado á otro; y si no puede sufrir los tres dias y noches el estar siempre de aquel lado y sin comer, sino que la hambre y cansancio le hacen pedir de comer y volverse al otro lado, se baja triste de la barbacoa, y diciendo que el niño ha de ser desgraciado por aquello, no se les da mucho de criarlo; pero si puede perseverar en estos dos tormentos, y los que se añaden á veces de sol y agua en aquel tiempo, le juzgan de suerte dichosa, y en alegria hacen fiestas.

Capitulo IX.

1. *Los Indios del Nuevo Reyno no saben dar razon, de donde vinieron á estas sus tierras, en que vivian de labranzas.*
2. *Dividian el tiempo por dias, meses y anos, y usaban de medida y moneda de oro.*
3. *Tenian lugares señalados de mercados, donde contrataban.*
4. *De estos el mas principal era Sorocota, donde hallaron una riquisima piedra de metal de plata.*

1. De las cegueras con que hablan estos Indios, como hemos visto, acerca de sus principios, podemos entender las mismas acerca de su venida á estas tierras. Y asi solo se sospecha vinieron de la parte del Leste por algunas congeturas que de ellos tenemos, de que por no sacar cosa de fundamento, no trataré mas. Solo digo que la necesidad del frio, y no ser de suyo la tierra por la misma razon de arboles frutales silvestres, ni de otra cosa de comida que naturalmente produzca, como lo son algunas tierras calientes (de quien ya hemos hablado en nuestra Primera Parte) donde se sustentan los Indios sin cansarse en hacer sementeras; los de estas del reyno se dieron mucho á ellas. Y asi han sido siempre grandes labradores de maiz, yucas, batatas, arracachas, xiquimas, turmas, cubias y otras rayzes; y en especial lo eran de algodon en las tierras que alcanzaban calientes, que eran todas las circunvecinas á las espaldas de las serranias que cercan estos valles del reyno. Porque aunque por todas partes estaban cercados de enemigos, á punta de lanza defendian las labranzas que tenian en tierras calientes, de frutas, rayzes, y algodon, que no se dan en las frias. De este hacian mucha, mui fina y buena ropa de mantas, desde que aquel su predicador, que

digimos, se las enseñó á tejer, con las quales se vestian, revolviendose una al cuerpo y cubriendose con otra, sin diferencia hombres y mugeres. Y con las que sobraban, y la sal que se hace en los tres pueblos de Cippaquira, Nemocon y Tausa, en que ha tenido excelencia este Nuevo Reyno sobre todas sus tierras convecinas, se iban á ellas á los mercados que tenian puestos en ciertos parages de terminos comunes, y de tantas lunas y dias.

2. Para mayores noticias de esto, importará darlas de otras costumbres que tenian en orden á sus contratos y inteligencias de vivir en modo politico: dividian el tiempo, como nosotros, en dias, meses y años, aunque con diverso modo: porque los dias contaban por soles, viendo que él era la causa de ellos; de manera que tantos soles eran tantos dias: estos distinguian en solas tres partes, mañana, medio y tarde: los meses contaban por lunas con sus menguantes y crescientes, dividiendo cada una de estas dos en otras dos: con que venian á hacer quatro partes del mes ó la luna, al modo que nosotros lo dividimos en quatro semanas. Tenian tambien año de doce meses ó lunas, que comenzaba en enero y se acababa en diciembre; pero no por la inteligencia que nosotros tenemos para comenzarlo en aquel mes, ni como la que tubieron los Romanos de comenzarlo en el de marzo: pues solo le daban principio desde enero, porque desde alli comenzaron á labrar y disponer las tierras por ser tiempo seco y de verano, paraque ya estubiesen sembradas la menguante de la luna de marzo, que es quando comienzan las aguas del primer invierno en esta tierra. Y como desde la luna de enero, que comenzaban estas sementeras, hasta la de diciembre, que las acababan de coger, hay doce lunas, á este tiempo llamaban con este vocablo, *chocam*, que es lo mismo que nosotros llamamos Año; y para significar el pasado, decian *chocamana*, y al año presente *chocamata*, y á la luna llamaban Chiê. Nunca supieron contar mas que hasta veinte, y este numero iban multiplicando las veces que habian menester. Usaban de medida para el maiz, que llamaban *haba*; aunque nunca usaron de peso para el oro, ni otra cosa. Pues solo para entenderse en el oro fundido (que eran unos tejuelos redondos, hechos en los moldes que tenian para ello, y era su moneda aunque sin ninguna señal, y por eso comun á todas las provincias, pues no miraban mas que el valor intrinseco) usaban por medida de las coyunturas de los dedos de la mano por la parte de adentro; de manera que la circunferencia del tejuelo habia de llegar á ambas á dos rayas de las coyunturas, y para los que eran mayores, en tratos de mayor quantia, tenian unas ebras de algodon, con que daban vuelta á la circunferencia del tejuelo y á todo su ancho. No conocieron moneda de otro metal que oro; si bien les sucedia de ordinario, quando les faltaba este, trocar unas cosas por otras.

3. Esto, como hemos dicho, se hacia en los mercados ó ferias donde se juntaban de muchas partes, llevando todos á cuestas sus mercadurias: porque, como ya digimos en nuestra Primera Parte, no se halló en esta tierra, ni en todo el descubrimiento de estas Indias, animal que les pudiera ayudar á llevar cargas. Lugares de mercados fueron casi todos los que habia de Indios en estas dos provincias del Bogota y Tunja; pero los mas principales se hicieron de ordinario en dos: el uno en los pueblos que estaban á las margenes del rio grande de la Magdalena, tierra mui caliente, poblada por ambas partes de los Indios Poyras, ó como llamaron los Españoles, Yapotoges, por un cacique de ellos llamado Yapotocos. Estos eran tantos, que cogian sus poblaciones ambas margenes de este gran rio, desde el de Cuello hasta el de Lache, que entra en el grande en frente de Neyba. Eran estos grandes mineros, por ser muchas las vetas de oro que hay en la tierra nombrada; y esto les ocasionaba á saberlo fundir y labrar, haciendo de ello muchas y grandes joyas, de las que muchas veces hemos dicho, aunque mal obradas, para sus galas y santuarios. A las tierras pues de estos acudian á hacer mercado los Moscas, en especial los del pueblo de Pasca y sus convecinos, llevandoles mucha cantidad de finas mantas, sal, y esmeraldas, con que rescataban el mucho oro fundido, y en joyas, que les daban en trueque los Yapotoges; que fue el camino mas principal por donde entró la mayor parte del oro que hubo en este Nuevo Reyno, y hallaron los Españoles, aunque no dejó de acrecentarlo el que sacaban de los pillages en las victorias que tenian de sus enemigos los Panchez, en cuyas tierras se han hallado ricas vetas de ello: porque en todo lo que toca en las dos provincias frias del Bogota y Tunja, hasta hoy no se ha podido hallar rastro, como dejamos dicho, sino es lo que en estos tiempos se ha hallado cerca de Sogamozo. Eran tan sutiles en sus tratos, que no habia Indios que los igualaran, con ser en las demas cosas de tan ofuscados ingenios. Eran grandes logreros, pues si para el tiempo que fiaban sus mercancias no se les acudia con la paga, era ley, que quantas lunas pasasen del tiempo señalado, fuese creciendo la deuda por mitades; con que muchas veces venia á ser el numero de la deuda crecidisimo sobre lo que valia lo que la habia contraido. Las esmeraldas fueron siempre buen genero entre ellos, porque las estimaban para sus galas y santuarios, de que andaba gran numero en la tierra por haber sido abundantes de ellas en sus principios las minas de Somondoco, de donde solo las sacaban á la sazon que entraron los Españoles, y se comunicaban entre los Indios de tierra fria; porque de

las de Muzo participaban poco, por las sangrientas enemistades que habia entre ellos y los Moscas; si bien por los contratos y rescates que habia entre los unos y los otros, no obstante sus enemistades, les venian muchas de ellas, despues que los Muzos se apoderaron de aquella tierra de guerra, habiendo subido de las margenes del rio grande, como despues diremos mas largo: de donde sacamos, que habiendo sido los Moscas señores de aquellas tierras de los Muzos, antes que estos se las quitaran, pudieron tener, y tubieron muchas y mui finas esmeraldas del cerro de Ytoco, de donde ahora se sacan.

4. El otro puesto famoso, donde se hacian los mas gruesos mercados, era en la tierra del cacique Sorocota, que ahora se comprehende en los terminos de la ciudad de Velez. Aqui por ser comunes á los Bogotaes, Tunjas, Sogamozos, Guanes, Chipataes, Agataes, Saboyaes, y otras muchas provincias comprehendidas dentro de estas, se juntaban de ocho en ocho soles gran suma de gentes con los frutos de sus tierras, en que tambien bullia buena suma de oro, en especial de los que acudian del poniente, como eran Agataes y sus vecinos, que viven á las vertientes del rio grande de la Magdalena, donde siempre se ha hallado mucho de este metal, aunque nunca él de plata. Y asi se tuvo por cosa rara lo que sucedió en este mercado de Sorocota, ya algunos años despues de fundados los Españoles, los quales dejaron pasase adelante, como lo tenian de costumbre; aunque por haber sucedido, que unos negros esclavos cimarrones acudian alli el dia del mercado, haciendo á los Indios mil agravios, (que despues pagaron en la horca por industria de los justicias,) por evitar estos y otros inconvenientes, mandó la de Velez se mudara el mercado á una loma alta cerca del otro puesto, donde aunque comenzaron á acudir, era de tan mala gana, que los mas se volvian á su primer sitio, haciendo sus contratos de mayor quantia sobre una piedra de hasta quatro quintales, que habia en un cerrillo del puesto, á cuya redonda estaba toda la gente. Advirtiendo en esto la ciudad de Velez, y habiendo los alcaldes de ella buscado la causa, hallaron que aquella piedra era la que no los podia arrancar de su primer sitio, por las supersticiones que en ella tenian para sus contratos: con que determinaron con mas veras quitarlos de alli; y para que del todo tubiera efecto, hacer pedazos la piedra, la qual hallaron quebrandola tan rica de plata, que se sacaron de ella mas de ochenta marcos, de que se hicieron muchas piezas, que algunas permanecen hoy. Llenóse con esto la tierra de esperanzas, entendiendo ser aquella piedra de algunas minas ricas de algun metal que hubiese cerca, haciendo en esto apretadas diligencias por mas de quatro años, en que se trastornaron todas las quebradas, cerros y amagamientos de la redonda con extraordinarios cuidados, que todos fueron en vano por no haberse podido rastrear hasta hoy cosa de este metal de minas en toda la tierra que lo buscaron. Donde salió opinion entre muchos que aquella piedra se la habia trahido alli el demonio de alguna mina rica de plata de las de la ciudad de Mariquita, Potosi, ú otra parte, para las supersticiones que sobre ella hacian.

Capitulo X.

1. *Modo de inquirir los hurtos, y de hacer bayles.*
2. *No conocieron estos Indios otro metal que oro.*
3. *Tratase de algunas de sus costumbres y de sus entierros.*

1. No solo los Xeques, pero aun otros Indios viejos ganaban su vida haciendo mil supersticiones en necesidades que se les pedian. Para sacar los hurtos tomaban estos viejos ó xeques la paga que les daban lo primero; y haciendo diez caminos ó fingiendoles, desde el lugar donde se habia hecho el hurto, atribuian á cada camino cada dedo de las dos manos; y tomando tabaco, con que se medio embriagaba, advertia si le temblaba alguno de los dedos ó lo imaginaba, y asi decia, que por el camino que correspondia á aquel dedo, habian llevado el hurto. Y si haciendo diligencia para buscarle por aquella parte lo hallaban, bien, y si no, asi se quedaba. Sobre las fiestas que hemos dicho tenian en la dedicacion de sus casas y coronaciones de caciques, tenian otras en los meses de Enero y Febrero, y parte de Marzo, en las cavas de sus labranzas, donde se convidaban alternativamente unos caciques á otros, haciendose grandes gastos y presentes de oro y mantas, y de su vino; porque todas sus fiestas las hacia este, supliendo las faltas de la comida, pues esta no les daba cuidado como él anduviese en abundancia. Asianse de las manos hombres y mugeres, haciendo corro, y cantando ya canciones alegres, ya tristes, en que referian las grandezas de sus mayores, pausando todos á una, y llevando el compas con los pies, ya á compas mayor, ya á

compasete, segun sentian lo que cantaban, al son de unas flautas y fotutos tan melancolicos y tristes, que mas parecia musica de infierno, que cosa de este mundo. Tenian en medio las mucuras de la chicha, de donde iban esforzando á los que cantaban otras Indias que estaban dentro del corro, que no se descuidaban en darles de beber: duraba esto hasta que cahian embriagados, y tan incitados á luxuria con la calor del vino, que la muger y hombre se juntaba con el primero ó primera que se encontraba, porque para esto habia general licencia en estas fiestas, aun con las mugeres de los caciques y nobles.

Todo este vino se hacia del maiz; de suerte que de él usaban para su comida y bebida, de que eran en extremo viciosos. Nunca usaron de yerro, ni lo conocieron, con haber infinito en su tierra, en especial en la del Guatavita. Tampoco conocieron el cobre, de que hay harta abundancia en los terminos de Velez y Colimas. Plomo y estaño no llegó á su noticia, con haber infinito en muchas partes. Labraban la tierra con palas de madera. Usaban de cuchillos de piedra. Tenia sus bosques y pesquerias cada lugar proprias. En las borracheras, fiestas, y en otras juntas, tenian sus distinciones de asientos mas ó menos honrados, segun la antigüedad y nobleza de sangre y linages; si bien todos se sentaban en el suelo, de suerte que si alguno usurpaba el lugar de otro, el dueño de él quando venia, lo cogia de la oreja, y con palabras afrentosas lo quitaba de él.

No desamparaban sus enfermos, como lo hacian otras naciones, quando estaban en el articulo de la muerte: pues antes se juntaban muchos á verlos morir, hasta que habia espirado. Tenian por dichoso al que moria de algun rayo ó por otro accidente de muerte repentina, porque habia pasado sin dolores de esta vida. Tenian por ley irrefragable que quando moria la principal muger de las que tenian, que era la que mandaba y governaba la casa, podia dejar mandado á su marido no se juntase con otra ninguna muger aunque fuese de las otras que le quedaban, por el tiempo que ella le ordenase, como no pasase de cinco años, porque á esto lo limitaba la ley; aunque el marido en estos ultimos pasos de la vida, poniendole delante el regalo y buenos tratamientos que le habia hecho en el discurso del tiempo maridable, acrecentando á esto grandes ruegos, alcanzaba de ella le acortase el tiempo y plazo de la continencia lo mas que pudiese.

Eran varios los modos con que enterraban sus difuntos. Porque á los reyes y caciques de ordinario les sacaban las tripas y intestinos en muriendo, y con una resina, que llaman *mocoba*, que se hacia de unos higuillos de leche pegajosa y otras cosas con que la mezclaban, embalsamaban los cuerpos; y despues de llorados en sus casas seis dias, los enterraban en unas bobedas ó cuevas que tenian ya hechas para esto; envolviendolos en mantas finas, poniendoles á la redonda muchos bollos de maiz y mucuras de su chicha, sus armas, que eran las que muchas veces hemos dicho, y en la mano un pedazo de tiradera hecho de oro, á devocion de la que arrojó el dios Bochica desde el arco del cielo, quando hizo con ella paso á las aguas de este valle, como digimos.

En los ojos, orejas, narices, boca y ombligo les ponian algunas esmeraldas y tejos de oro, segun el caudal de cada uno, y al cuello chagualas de lo mismo. Encerrabanse en la misma bobeda con él las mugeres y esclavos que mas le querian, porque esta era la mayor demostracion y fineza de amor que habia entre ellos; pero dabanles primero á los vivos un zumo de cierta yerba, con que privados de sentidos no conocian la gravedad del hecho á que se ponian; si bien despues de vueltos en sí moririan desesperados, como lo declaró una India de estas, que sacaron los Españoles otro dia de como la habian enterrado á escusa de ellos, en el pueblo de Checa en el valle de Ubaque, que por haber tenido aviso del entierro, abrieron el sepulcro, y la sacaron ya medio muerta y descalabrada de los golpes que se daba en la bobeda con la desesperacion. Daban á entender con este modo de entierros, creer, que habia otra vida, aunque necesitada de comer y beber y servicio de criados, como dejamos dicho.

A los reyes Bogotaes, demas de lo dicho, metian el cuerpo en un tronco de palma concavo, segun la estatura de cada uno, forrado de dentro y fuera de gruesas planchas de oro fino, cubiertos con otras de lo mismo. De donde tomó fuerzas la fama para decir, que los Bogotaes se enterraban en atandes de oro, como lo dice Gomara, tratando de las cosas de este reyno, aunque no con la certeza que ellas tienen. Otros secaban los cuerpos de sus difuntos á fuego manso en barbacoas, y en otras los ponian dentro de buhios que tenian dedicados como para entierros. A otros enterraban embueltos en una manta en los campos, sobre cuya sepultura plantaban un arbol, para deslumbrar el sitio, porque no sucediese desenterrarlos, como se solia hacer, para sacarles el oro y esmeraldas con que siempre los enterraban: de manera que sus hijos y mugeres, si los dejaban, solos succedian en los bienes rayces, porque los muebles y tesores entraban con ellos en los sepulcros. De una de estas sepulturas que se hallaron en los cerrillos que llaman de Caqueza, en el valle de Ubaque, que era de un cacique, se sacaron mas de 24,000 pesos de buen oro por diligencia del obispo Don Fray Juan de los Barrios. La gente mas honrada lloraba sus difuntos otros seis

dias despues de enterrados, y aun les hacian por algunos tiempos sus aniversarios, convidando para esto sus deudos y parientes, que juntos lloraban al difunto al son de unos tristes instrumentos y voces, en que cantaban endechas y los grandes hechos del difunto. Alegrabanse á lo ultimo con su vino y mascadas de hayo, que son unas hojas de una mata semejantes á las del lentisco, que dicen les da fuerza, mascandolas, de que entre los demas abusos ha introducido el demonio se apliquen los Españoles á las costumbres de los Indios, ha sido uno el mascar hayo, en especial entre mugeres flacas, cosa abominable y escandalosa, y que no deja de estorbar para la conversion de los Indios. La gente ordinaria convidaba para estos, y con bollos de maiz que daban al fin de ellos á los convidados, quedaban acabadas las exequias.

Capitulo XI.

1. *Origen de los Indios de Sogamozo.*
2. *Fabula que cuentan los Indios de Tunja acerca de su primer Cacique.*
3. *Hallanse rastros de que un Predicador entró en Sogamozo, y recibimiento que le hicieron los Caciques.*
4. *Otros rastros, demas de lo dicho, que se hallan de haberseles predicado verdades á los Indios de Tunja.*

1. Aunque son tan unas estas dos grandes provincias de los Moscas, Bogota y Tunja, en temples, disposiciones de tierras, trages y vestidos, siempre han sido disconformes en todo lo demas, por haberlo estado siempre en las voluntades. Y asi nos obliga la historia á decir de esta provincia de Tunja, y del gran valle de Sogamozo, que se comprehende en ella, algo de lo que varian de esta de Bogota, en lo que han dicho los capitulos pasados. Ya pienso tocamos en otra parte, que la ciudad y provincia de Tunja se llama asi por los Españoles, corrompiendo el vocablo Idunxaque, que es su proprio nombre, tomado del primer cacique que dicen hubo en ella, llamado Dhunzahua, de quien solo se habia el perdido hua. El gran valle de Sogamozo corrió la misma fortuna en este nombre; pues llamandose el cacique que hallaron en él los Españoles, Suamox, por no acertarlo á pronunciar, le llamaron al valle Sogamozo, con que se ha quedado.

2. Entre las mismas neblinas que los demas de estas tierras, andaban los Tunjas acerca de sus primeros principios. Pues los ponen en decir, que quando amaneció, ya habia cielos y tierra y todo lo demas de ellos y de ella, fuera del Sol y la Luna, y que asi todo estaba en obscuridades; en las quales no habia mas personas que el cacique de Sogamozo y el de Ramiriqui ó Tunja, porque en estos dos pueblos nunca hubo mas de un cacique ó señor, y fue el que lo era de toda la provincia. Estos dos caciques, dicen, que hicieron todas las personas de los hombres de tierra amarilla, y á las mugeres de una yerba alta, que tiene el tronco hueco. Estaban todavia las tierras en tinieblas, y para darles luz mandó el cacique de Sogamozo al de Ramiriqui, que era su sobrino, se subiese al cielo y alumbrase al mundo hecho el sol, como lo hizo. Pero viendo no era bastante para alumbrar la noche, subióse el mismo Sogamozo al cielo y hizose luna: con que quedó la noche clara, y los Indios obligados á adorar á entrambos, como lo hacian, con otros muchos idolos, que segun su imaginacion y persuasion del demonio levantaban cada dia. Esto segun su cuenta sucedió por el mes de Diciembre; y asi en recuerdo y memoria de este suceso hacian los Indios de esta provincia, en especial los Sogamozos, en este mes una fiesta, que llamaban Huan: en la qual despues de juntos salian doze vestidos todos de colorado, con guirnaldas y chiasines que cada una de ellas se remataba en una cruz, y hacia la frente llevaba un pajaro pequeño: en medio de estos doze de librea estaba otro que la tenia azul; y todos estos juntos cantaban en su lengua, como todos ellos eran mortales, y se habian de convertir los cuerpos en ceniza sin saber el fin que habian de tener sus almas: decian esto con palabras tan sentidas, que hacian mover á lagrimas y llantos á los oyentes con la memoria de la muerte. Y asi era ley, que para consolarlos en esta afliccion, habia de convidar á todos el cacique, y alegrarlos con mucho vino; con que salian de la casa de la tristeza, y entraban del todo en la de la alegria y olvido de la muerte.

Despues de subidos los dos caciques al cielo, y convertidos en lo que hemos dicho, el primero que dicen hubo en Tunja y Ramiriqui, se llamaba Hunxahua, que permaneció siempre en el primer puesto de la provincia, y él de

Ramiriqui de menos estimacion. Este Hunxa se enamoró de una hermana que tenia de buen parecer, y no pudiendo conseguir sus sensuales intentos, por la vigilancia con que la guardaba la madre, dio traza de hacer viage á la provincia de los Chipataes á comprar algodon de aquella provincia, de que ha sido siempre abundantisima, con intentos de que le acompañara su hermana, para cumplir con ella los que traia de su aficion, como sucedió. Pues dandole licencia la madre para que fuera con él, á pocos dias de como volvieron echó de ver la madre el mal recado, viendo que le crecia el vientre y pechos. Con que encendida en colera quando lo advirtió, tomó la sana (que es el palo con que menean la chicha quando se cuece, porque la estaba haciendo en esta sazon), y arremetiendo con la moza para darle con él, para ampararse del golpe se puso detras de la gacha donde se hacia, que no le fue de poco provecho; pues descargó sobre ella la ira de la madre, quedando la moza libre y la chicha derramada y la gacha quebrada: en memoria de lo qual se abrió la tierra y recibiendo la chicha, quedó hecho un pozo de ella, aunque convertida en agua, que ahora llaman el Pozo de Donato por lo que dejamos dicho. Corrióse el Hunxahua tanto de que hubiese su madre acometido delante de él á su hermana con tantos brios, que con enfado dejó su casa, y subiendose á la loma que estaba sobre el pueblo, y ahora sobre la ciudad á la parte del Oriente, echó mil maldiciones á todo el valle; con que quedó esteril y de tan mal pais como ahora lo es; pues es uno de los malos que hay en las Indias, desabrido por los muchos vientos suestes que lo combaten, esterilisima la tierra, y desacomodada en todo para la vida humana. Llamó desde alli á su hermana con una *Tata*, que es trompeta de palo, la qual tubo por mejor dejar á su madre y casa por huir de su colera, que estar sujeta á mil desgracias que le podian suceder con ella. Y asi viniendose con su hermano, determinaron ambos dejar del todo aquella tierra, y no sabiendo por donde mejor guiarse, arrojó el cacique una tiradera al ayre, y ella rechinando y sonando como un cascabel, los fue guiando hasta Susa de Lanchero, donde le dieron á la señora los dolores del parto; y pariendo un niño, y no atreviendose á llevarlo, lo dejaron convertido en piedra en una cueva, donde hoy dicen está. Y libres ya de esto, pasaron adelante con la misma guia de la flecha, y llegando por estas tierras de Bogota, cerca del pueblo de Cienega por bajo del salto de Tekendama, al pasar el rio les pareció ser mucho su cansancio y camino que trahian, y que hallandose en tierra agena habian de ser mayores, determinaron convertirse en dos piedras, que hoy estan en la mitad del rio. De este cacique y el hecho que cuentan con su hermana, dicen, tomaron atrevimiento para andar ellos con las suyas, y casarse con ellas como lo hacian.

3. No es menor la noticia que tienen los de esta provincia, en especial los Sogamozos, de aquel predicador que digimos habia pasado por estas tierras, que la que tuvieron estos Bogotaes. Y asi dicen, que en tiempo de un cacique de aquel valle, llamado Nompanem, habra quatro edades, que las nombran por este vocablo Bxogmoa, vino un hombre del mismo talle y vestido que le pintamos, tratando de él en estas tierras de Bogota, que les predicó y enseñó muchas cosas buenas, de que aunque han quedado algunos rastros, son tan ciegos que casi no se conocen. Traia en la cabeza y brazos hecha la señal de la Cruz, y en la misma remataba una macana que traia por bordon en la mano. Llamabanle con tres nombres: el uno Sadiguia-Sonoda, que quiere decir, Nuestro Pariente y Padre: Sugundomoxe, Santo que se hace invisible: y Sugunzua, que quiere decir, Hombre que se desparece. Al primer pueblo que llegó en este valle, fue al de Gamza, en un sitio que llaman Toyci, donde estubo tres dias en una cueva; en los quales le fueron á visitar el cacique de Gamza, que ahora se dice Gameza; el de Buzbanza, Socha, Tazco, Topaga, Mongui, Tutaza, Mongua, Lesca, Yacon, Bombaza, Tota, Guaquira, Satoba; todos por el orden dicho; y como fueron llegando, fueron ganando la antigüedad y grandeza, que hoy tienen y conservan entre ellos. Por ser la del Sogamozo superior á las dichas, no salió de su casa á verlo, hasta que él entró mas adentro del valle, y llegó á un puesto que llaman Otga, adonde salió el cacique Nompanem con toda su gente. Y hablandole con grande acatamiento, el predicador comenzó á hacer su oficio, y darles á entender que habia un dios en el cielo que premiaba á los buenos, y tenia en el infierno castigo para los malos, lo que conocen hoy bien los Indios por tradiciones desde estos tiempos; si bien respetan y obedecen ofreciendo sacrificios al demonio, aunque conocen ser su enemigo y aconsejarles cosas contra razon; á quien dicen los Chontales les ayudan los ladinos, exhortandoles que no dejen las costumbres de sus antepasados, aunque hagan tambien lo que les aconsejan los Españoles, donde se ve quan pernicioso sea andar estos ladinos entre ellos.

4. Dióles tambien á entender que las almas eran immortales, y que iban á recibir premio ó pena segun habian vivido en esta vida, quando salian de los cuerpos, los quales habian de resucitar y tener otra vida; aunque entendian habian de tener necesidad en ella de comidas, como en esta; y á esto atinaba el ponerselas en los sepulcros. Estas y otras muchas cosas en orden á los articulos de la Fé y preceptos, hallamos en rastros fue declarando este predicador

por todos los pueblos que pasaba; de los quales unos se fueron acordando y conservando unas cosas, y otros otras, que no ha sido poco, despues de tantos años y comunicacion tan larga y ordinaria que con ellos tenia el demonio, no se les acabasen de desarraigar estas luces, sino que se hayan conservado algunas, para que por ellas se haya facilitado mas el crecimiento que han tenido con la predicacion del Evangelio, que amaneció entre ellos con la venida de los Españoles: los quales entre otras centellas y rastro que hallaron de esto en esta provincia, fue, cabezas humanas tres en un cuerpo, en una estatua de un idolo en el pueblo de Boyaca, que declaraban los Indios tenerle figurado asi, porque representaba una cosa que eran tres personas con un corazon y una voluntad, como se lo habia dicho á sus mayores el Sugunzua que pasó por estas tierras.

Capitulo XII.

1. *Desparecese el Predicador del pueblo de Yza, despues de dejar enseñados en buenas costumbres á los Indios del Valle y de Tunja.*
2. *Hace el Cacique de Sogamozo con graves penas se guarden las buenas costumbres que les enseñó el Predicador.*
3. *Modos con que el Sogamozo se hizo temer y famoso en sus tierras y las convecinas.*
4. *Modo que se tiene en la succesion del Cacique de Sogamozo, y caso que sucede acerca de eso.*

1. Proponiendo con veras el Cacique de Sogamozo, Nompanem, guardar y hacer que sus vasallos guardasen las cosas que el Predicador amonestaba, le pidió consejo para las penas con que obligaria á su gente para la guarda de estos mandamientos; á quien respondió el Predicador, se habian de guardar voluntariamente y con buen corazon, y no con rigores de este mundo, pues en el otro estaban aparejados premios y penas para los que los guardasen ó quebrantasen. Enseñóles tambien á hilar algodon y tejer mantas, y otras cosas de vida politica, como á los de Bogota, en el tiempo que estuvo con ellos, que no fue poco: despues del qual llegó al pueblo de Yza; y habiendoles predicado y enseñado lo mismo, desde alli se desapareció que nunca mas lo vieron, dejando alli en una piedra estampado un pie de los suyos, en que tienen hoy tanta devocion los Indios y Indias preñadas, que van á raspar de aquella piedra y la beben en agua para tener buen parto.

2. Luego que se desapareció el Predicador, pasó el Nompanem mui adelante con sus intentos en observancia de lo que les habia enseñado, tomandolo con tantas veras, que conociendo que su gente no lo habia de guardar sin penas, las puso á quien quebrantase lo que les habia amonestado, estableciendo por ley que á quien cogiesen en mentira, hurto, matase, ó quitase la muger agena, al que matase, muriese; y en lo demas, por la primera vez fuese bien castigado con azotes; por la segunda, con infamia; por la tercera, él y toda su parentela: lo qual se guardaba tan inviolablemente, que dicen ahora aquellos Indios haber aprehendido de los Españoles á mentir y hurtar, porque hasta entonces no sabian que cosa era esto, en que han salido bien enseñados. Heredó el estado por muerte de este Cacique una hermana suya llamada Bununguay, que le heredó tambien el zelo en la observancia de estas leyes, pues las hizo guardar, hasta que enamorandose de un Indio de Tirabitova, con quien se casó y dejó en su lugar quando murió, se fue cayendo este rigor y observancia, por haber establecido este Cacique que las penas que tenia puestas acerca de ella el Nompanem, se commutasen en oro y mantas; con que juntó mucho de esto á costa de las buenas costumbres que hasta alli se habian guardado.

3. La aficion con que quedaron á este predicador los naturales de estas tierras del Bogota, les hizo acudir á él quando estaba en las del Sogamozo, á pedirle remedio en una gran necesidad que les sobrevino de agua; la qual se remedió á tiempo que pudieron decir los Bogotaes, habia venido el remedio por la mano del predicador; con que cobró entre ellos reputacion, y el Cacique de Sogamozo mayor brio en lo que intentó luego que se desapareció de su pueblo y valle: pues dio en publicar le habia dejado, quando se partió, por heredero de toda su santidad, y asi que tenia la misma facultad para hacer llover quando quisiese. Esto fue poco á poco cobrando tanta opinion, que la vino á tener no solo en ambas estas provincias de los Moscas, sino en muchas de sus convecinas, de donde frequentaban aquel pueblo y su templo, que era tan grandioso como tenemos dicho; teniendo todos ellos hasta hoy por mui averiguado, ser aquel territorio tierra santa: y asi veneraban con mayor religion los idolos que se hacian dentro de

aquel Valle, y serlo tambien el Cacique, pues de su mano y poder creian que venian los buenos ó malos temporales, la salud y enfermedades. Traialos con esto abobados, y de todas partes grandes y ricas ofrendas, segun lo eran las necesidades de salud y buenos tiempos, porque le venian á rogar, con que él se hacia rico y estimado, y su tierra y templo frequentado y famoso en muchas naciones. Para conservar esta opinion usaba á veces de mil embustes y embelecos; pues fingiendo que se enojaba con la gente de las provincias, les hacia grandes fieros y amenazas de muertes, pestilencias y otras plagas; y subiendose á un monte que para esto tenia señalado con algunos nobles que le seguian, quando queria dar á entender que habia de venir enfermedad de camaras de sangre, se vestia de mantas coloradas, y tomando bixa ó almagre molido lo esparcia por el ayre. Otras veces, quando amenazaba de viruelas, se subia al mismo sitio vestido de mantas viejas, y rascandose el cuerpo, lo que sacaba entre las uñas esparcia por los vientos, como que daba potestad con aquello á que la enfermedad cayese sobre todos. En el mismo lugar se vestia otras veces de blanco, y esparciendo ceniza por el ayre, daba á entender habia de ser aquello causa de secas y yelos, con que se habian de destruir los mayzes y las demas comidas. Daba mas fuerza á estos embaimientos, mostrandose melancolico y desabrido muchas veces á los que le venian á hablar. Pero quien mayor la daba era el Demonio, pues permitiendo Dios por los pecados y idolatrias de los Indios, algunas veces sucedia lo que amenazaba el Cacique, alterando por ventura ó inficionando el Demonio el ayre, que hasta en esto bien tiene poder con permision divina, con que venian enfermedades y las plagas, y sobre los Indios reverencia y temores á estos castigos. Aunque no falta quien diga, haber esto tenido principio en un Cacique de buen entendimiento y discurso, que habiendo con él gastado muchos dias en las observaciones del sol, luna, estrellas y nubes, aves y animales, vino por experiencia y congeturas á sacar estos sucesos antes que vinieran, como lo hace la buena y acertada astrologia; ó por ventura por ser el cacique Ydacanzas, en quien dicen comenzó esto, grande hechicero, y por pactos que tenia con el demonio, con quien de ordinario hablaba, vino á alcanzar estas revoluciones y mudanzas de tiempos, como de un maestro que alcanza esto y mucho mas en filosofia.

4. Esta estimacion, que por esta razon hacia toda la tierra del Sogamozo, fue causa que la hiciesen mui grande en la sucesion de este cacicazgo. Y asi aunque antes que se introdugese esta fama, lo heredaban los sobrinos, como en los demas pueblos, despues se vino á introducir fuese la sucesion por elecciones, hechas una vez del pueblo de Tobasia, y otra de él de Tirabitova, alternativamente; y de ninguna manera pudiese ser de otros pueblos, ni de uno de estos dos caciques consecutivos; ni lo consentian los quatro electores, que eran los caciques de Buzbanza, Gamza, Toca y Pesca, y en casos de discordia entraba el voto del Tundama ó Duytama. Por conservar esta costumbre hubo una revuelta en todo el Valle pocos años antes que entrasen en él los Españoles, habiendo querido con el favor de seis valientes hermanos suyos, un noble de Tirabitova introducirse en este cacicazgo, no siendo la vez de la eleccion de aquel pueblo, por haberlo sido el antecesor, sino de él de Tobasia. Era este un valeroso mozo, bermejo y de barba larga, dos cosas bien peregrinas para estas tierras; viendo los Tobasias que lo era tambien el hecho, y de atrevimiento nunca oido, fueron con la queja á los electores, que determinaron luego con fuerza de guerra despojar al bermejo del estado, no solo porque habia quebrantado las leyes de la sucesion, sino tambien porque habia hecho justicia publicamente del Gamza, por haberle negado el voto y voluntad que le pedia para ser electo como los demas. Juntaron los electores sus gentes y armas, á que acudió tambien el Tundama con la suya; y juntos embestieron con el bermejo y los que le seguian en Sogamozo, donde se defendio tan valerosamente, que se echó de ver ser aventajados sus brios sobre todos los de sus enemigos, á quienes sin duda venciera y saliera con sus intentos, si los electores no mandaran pregonar con penas de la vida, que ninguno de los de Sogamozo peleara en defensa del bermejo, por quanto era tirano intruso en el oficio, pues por las leyes de sus mayores no le venia á él, sino al que eligiesen de Tobasia. Fueron tan eficaces estas palabras de los electores, que al punto se pasaron á su banda los Sogamozos, dejando desamparado al bermejo con solos sus hermanos y algunos pocos que le siguieron; los quales hicieron rostro á todo el egército de los demas, con tantos brios que se echaba de ver los muchos que tenia su capitan bermejo, el qual los perdió y la vida, haciendo demostracion con sus valentias de su hidalga sangre, como tambien la hicieron sus hermanos, recobrando su cuerpo de entre sus enemigos, que lo tenian para ponerlo hecho quartos en quatro palos, en castigo de su atrevimiento, como él lo habia hecho con el Gamza, y para exemplo de los demas, y reparo de lo que en el mismo caso pudiera suceder en adelante.

Capitulo XIII.

1. *Caso notable, que sucede con unos Españoles que van á sacar un santuario.*
2. *Embuste del Demonio, con que se dio principio al gobierno que tuvo sobre los Indios de Tunja.*

1. Sosegaronse con esta muerte los alborotos, y volviendose á reducir las elecciones á su camino antiguo, la hicieron de uno de Tobasia, de donde habia de ser por las suertes alternativas, llamado Nompanem, que quiere decir, bexija de leon, en aquella lengua: por cuya muerte sucedió el Suhammox, que es lo mismo que el *encubierto*, aunque no lo fue mucho á los Españoles, pues facilmente dieron con él, luego que entraron en esta provincia de Tunja, como dejamos dicho; y que este era á quien hallaron los Españoles, y despues bautizaron llamandole Don Alonzo: cuyo trato fue siempre tal, que dio con él á entender la nobleza de su sangre, en especial por la generosa mano con que á las necesidades de todos acudia, del mucho oro y riqueza que le habian quedado quando entraron en su pueblo los Españoles, de quien lo pudo esconder y poner en seguro, por haber tenido noticia de ellos mucho antes que llegaran.

No será fuera de proposito, aunque algo antepuesto, decir aqui lo que sucedió á un Español apellidado Badillo, por oficio empedrador, vecino de la ciudad de Tunja; el qual viendose en necesidad de oro, la comunicó con una India vieja que le servia en casa, rogandole se la remediara, dandole, si sabia, noticia de algun santuario para que él lo sacase. La vieja condoliendose del amo, le aseguró que le mostraria en uno grandes riquezas; con que el amo codicioso dispusó el viage para irlo á sacar, comunicandolo con dos ó tres amigos, y entre ellos un clerigo de misa, para que le ayudaran. Dispuesto ya todo, llevando la India por guia, salieron de la ciudad de Tunja, y llegaron á los altos de las espaldas del pueblo de Yza, en este valle, y trastornando quebradas, sierras y montes, desde el alto de uno mostró la India el parage donde habian de hallar lo que buscaban, no siendoles posible hacerla pasar de alli, por el miedo que decia tenia de morirse, si llegaba mas cerca del santuario. Dejandola con esto volverse al pueblo, y pasando ellos adelante, en el parage que les señaló, entre la obscuridad y maleza de unos arboles y breñas, hallaron un buhio, donde entraron con el secreto posible, y hallaron un viejo seco, al parecer de mas de cien años, con quatro ó cinco muchachos de hasta diez, que les iba enseñando el oficio y ceremonias de xeques. Pareció turbarse el xeque con la gente nueva; pero volviendo luego en si, les preguntó que buscaban; y respondiendo que el santuario y el oro que tenia, sosegose el anciano, y dijoles: si no son otros vuestros intentos y deseos, yo os los cumpliré, no aqui, sino en otra parte, donde lo tengo, para donde podemos ir quando quisieredes. No fue poco el gusto que recibieron con esto, considerandose ya señores de tanto oro, que eran pocos los que iban para cargarlo. Comenzaron su viage por donde el viejo los guiaba, que eran unos caminos tan dificultosos que lo eran mucho aun para mozos sueltos y de buenos alientos. Y asi la guia mostrando pocos, y no poder andar por las malezas que los guiaba, decia que lo cargasen á cuestas, si querian tener oro; los quales no reparando en lo primero por conseguir lo segundo, lo llevaban á veces cargado por mil dificultades con immensos trabajos y sudores; de manera que ya rendidos del trabajo y carga del viejo, despues de haber tomado el alto de una dificultosa cuesta, se sentaron á descansar. Habiase prevenido el clerigo de llevar agua bendita en un jarrillo para lo que sucediera, por ser como son de ordinario los santuarios casas de demonio. Ya que hubieron alentadose algo para bajar otra valiente cuesta, tomó el clerigo unas yerbas de las que estaban junto á si, y diciendo: quiero echarle agua bendita á este viejo, para que tenga buen corazon en darnos mucho oro: mojó las yerbas en el agua bendita, y rociandolo (cosa maravillosa) al punto cayó el cuerpo del viejo en el suelo, y comenzó á rodar la cuesta abajo, como si fuera un madero seco. De que quedaron admirados los Españoles; y bajandolo á mirar, echaron de ver habia muchos años que era muerto, segun estaba seco, y que lo habia tomado el demonio por instrumento en quien hablaba, y hacia las demas acciones de hombre, que vieron; y tambien consideraron la burla que les habia hecho el demonio, y asi cansados y corridos de ella, se volvieron á la ciudad donde no se atrevian á contarlo.

2. Luego que el Predicador se ausentó de esta provincia del Tunja y Sogamozo, comenzó el demonio á dar contrarias doctrinas. Y entre ellas quiso deshacer lo que el otro habia predicado de la Encarnacion, diciendoles que aun no estaba hecha; pero que la habia de hacer el Sol, tomando carne humana en una doncella de las del pueblo de Guacheta, y que habia de parir lo que concibiese de los rayos del Sol, quedando virgen. Sonó por todas las provincias esta nueva, y teniendo dos hijas doncellas el Cacique del pueblo dicho, deseosas ambas de que sucediese en ellas el milagro, todos los dias á la alborada se salian del cercado y casas de su padre, y subiendose á un cerro de los

muchos que tiene el pueblo á la parte del salir del Sol, se acostaban de manera que les pudiera herir con los primeros rayos. Y continuando esto por algunos dias, fue disponiendo el Demonio por permision divina (cuyos juicios son incomprehensibles) las cosas para salir con sus intentos: de manera que en pocos dias que las doncellas hicieron esto, la una fue apareciendo como preñada, que ella decia ser del Sol. Y al cabo de nueve meses parió una *hacuata*, que en su lengua es, una piedra de esmeralda grande y rica. Tomóla la muger, y envolviendola en unos algodones, pusosela entre los pechos donde la trajo algunos dias, y al fin de ellos la halló convertida en criatura: todo por orden del demonio. A este llamaron Goranchacha, y lo criaron en la misma casa del Cacique con titulo de Hijo del Sol, hasta que ya fue de mas de 24 años. Quando ya por toda la provincia se sabia de su nacimiento y crianza, y le tenian por Hijo del Sol, parecióle al mozo que se estimaba por hijo de tal padre, no estar ya en una aldea, como era Guacheta, sino irse á la corte del Ramiriqui, quien le salió á recibir, hospedó y regaló en su casa por algunos dias como á Hijo del Sol. Diole despues gana de verse con el Sogamozo, por la fama que se divulgaba de él, que era como acá decimos ir á ver á Roma y al Sumo Pontifice; á quien recibió el Sogamozo con grande aplauso, como á hijo de tal padre, y hizo grandes fiestas y presentes, á que no faltó retorno de parte de Goranchacha de los que le habia hecho el Ramiriqui. Estuvo alli algunos dias entreteniendose en regocijos y fiestas de Baco, y tratando de volverse á la corte, encontró en el camino cerca de las peñas de Paypa un Indio de los que él habia traido y dejado en Ramiriqui, que le contó como el cacique habia ahorcado á un muchacho que servia de page al Goranchacha, y lo habia dejado en la corte quando fué á Sogamozo. Encendióle en colera la nueva, de manera que entrando en Ramiriqui con ella, mató al cacique y se hizo obedecer por señor de toda la provincia; sin que en esto hallara mucha dificultad, por lo mucho que estimaban todos su persona, y ser hijo de su padre, á quien ellos adoraban por Dios. Vinose luego á Tunja desde Ramiriqui, donde sentó su casa y corte, señalando luego los criados que le parecieron mas á proposito, y entre ellos al pregonero, que era un Indio con una gran cola, que ninguno supo de donde vino; pero era el mas estimado de todos los criados que tenia, no solo por ser ambos de una patria y cavernas infernales, sino porque este oficio de pregonero ha sido siempre tan estimado entre los Moscas, que los que lo ejercitaban eran la segunda persona del pueblo en sangre, nobleza y estimacion de todos.

Capitulo XIV.

1. *En algunas partes ha habido Demonios por Caciques.*
2. *Cruel Gobierno del Goranchacha.*
3. *Quiere hacerle Casa al Sol, y desparecese, y el Pregonero se convierte en humo.*
4. *Eligen en su lugar al que hallaron los Españoles.*
5. *Modo de enterrar sus muertos, y uso de la Cruz.*

1. No ha sido cosa nueva en algunas de estas tierras haber tenido demonios por sus gobernadores y caciques, pues como diremos en nuestra Tercera Parte, fue opinion recibidissima y sin duda entre los Indios del Zenu, que en aquellas tres provincias que estan desde el rio Darien hasta el de Cauca, que se llaman Fincenio, Zenufena y Panzenu, tuvieron por gobernadores tres demonios, como entienden los naturales de esta provincia de Tunja, lo eran estos dos, Cacique y pregonero de quien vamos tratando; sin que podamos dar á esto mas salida que encoger los hombros, y arquear las cejas en los juicios impenetrables de Dios, que permite esto por lo que él se sabe.

2. Comenzó á gobernar este Goranchacha con tanto señorio y crueldad para con sus vasallos, que no solo no se dejaba hablar de estos, ni mirar á la cara, (porque esa era comun costumbre de todos los caciques,) pero aun habian de estar delante de él postrados, y el rostro pegado al suelo, y asi le hablaban los pocos á quien él daba licencia. El rigor que tenia en los castigos, aun por cosas leves, era tal que no se atrevian á quebrantar sus mandatos, aunque fuesen con riesgo de la vida. Los azotes que mandaba dar eran tan crueles, que haciendolos cargar primero sobre las carnes de pencas de Tunas, sobre ellas los azotaban fuertemente, ó apaleaban. Puso veras en que se guardaran algunos de los mandamientos de la ley de Dios, como no hurtar, no mentir, ni quitar la muger agena, para con estas verdades introducir sus mentiras, como fue mandar hiciesen veneracion á muchos dioses, que pudiesen tener logros, y que le acudiesen con insufribles tributos: de manera que aun hasta los animales grandes y pequeños, dicen los Indios por encarecimiento, les hacia que se los pagasen; intentando con esto hacerse poderoso en riquezas, para

hacerse temer mas con ellas. Y á quien faltaba en algo de esto, tenia mui cierto el morir empalado ó ahorcado en el cerro que hemos dicho está sobre el pueblo, á quien los Españoles llamaron de la horca, por los muchos que hallaron alli puestos en estos patibulos.

3. Cerca de las postreras casas del pueblo á la parte del norte, donde ahora llaman las quadras de Porras, hizo edificar un templo á su padre el Sol, donde lo hacia venerar con frequentes sacrificios; y él hacia sus estaciones en ciertos dias del año con tanta prosopopeya y magestad, que juntandose todos los Indios, y puestos en procesion, como para acompañarle, y tendiendole por el suelo en todo el camino mantas finas y pintadas, comenzaba á caminar desde sus palacios, que eran donde ahora está fundado el convento de San Agustin, con tanto despacio y flema, que no habiendo de una parte á otra mas que tres tiros de escopeta, gastaba tres dias enteros en el viage: otros tres estaba á solas en el oratorio ó capilla del templo: y en otros tantos volvia á sus reales casas. Quiso sublimar la fabrica de este templo en honra de su padre, y poniendolo en efecto, mandó que le tragesen de diversas partes gruesos y valientes marmoles. Llegaron al sitio con tres de ellos, como hoy se ven, aunque dicen nunca vieron la cara á los que los traian, por llegar con ellos de noche; de donde coligen eran tambien demonios los oficiales. Otros dos se ven en el camino de Ramiriqui, y otros dos en Monquira, que no llegaron al sitio; como ni la fabrica á ponerse en ejecucion, porque quando ya estaba en estado de eso, era en tiempo que ya los Españoles estaban poblados en Santa Marta. Y asi congeturando el Goranchacha, que tambien llegarian á descubrir y conquistar aquella tierra, hizo un dia juntar toda su gente, y por su pregonero (á quien ponian muchas mantas en rollo, dejando hueco en medio donde entrase la cola que tenia, que era como de leon, y se sentase) les hizo una larga platica, en que les adivinó habia de venir una gente fuerte y feroz, que los habia de maltratar y afligir con sujeciones y trabajos; y despidiendose de ellos, diciendo que se iba por no verlos padecer, y que despues de muchos años volveria á verlos, se entró en su cercado, y nunca mas le vieron. El pregonero por desengañar mas del todo, y dar mas claras muestras de quien era, delante de todos dio un estallido, y se convirtió en un humo hediondo, que fue la ultima despedida.

4. En lugar del Goranchacha eligieron despues por cacique, por haberse perdido en él la sucesion, á uno que llamaban Quemuinchatocha, á quien hallaron los Españoles, y de quien ya hemos tratado. Otras dos fiestas añadian estos naturales á la que dijimos hacian en el mes de setiembre, que las celebraban por el mes de marzo y junio; y esta era la mas solenne, porque á los primeros del mes quemaban toda la basura de casa, y aquella ceniza y la demas que habia sacaban al campo. Hacian que los muchachos se lavasen antes de amanecer, enviandolos á esto azotados con una mochila de red, y á pocos dias habia de traer el muchacho algo de presente á quien lo azotó. Gastaban en esto los que habia hasta cerca de los postreros del mes, y entonces salian los mancebos engalanados con levantados penachos de plumeria, y corrian todos los cerros, dandole el cacique al mas ligero una ó dos mantas. Concluiase la fiesta con los bevrages que solian: lo qual hacian porque no hubiese hambres.

5. Por las enfermedades de que moria cada uno, juzgaban el lugar de trabajo ó descanso que habia de tener en la otra vida; porque los que morian de calenturas, dolor de costado, camaras de sangre, ó en la guerra, y las mugeres que morian de parto, los dejaban con esperanzas de que habian ido á descansar al cielo; pero sin ellas y que iban al infierno los que morian de otra manera; y asi se entristecian con la muerte de estos, y no se ponian mantas nuevas, ni cruces junto á ellos en las sepulturas, como lo hacian con aquellos, embarnizandoles la cara con bija, perfumandoles las sepulturas con trementina, y poniendoles una cruz al lado derecho, y haciendoles un pequeño buhio sobre el sepulcro ya que estaba cerrado, y en lo alto de él otra cruz, aunque perdida casi del todo la forma por unos hilos de todos colores, que la entretegian por todas las quatro partes; y ponianla en tantas porque la tenian por simbolo de alegria, como se lo habia dicho su predicador.

Capitulo XV.

1. *El Cacique Guatabita y Ubaque mas enemigos que amigos del Bogota.*
2. *Trazas del Bogota para matar al Guatabita.*
3. *Mata el Bogota al Guatabita, y apoderase de su pueblo y tierras.*
4. *Hace guerra el Bogota al Ubaque y sugetalo, y á otros tres Caciques rebeldes.*

1. Ya dejamos tocado en otras partes las cortas noticias que tienen estos Indios Moscas de sus antigüedades, y las muchas que dan de las enemistades antiguas que hubo entre los dos principales cabezas de estas dos provincias,

Bogota y Tunja: porque como eran tiranos en sus tierras, y sea condicion de los tales no contentarse con poco, no se quietaban las ansias de ambos hasta ver sugeto á si el uno al otro con toda su tierra. Pero conocianse mas estos brios en el Bogota, en especial en el penultimo que hubo, antes que entraran los Españoles, llamado Nemequene, que quiere decir *hueso de leon*, porque solo desde este saben dar noticia. El qual tocado de la ambicion que hemos dicho, y deseos de dilatar su tierra por las del Tunja, le andaba siempre maquinando guerras, aunque muchas de sus trazas no le salian á proposito, por tener cerca de su pueblo dos grandes principes sus opuestos, y mui confidentes y amigos del Tunja, á quienes nunca el Bogota pudo por muchos años sugetar del todo: el uno se llamaba Guatabita, que quiere decir *alto sobre sierra* ó *remate de sierra*; y el otro Ubaque, aunque su proprio nombre es Ebaque, que quiere decir *sangre de madero*. Estos dos solos, por ser tan grandes señores, no solo no se le sugetaban, pero le hacian resistencia, y tener á raya muchas veces en la ejecucion de sus intentos para contra ellos y el Tunja; pues sucedia que si le acometia al Tunja, á espaldas vueltas entraban talando y destruyendo sus tierras y vasallos, con que se le ponia freno en los agravios que intentaba contra el Tunja.

2. Traia esto desvelado al Bogota, y trabajando su entendimiento buscando trazas como quitar de en medio estos estorvos, y no le fue en vano este desvelo, pues entre los demas caminos que intentó, le quadró uno que le salió como deseaba, y fue asi. La mayor parte de los Guatabitas tenian excelencia entre los demas Indios de la provincia en fundir y labrar oro, y asi andaban derramados por toda ella, pues los habia en casi todos los pueblos ganando su vida á eso: sobre lo qual fundó su traza el Bogota, mandando á los caciques sus vasallos no consintiesen en sus tierras ningun Indio platero Guatabita, antes les mandasen se recogiesen á su pueblo, y que si alguno de ellos ó de los de sus pueblos tuviesen necesidad de alguno de ellos, enviase por él, dejando en su lugar otros dos de sus vasallos, para que en tanto que duraba la obra, ó faltaba el platero de su pueblo, hiciesen asistencia sirviendo al Guatabita.

Era mucho el trato de joyas de oro que habia en estos tiempos, por ser los Indios aficionados á engalanarse y adornar á sus difuntos con ellas; y por esto fue facil cumplir el orden del Bogota, en especial quando se descubrió el intento, aunque en secreto; y asi en poco tiempo tuvo el Guatabita en trueque de mil plateros sus vasallos y amigos, mas de dos mil gandules extraños dentro de su pueblo, y mas sus enemigos que amigos. Crecianle con esto sus rentas y arrogancia, no entendiendo el engaño que se le iba armando, y con vanidad decia gloriandose, que le reconocian vasallage todos los caciques de la tierra, pues le enviaban sus vasallos que le sirviesen y pagasen tributos: de que presto quedó desengañado, pues siendo los Indios que le enviaban los mas valientes y guerreros que hallaban los caciques, y con orden y aviso que quando lo tuviesen del Bogota, le acometiesen y matasen con todos sus hijos, sobrinos y parientes mas cercanos, estaban siempre á la mira, haciendoseles ciento cada hora que se dilataba el aviso del Bogota.

3. El qual acrecentando cautelas á cautelas, advirtió serle estropiezo y inconveniente á estos intentos otro capitan ó cacique, vasallo del Guatabita, llamado Guasca, de quien hacia grande confianza para guardar el paso por donde le podia el Bogota acometer, por tener su pueblo y casa con innumerable copia de Indios poco mas de una legua del pueblo de Guatabita, á la parte del Bogota. El qual antes que pusiera en efecto lo que intentaba con los dos mil gandules, procuró allanar este estorvo y estropiezo del Guasca, que no le fue dificultoso, pues por tercera persona en secreto se dejó cohechar y prometer paso franco al Bogota para contra el Guatabita, pudiendo mas el interés que la fidelidad que le debia; añadiendo á esta maldad la de hallarse tambien con los Bogotaes, quando le embistieron y mataron, que fue una noche estando durmiendo el Guatabita, y sin sospecha del suceso, por la confianza que tenia en él y en sus vasallos: pero como no vive mas el leal de lo que quiere el traydor, al amparo de este, facilmente consiguió lo que quiso el Bogota, sacando de esta vida al Guatabita y á toda su parentela, quedando ya con un enemigo menos, y señor de sus vasallos y tierras, donde puso luego guarnicion de soldados por lo que podia suceder, y por gobernador á un hermano suyo.

4. Viendo que le corria en popa la fortuna, antes que se cansára, como dicen, acordó con el mismo egercito venir la vuelta de Ubaque, y representandole batalla, le cercó su pueblo principal y casas por dos partes: á quien el Ubaque, como hombre poderoso y nada descuidado, resistió con mucho valor por espacio de seis ó siete meses, en que hubo grandes muertes de ambas partes. Pero al cabo de ellos, viendo que la del Bogota se reforzaba cada dia, y minoraba la suya, se le rindió el Ubaque, y prometió vasallage debajo de ciertas condiciones; de las quales fue una, que tomase por mugeres el Bogota dos hijas que tenia doncellas, porque le parecio que teniendole por yerno, se habian de olvidar acedias pasadas, y tener quietud él y sus vasallos, y algo mas tolerable la sugecion al Bogota,

que vino bien en el concierto, tomando por muger á la mayor, y dando para lo mismo la otra á su hermano. Puesto el presidio que le pareció bastaba, para asegurar al Ubaque, y dió con esto la vuelta á su tierra, cargado de victorias y despojos, donde le recibieron con bayles y regocijos y canciones en que cantaban sus hazañas y victorias.

Para acabar de tenerlas cumplidas, le restaban por sugetar otros tres valerosos caciques rebeldes á su obediencia, no lejos de su principal pueblo. El uno era á quien llaman los Españoles Ubate, aunque él Ebate se dice, y significa *sangre derramada,* por la mucha que en otros tiempos derramaron las guerras en aquel mismo sitio, que hoy es el mayor y mejor pueblo que hay en esta provincia de los Moscas. El otro se llamaba Susa, que quiere decir *paja blanca,* delante de Ubate dos ó tres leguas al norte. Llamábase el postrero Simijaca, que significa *nariz,* ó *pico de lechuza,* dos leguas mas adelante al mismo parage. Contra estos fué con poderoso egercito, antes que se le enfriára la mano de los buenos sucesos pasados; y aunque en varios encuentros de guerra le resistieron estos pueblos muchos dias, con victorias alternativas de una parte y otra, al fin los vino á vencer y hacer sus tributarios, dejando caudillos y guarniciones en todos de satisfacion sugetos á su hermano, el que gobernaba en Guatabita, como su general y lugar-teniente en toda aquella tierra.

Capitulo XVI.

1. *Intenta el hermano del Bogota haber á las manos los tesoros del Ubaque, sobre que se traba gran guerra.*
2. *De ella le sucede la muerte por mano del Ubaque.*
3. *Temese este de la indignacion del Bogota, y envia á disculparse.*
4. *Vá el Ubaque en persona á verse con el Bogota, y vuelve libre á su tierra.*

1. La codicia que ardia en este gobernador, hermano del Bogota, le caldeaba el deseo que tenia de saber donde tenian sus tesoros, los que antes de estas guerras publicaba la fama los tenian abundantes. Y no faltando entre los muchos que tenia en su egercito quien supiese de todo, no faltó tampoco quien le descubriese donde tenia los suyos el Ubaque, certificandole los habia retirado y puesto en cobro en un fuerte peñol que tenia en su tierra, rodeado de una profunda laguna, sin tener mas que una estrecha senda por donde entrarle. Estimulado de esta codicia, dio luego en imaginar como los podria haber á las manos, y con mal fundadas trazas se determinó una noche á tomar la vuelta de Ubaque, y caminar á pasos largos hasta que llegó al pueblo de Chiguachi, por donde forzoso habia de pasar para el de Ubaque y peñol donde le guiaban sus intentos: pero viendo que los del Chiguachi eran de no dejarle pasar, por tener puestas en él todas sus confianzas y resguardos de sus tierras el Ubaque, le engañó fingiendo tenia orden de su hermano el Bogota para visitar de noche los presidios que por alli estaban puestos, y saber si habia descuido en lo que les tenia ordenado.

Entendiendo el Chiguachi ser asi lo que le decia, dejó pasar libre al gobernador y sus soldados: el qual con ellos entró al peñol del Ubaque, y cogiendo de sobresalto á los guardas, mató á muchas personas; y escapandose otras, fueron á gran prisa y dieron noticia del insulto al Ubaque, que turbado con la nueva, por tocarle tan de nuevo en el corazon, saltó como un leon de la cama y hizo tocar al arma, y juntó alguna gente; aunque pareciendole no ser bastante la que le acudió, se determinó pedir favor al caudillo del presidio que tenia alli puesto el Bogota. El qual sospechando que no se habria atrevido el gobernador á un caso tan grave sin orden de su hermano el Bogota, no se atrevió á dar socorro al Ubaque, ni enviar favor al gobernador por si era otra cosa; y asi se estuvo neutral y con tibieza; la qual como conoció el Ubaque, fue á la defensa con la mas gente que pudo hallar á mano; y con brios de leones todos cercaron el peñol y le acometieron, intentando ganarle por la angosta entrada, pues era imposible poderse hacer por otra parte: la qual defendian los de adentro con tanto valor que le resistieron el paso por cinco dias, en que hubo porfiadisimos encuentros, como lo pedia la grandeza del tesoro, y grandes muertes de ambas partes, con que estaba ya la laguna teñida en sangre de los heridos y muertos que se arrojaban á ella.

2. Viendo el gobernador que le iba ya faltando la comida y gente, y aumentandose la del Ubaque, determinó salir del peñol con la suya, y venir á las manos con la de su enemigo en campo mas abierto. Pero antes de esto se resolvió á echar á pique, como lo hizo, en la laguna el tesoro que ya tenia en su poder, para que ya que él no lo podia gozar, por saber de cierto se le habian de quitar en saliendo, viendo ser imposible defenderlo, por ser tanto

como era, tampoco lo gozase su dueño. Lo qual hecho asi, y desocupado de aquella carga, salió con valerosos brios, y embistió con la gente del Ubaque, que se los quitaron presto por ser mucha, despachándolo de esta vida y á muchos de los suyos, huyendo los demas: con que quedó el Ubaque victorioso, aunque sin su gran tesoro, ni esperanzas de haberlo á las manos, por ser tan profundo el lago donde lo echaron, y donde hoy se está.

3. Sobresaltaronle luego tras esto otros temores al Ubaque, de los sentimientos que habia de tener el Nemequene por la muerte de su hermano, á quien por su valor estimaba en mucho. Y asi, como hombre sagaz, trató sin dilacion de enviar su disculpa, contandole la verdad del caso, y como habia sucedido la muerte de su hermano mui contra su gusto, y en lanze forzoso de permitida defensa á la violencia que le hacia, en quererle quitar no solo su tesoro, sino la vida. Despachó con este recado bien industriados mensageros, y proveydos de joyas de gran precio con buena cantidad de finas mantas, por ser costumbre entre ellos, como hemos dicho, nunca aparecer delante del cacique sin dones, para con obras y palabras aplacar los sentimientos que tendria del caso. Llegaron á Bogota los mensageros, y hàbida licencia para hablar al rey, á espaldas vueltas, sentados en el suelo en su presencia, donde tambien habian puesto el presente, hicieron su embajada; á que estuvo el Bogota atento con severidad, dando al fin de ella por respuesta que viniese el Ubaque en persona á dar su descargo.

4. En que no puso dilacion, sabiendo la voluntad del rey. Y asi disponiendo para llevarle otro rico presente de veinte hermosas doncellas, bien aderezadas, con ricas joyas de oro y sartas de cuentas, cien cargas de Indios de ricas telas de algodon, con muchas y finas esmeraldas, algunos animales de oro fino bien labrados, con otras cosas que ellos tenian de estima, presente al fin de un gran rey: con que llegó á su presencia, sin que quisiese tomar de todo mas que dos telas de algodon por ceremonia y usanza suya, diciendo no ser licito tomar del acusado cosa que turbase la claridad de la justicia y la hiciese torcer: tratóse luego del caso, enviando el Bogota criados á satisfaccion para que se la trageran del suceso, de que resultó la culpa contra su hermano; y asi despues de seis meses que se gastaron en averiguaciones, volvió á su pueblo el Ubaque, libre, honrado y cargado de favores del Bogota.

Capitulo XVII.

1. *Determinase el Bogota á hacer guerra al Tunja.*
2. *Juntanse de la tierra del Bogota con sus Caciques cincuenta mil combatientes con sus armas.*
3. *Marcha con su gente el Bogota hasta darse vista los dos campos en la tierra del Tunja.*
4. *Embajadas que se envian acerca del darse la batalla el Bogota y el Tunja.*

1. Crecian por horas en el Bogota los brios con los crecimientos que habia tenido en las victorias y dilataciones de su imperio. Y como un buen suceso sea piedra iman de otros, deseaba fundado en la buena suerte de los sucedidos y en su gran poder, haber á las manos el del Tunja; y asi determinado á hacerle una guerra tal que de una acabasen las discordias, consiguiendo él sus intentos, para comunicarlos hizo llamar á todos los caciques y gente noble sus vasallos; que no siendo perezosos en venir á su presencia, estando en ella todos, y él sentado en un levantado y rico trono, les habló de esta manera: Ya, mis amigos, sabeis los acrecentamientos que cada dia me van poniendo los dioses en las manos, en ensanchar mi poder, riquezas y terminos de mi imperio: con que es bien procure de mi parte no solo conservar lo ganado, pero acrecentarlo con hechos tales que conoscan nuestros vecinos, quien soy yo, y quien mis vasallos. Y asi querria, pues sois de ellos los que mas estimo, me ayudaseis con los brios que soleis, á quitarle los suyos al Queminchatocha, con que quedaremos pacificos en nuestra tierra, gozando nuestras haciendas y señores de la suya, teniendo en nuestra obediencia sus gentes. Y asi conociendo mi gusto, dispondreis luego los vuestros para el efecto, con todas las armas, comidas y pertrechos de guerra, que fueren necesarios: en que no gastareis mas tiempo de una luna, dentro del que os aguardo aqui bien despachados; en que conoceré la aficion que me teneis, y gusto con que me servis. Despachaos por la mañana, porque no perdais tiempo, pues con su serenidad y haberse alzado las aguas, nos convida á ayudar nuestros deseos. Mostraron los caciques ser los mismos los suyos en el cuidado que á la mañana pusieron en su partida, y en el disponer las cosas de la guerra luego que llegaron á sus tierras; pues manifestando á sus vasallos la voluntad de su rey, se dispusieron todos á hacerla, aparejando bastimentos y armas, que como hemos dicho otras veces, eran macanas, dardos, picas, hondas, flechas sin veneno, aunque lo que mas usaban, eran unas tiraderas ó dardillos de un cierto carrizo, con unas puntas de durisima madera

de palma, que tiraban con amientos ó estolicas, todas de golpe flaco, aunque fuesen crecidas las fuerzas del que los tiraba.

2. No faltaron los caciques en ser puntuales y venir con toda su gente, y muchas mugeres para que los regalasen, haciendoles las comidas en la jornada, en el tiempo que se les señaló; y asi se vieron juntos todos en un dia rancheados en los anchos y estendidos prados á la redonda de los aposentos y pueblo del Bogota, cada cacique y parcialidad con distintas señas en sus tiendas, que las armaban de mantas, con que se distinguian unos de otros. Alegrose el Nemequene de ver el cuidado y puntualidad con que habian acudido los caciques, y acompañado de ellos y de otros nobles de su corte, salió á ver la gente de guerra y pasar muestra y hacer nomina de los que habia, que fueron cincuenta mil, con bastantes armas y mantenimientos para lo que durase la guerra. Habia ya enviado mensageros al Tunja á darle noticia de ella, y de sus intentos, y el Tunja habia hecho lo mismo en retorno, manifestandole tambien los suyos, que eran de no huirle la cara, porque era costumbre en ocasiones de guerra, quando se habia de hacer, enviar mensageros de una parte á otra, los quales se estaban en los pueblos de los contrarios, donde los regalaban y estimaban en mucho todo el tiempo que duraba.

3. Prepararonse luego sacrificios de niños, y los Xeques para sacrificarlos, y pedir por aquellos medios al Sol y los demas idolos los buenos sucesos de lo que intentaban. No se descuidó el Tunja en prevenir lo necesario á la resistencia de su enemigo, y en avisar á sus vasallos le acudieran con su gente y pertrechos de guerra. Envió tambien á rogar al Sogamozo le enviase socorro, porque el ruido que habian hecho las prevenciones del Bogota le obligaban á todo. Estabalo el Sogamozo de las buenas correspondencias que siempre habia tenido con el Tunja, y asi con la brevedad posible le envió doce mil hombres de guerra, y juntos con los demas que tenia prevenidos el Tunja, hicieron mas grueso egercito que el del Bogota; el qual, acabados los sacrificios, y tenida respuesta por el Xeque de buen suceso y fortuna en la guerra, comenzó luego la gente á marchar, cada qual en su esquadra y parcialidad, aunque tumultuariamente y sin concierto, haciendo grandes estragos por las tierras del Tunja luego que entraron en ellas; de que llevó la mayor parte Turmeque, como el primero por aquel lado, de que quedó mas irritado el Tunja, que ya le estaba aguardando con su gente, quando se dieron vista ambos egercitos en el sitio que ahora llaman el Arroyo de las Vueltas, el qual solamente hacia division de los dos campos, que cubrian los llanos y laderas con la muchedumbre que en ambos habia.

4. Antes de representar la batalla, envió el Bogota con un noble de su casa al Tunja una embajada, en que le decia: Espantado estoy Quemuinchatocha, que siendo tu prudencia tal que sabes con ella dar á otros consejos, no los tomes para ti, y confiando vanamente de tus brios, los tengas para con los mios que tan superiores á los tuyos han sido siempre. Y asi tendré por cordura, que dando de mano á guerras, (de quien pienso, si las quisieredes, salir victorioso) te rindas con paz á mi imperio y señorio, de donde se seguirá quietud á tu persona y vasallos, y el buen tratamiento que yo sé hacer á los mios; y pues no perderás nada de tu opinion en ser vasallo de una sangre y linage tan valeroso como lo es el de los reyes Bogotaes, no te está mal el consejo, antes que vengamos á rompimiento y perdida de vidas de tanta gente como aqui tenemos, y de lo que determinaredes será bien me avises luego. Alteró la sangre al Tunja la embajada de manera, que si no lo reportara la consideracion de su grandeza, embistiera sin enviarle respuesta; pero sosegandose, respondió al mensagero, que despues de tomado consejo en la respuesta, la daria al Bogota otro dia, como lo hizo en amaneciendo, enviandole un criado de su casa y con él á decir: Gran Nemequene, maravillado estoy de que presumas tanto de tus brios, y que los mios se han de acortar de manera que yo haga un borron tan grande, como seria para mi sangre y nobleza mostrar flaqueza en esta ocasion, donde no tienes tan en la mano la victoria y fortuna, que no pienso yo la tengo mas asida y cierta, pues tengo por mayores mis brios, y por mi parte la razon en la defensa de mis tierras, á donde tu me vienes á buscar. Y pues en sangre sabes no te debo nada, hagase muestra de quien cada uno es, librando los sucesos de la guerra en solos los dos, para que no muera tanta gente como tu dices, y el que quedare vencido, sirva y sugetese con toda su tierra y gente al otro.

Capitulo XVIII.

1. *Llegan á rompimiento ambos campos.*
2. *Cada qual de los dos reyes, trahidos en andas de una parte á otra, esfuerzan su gente, y queda herido de muerte el Bogota.*
3. *Huye con los suyos de la batalla, hasta llegar á su pueblo de Muixqueta.*
4. *Donde muere al quinto dia de como llegó, y lo enterraron los Xeques á su modo.*
5. *Sucedele un deudo suyo, aunque no le venia de derecho.*

1. Quedó corrido Nemequene de la respuesta del Tunja, por parecerle sobrado atrevimiento desafiarle de persona á persona, considerando la desigualdad que habia entre los dos ; pero con todo eso se determinó á admitir el desafio, y saliera á él, si no lo impidieran los Ubzaques, poniendole por medio mil razones tan eficaces, que la menor de ellas bastaba para desistir de los intentos. Y no era la menor el representarle la poca igualdad entre él, que era un gran principe, señor de tantos caciques y provincias, y un cacique como lo era él de Tunja, á quien ya podian tener por su vasallo, segun la confianza con que estaban de ganar la victoria, y seria temeridad dejar por lo dudoso lo cierto, porque aunque eran conocidas las ventajas que él le hacia al cacique en brios, animo y destreza, no era bien colgar de un hilo, ni aventurar cosa de tanta importancia en lo que la fortuna pudiera suceder rodeara contra el seguro que tenian de ser los vencedores, peleando de poder á poder. Disuadiose con esto del intento, y mandó que se ordenasen los esquadrones, lo que tambien hizo el Tunja, viendo lo que pasaba en el real de su enemigo. Y á la seña del rompimiento que se dió con las trompas ó tatas, se embistieron los salvages con tanta furia, aunque sin orden, que á poco rato ya el andar de la batalla era sobre cuerpos muertos, porque ya abiertas las cabezas con las macanas, quebradas piernas y brazos, y aturdidos con las piedras de las hondas, ya pasados con las lanzas, fue mucho el estrago que al primer impetu hicieron unos en otros. Andaban los encrespados penachos y plumerias rodando por aquel suelo empapados en sangre, despedidos de sus amos, que los dejaban ya luchando con la muerte. Atronaba la tierra y ayres el estruendo de trompetas, bocinas y caracoles, y grita que no cesaba de ambas partes.

2. Como tambien lo hacian el Tunja y Nemequene, andando ambos en andas ricas como viento, esforzando cada qual á los suyos, y con deseos ambos de encontrarse, aunque lo impidió la confusion y priesa de la guerra, bien desgraciada para Nemequene, pues entre los cuidados con que andaba, halló el mayor de todos, que es el de la muerte, con un dardo que le vino sin saber de donde silvando por los ayres, que se le entró con herida penetrante por la tetilla derecha, que lo fue tanto, que aunque se le sacó con ambas manos, sin esperar que agenas lo hicieran, fue tanto el dolor que luego le sobrevino, que aunque quiso disimularlo, porque no desmayaran sus gentes, no pudo excusar el decir á los de su guardia: Yo, amigos, me siento tan mal herido, que no tengo confianza de mi vida: haced como buenos en venganza de la muerte que me han dado en defensa de las vuestras, y de venir á manos de vuestros enemigos, pues por las muestras que ellos van dando, sin duda será vuestra la victoria.

3. Pasára adelante, segun se advirtió, con la arenga, si el grave dolor le dejara la lengua libre y sin la turbacion que todos conocieron en él, de que no la tuvieron pequeña los presentes ; aunque no fue tanta, que no advirtiesen en sacarlo luego del conflicto de la batalla, y comenzar á caminar de priesa la vuelta de Bogota, que fue bien menester, por la mucha que comenzó luego á dar el Tunja ; los Bogotaes habiendo entendido la ausencia y estado en que le habia puesto la herida á su rey, de que daba tambien claras muestras la mano floxa con que los Bogotaes peleaban. Y asi con poco que apretó la suya el Tunja, le volvieron las espaldas ; á quien fue siguiendo en alcanze de la victoria con dichosos sucesos y muertes de muchos, hasta el pueblo de Choconta, dejando aquellos paramos llenos de los cuerpos muertos ; desde donde tomó la vuelta el Tunja para su tierra, entrando en ella victorioso y rico de despojos. Venian los Bogotaes tan temerosos del suceso, que aun no tenian seguro que no viniesen los Tunjas y les quitasen su rey, y asi sin detenerse un punto, remudandose unos tras otros en las andas, los hacia ligeros el miedo, y caminar noche y dia hasta que llegaron á Bogota.

4. Donde luego acudieron los Xeques, que tambien se preciaban de medicos, y de que anduviesen juntos los dos oficios : porque conocian unas yervas buenas para las heridas, de que hay hartas en esta tierra, y para otras enfermedades, á que tambien acudian, usando de mil ridiculas ceremonias entre las aplicaciones que hacian de ellas. Lo

que no aprovechó en esta herida de Nemequene, pues al quarto ó quinto dia salió de esta vida, dejando en ella á sus vasallos con prolijos llantos y cantares tristes en modos de endechas, como tenian de costumbre, donde representaban las hazañas y otras cosas que le sucedieron en el discurso de su reyno. Pusieronse tambien los de su pueblo y principales vasallos de los otros mantas coloradas, y envijaron el rostro y cabellos, que era el luto con que se celebraban los sentimientos que tenian de la muerte de sus reyes. Esto duró por quinze ó veinte dias, en que se gastó buena cantidad de su vino, porque en todas sus acciones y juntas de tristeza ó alegria, él es el que los entretiene. Trataron luego los Xeques del entierro, á que ellos solos acudian, sin que otra persona lo supiera; y si acaso alguno lo venia á saber y lo decia, era ley que lo amarrasen á un palo y muriese alli flechado, dando premios al que le acertase mas presto al corazon ó á alguno de los dos ojos. Y asi para guardar mas este secreto, el mismo año que toma la posesion el que hereda, comienzan los Xeques de noche, con las mayores obscuridades de ellas, á hacerle poco á poco el sepulcro, en partes remotisimas, espesas, breñosas y escondidas. Y aun suelen, para mas seguro, sacar de madre un rio, y en la corriente de él hacer el sepulcro, y se está hecho para quando es menester, que aun muchas veces el que se ha de enterrar en él no lo sabe, y despues de enterrado vuelvenlo á echar que pase por encima; aunque todas estas diligencias han solido vencer las que ha hecho la codicia de nuestros Españoles, hallando donde nunca se imaginara, grandes y crecidos tesoros en estas sepulturas*.

5. Tomó luego por muerte del Nemequene la posesion del reyno un deudo suyo, por modos que tuvo para ello, sin ser cacique de Chia á quien le venia por derecho, por favor que tuvo para esta violencia y tirania en algunos de los principales del reyno, llamado Thizkesuzha. Era hombre valiente, segun refieren de su persona, aunque no llegó su animo á probarlo con el de los Españoles, pues no dejó aun que le viesen la cara, como tambien digimos. Con todo eso luego que heredó, mostró brios para contra el Tunja en venganza de su antecesor y tio, y por sustentar las perpetuas enemistades que alli se habian conservado entre los dos. Y asi ordenó, con ayuda de los nobles que habian salido desbaratados de la del Nemequene, se juntase otro grueso egercito de mas de setenta mil combatientes, con todas las armas y pertrechos de guerra necesarios, para en abriendo el tiempo del verano, tomar la vuelta del Tunja, y probar con él la mano, si tenia mejor suerte que la pasada. Esto tuviera efecto, por estar para ello todo dispuesto, si no les atajara los pasos la entrada de los Españoles que fue en este tiempo, como en el suyo ya dijo la historia.

* Matienzo refers, in his inedited work entitled 'Gobierno del Peru,' to an unpublished and probably long-lost treatise by Las Casas, concerning the treasures discovered by the Spaniards in the sepulchres of the Indians. That distinguished prelate raises *three cases of conscience* with respect to them; namely, whether they ought by right to belong to the king, or to the discoverer, or to the Indians whose ancestors had caused them to be there deposited; and he inclines to the latter opinion.

HISTORY

OF THE

NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS,

THEIR CUSTOMS, &c.

By JAMES ADAIR.

TO

THE HON. COLONEL GEORGE CRAGHAN,

GEORGE GALPHIN AND LACHLAN M'GILWRAY, ESQUIRES.*

GENTLEMEN,

TO you, with the greatest propriety, the following sheets are addressed. Your distinguished abilities—your thorough acquaintance with the North-American Indians' language, rites and customs—your long application and services in the dangerous sphere of an Indian life, and your successful management of the savage natives, are well known over all the continent of America.

You often complained how the public had been imposed upon, either by fictitious and fabulous, or very superficial and conjectural accounts of the Indian nations, and as often wished me to devote my leisure hours to the drawing up an Indian system. You can witness that what I now send into the world was composed more from a regard to your request, than any forward desire of my own. The prospect of your patronage inspired me to write, and it is no small pleasure and honour to me, that such competent judges of the several particulars now presented to public view, expressed themselves with so much approbation of the contents.

You well know the uprightness of my intentions as to the information here given, and that truth hath been my grand standard. I may have erred in the application of the rites and customs of the Indians to their origin and descent, and may have drawn some conclusions exceeding the given evidence; but candour will excuse the language of integrity: and when the genuine principles, customs, &c., of the Indians are known, it will be easier afterwards for persons of solid learning, and free from secular cares, to trace their origin, clear up the remaining difficulties, and produce a more perfect history.

* The late Sir Wm. Johnson, Baronet, was another of the Author's friends, and stood at the head of the MS. Dedication.

Should my performance be in the least degree instrumental to promote an accurate investigation and knowledge of the American Indians—their civilization—and the happy settlement of the fertile lands around them, I shall rejoice; and the public will be greatly obliged to you, as your request incited to it, and to you I am also indebted for many interesting particulars and valuable observations.

I embrace this opportunity of paying a public testimony of my gratitude for your many favours to me. Permit me also to celebrate your public spirit—your zealous and faithful service of your country—your social and domestic virtues, &c., which have endeared you to all your acquaintance, and to all who have heard your names, and make you more illustrious than can any high-sounding titles. All who know you will readily acquit me of servility and flattery in this address. Dedications founded on these motives are the disgrace of literature, and an insult to common sense. There are too many instances of this prostitution in Great Britain for it to be suffered in America. Numbers of high-seated patrons are praised for their divine wisdom and godlike virtues, and yet the whole empire is discontented, and America in strong convulsions.

May you long enjoy your usual calm and prosperity! that so the widow, the fatherless and the stranger may always joyfully return (as in past years) from your hospitable houses—while this Dedication stands as a small proof of that sincere attachment, with which I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

JAMES ADAIR.

PREFACE.

THE following history and observations are the production of one who hath been chiefly engaged in an Indian life ever since the year 1735; and most of the pages were written among our old friendly Chikkasah, with whom I first traded in the year 1744. The subjects are interesting as well as amusing; but never was a literary work begun and carried on with more disadvantages. The Author was separated by his situation from the conversation of the learned, and from any libraries; frequently interrupted also by business; and obliged to conceal his papers, through the natural jealousy of the natives. The traders' letters of correspondence always excited their suspicions, and often gave offence. Another difficulty I had to encounter was the secrecy and closeness of the Indians as to their own affairs, and their prying disposition into those of others, so that there is no possibility of retirement among them.

A view of the disadvantages of my situation made me reluctant to comply with the earnest and repeated solicitations of many worthy friends to give the public an account of the Indian nations, with whom I had long resided, was so intimately connected, and of whom scarcely anything had yet been published but romance and a mass of fiction. My friends at last prevailed, and on perusing the sheets, they were pleased to approve the contents, as conveying true information and general entertainment. Having no ambition to appear in the world as an author, and knowing that my history differed essentially from all former publications of the kind, I first resolved to suppress my name; but my friends advised me to own the Work, and thus it is tendered to the Public in the present form.

The performance hath doubtless imperfections,—*humanum est errare.* Some readers may think there is too much of what relates to myself, and of the adventures of small parties among the

Indians and traders. But minute circumstances are often of great consequence, especially in discovering the descent and genius of a people, describing their manners and customs, and giving proper information to rulers at a distance. I thought it better to be esteemed prolix, than to omit anything that might be useful on these points. Some repetitions which occur were necessary, the history of the several Indian nations being so much intermixed with each other, and their customs so nearly alike.

One great advantage my readers will here have; I sat down to draw the Indians on the spot, had them many years standing before me, and lived with them as a friend and brother. My intentions were pure when I wrote, truth hath been my standard, and I have no sinister or mercenary views in publishing. With inexpressible concern I read the several imperfect and fabulous accounts of the Indians already given to the world: fiction and conjecture have no place in the following pages. The public may depend on the fidelity of the Author, and that his descriptions are genuine, though perhaps not so polished and romantic as other Indian histories and accounts they may have seen.

My grand objects were to give the Literati proper and good materials for tracing the origin of the American Indians, and to incite the higher powers zealously to promote the best interests of the British colonies, and of the mother country, for whose greatness and happiness I have the most ardent desires.

The whole of the Work is respectfully submitted to the candour and judgement of the impartial Public.

HISTORY

OF THE

NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS,

THEIR CUSTOMS, *&c.*

Observations on the Colour, Shape, Temper and Dress of the Indians of America.

THE Indians are of a copper or red clay colour, and they delight in everything which they imagine may promote and increase it: accordingly, they paint their faces with vermilion, as the best and most beautiful ingredient. If we consider the common laws of Nature and Providence, we shall not be surprised at this custom; for everything loves best its own likeness and place in the Creation, and is disposed to ridicule its opposite. If a deformed son of burning Africa was to paint the devil, he would not do it in black colours, nor delineate him with a shagged coarse woolly head, nor with thick lips, a short flat nose, or clumsy feet, like those of a bear: his devil would represent one of a different nation or people. But was he to draw an agreeable picture according to the African taste, he would daub it all over with sooty black. All the Indians are so strongly attached to, and prejudiced in favour of, their own colour, that they think as meanly of the Whites, as we possibly can do of them. The English traders among them experience much of it, and are often very glad to be allowed to pass muster with the Indian chieftains, as fellow-brethren of the human species. One instance will sufficiently show in what flattering glasses they view themselves. Some time past, a large body of the English Indian traders, on their way to the Choktah country, were escorted by a body of Creek and Choktah warriors. The Creeks having a particular friendship for some of the traders, who had treated them pretty liberally, took this opportunity to chide the Choktahs, before the traders, in a smart though friendly way, for not allowing to the English the name of human creatures; for the general name they give us, in their most favourable war speeches, resembles that of a contemptible, heterogeneous animal.

The hotter or colder the climate is where the Indians have long resided, the greater proportion have they either of the red or white colour. I took particular notice of the Shawano Indians as they were passing from the northward, within fifty miles of the Chikkasah country, to that of the Creeks; and, by comparing them with the Indians whom I accompanied to their camp, I observed the Shawano to be much fairer than the Chikkasah *, though I am satisfied their endeavours to cultivate the copper colour were alike. Many incidents and observations lead me to believe that the Indian colour is not natural; but that the external difference between them and the Whites proceeds entirely from their customs and method of living, and not from any inherent spring of Nature; which will entirely overturn Lord Kames's whole system of colour, and separate races of men.

* *S* is not a note of plurality with the Indians; when I mention, therefore, either their national or proper names, that common error is avoided which writers ignorant of their language constantly commit.

That the Indian colour is merely accidental or artificial appears pretty evident. Their own traditions record them to have come to their present lands by the way of the West, from a far distant country, and where there was no variegation of colour in human beings; and they are entirely ignorant which was the first or primitive colour. Besides, their rites, customs, &c., as we shall presently see, prove them to be Orientalists: and, as the difference of colour among the human species is one of the principal causes of separation, strife and bloodshed, would it not greatly reflect on the goodness and justice of the Divine Being, ignominiously to brand numerous tribes and their posterity with a colour odious and hateful in the sight and opinion of those of a different colour? Some writers have contended, from the diversity of colour, that America was not peopled from any part of Asia, or of the Old World, but that the natives were a separate creation. Of this opinion is Lord Kames; and which he labours to establish in his late publication, entitled, Sketches of the History of Man. But his reasoning on this point, for a local creation, is contrary both to revelation and facts. His chief argument, that "there is not a single hair on the body of any American, nor the least appearance of a beard," is utterly destitute of foundation, as can be attested by all who have had any communication with them. Of this, more presently. Moreover, to form one creation of Whites, a second creation for the Yellows, and a third for the Blacks, is a weakness of which Infinite Wisdom is incapable. Its operations are plain, easy, constant and perfect. The variegation, therefore, of colours among the human race depends upon a second cause. Lord Kames himself acknowledges that "the Spanish inhabitants of Carthagena in South America lose their vigour and colour in a few months."

We are informed by the anatomical observations of our American physicians concerning the Indians, that they have discerned a certain fine cowl, or web, of a red gluey substance, close under the outer skin, to which it reflects the colour; as the epidermis, or outer skin, is alike clear in every different creature. And experience, which is the best medium to discover truth, gives the true cause why this corpus mucosum, or gluish web, is red in the Indians, and white in us: the parching winds and hot sunbeams, beating upon their naked bodies, in their various gradations of life, necessarily tarnish their skins with the tawny red colour. Add to this, their constant anointing themselves with a certain red root, which, by a peculiar property, is able alone in a few years time, to produce the Indian colour in those who are white born, and who have even advanced to maturity. These metamorphoses I have often seen. At the Shawano main camp *, I saw a Pennsylvanian, a white man by birth, and in profession a Christian, who, by the inclemency of the sun, and his endeavours of improving the red colour, was tarnished with as deep an Indian hue as any of the camp, though they had been in the woods only the space of four years. We may easily conclude, then, what a fixt change of colour such a constant method of life would produce; for the colour being once thoroughly established, Nature would, as it were, forget herself, not to beget her own likeness. Besides, may we not suppose that the imagination can impress the animalculæ, in the time of copulation, by its strong subtile power, with at least such an external similitude as we speak of? The sacred oracles and Christian registers, as well as Indian traditions, support the sentiment: the colour of Jacob's cattle resembled that of the peeled rods he placed before them in the time of conception. We have good authority of a Spanish lady, who conceived, and was delivered of a negro child, by means of a black picture that hung on the wall, opposite to the bed where she lay. There is a record among the Chikkasah Indians, that tells us of a white child with flaxen hair, born in their country long before any white people appeared in that part of the world; which they ascribed to the immediate power of the Deity impressing her imagination in a dream. And the Philosophical Transactions assure us of two white children having been born of black parents. But waving all other arguments, the different method of living, connected with the difference of climates, and extraordinary anointings and paintings, will effect both outward and inward changes in the human race all round the globe; or a different colour may be conveyed to the fœtus by the parents, through the channel of the fluids, without the least variation of the original stamina. For, though the laws of Nature cannot be traced far where there are various circumstances and combinations of things, yet her works are exquisitely constant and regular, being thereto impelled by unerring Divine wisdom.

As the American Indians are of a reddish or copper colour, so in general they are strong, well proportioned

* In the year 1747 I headed a company of the cheerful, brave Chikkasah, with the eagle's tails, to the camp of the Shawano Indians, to apprehend one Peter Shartee, (a Frenchman,) who, by his artful paintings, and the supine conduct of the Pennsylvanian Government, had decoyed a large body of the Shawano from the English, to the French interest. But fearing the consequences, he went round a hundred miles towards the Cheerake nation, with his family, and the head warriors, and thereby evaded the danger.

in body and limbs, surprisingly active and nimble, and hardy in their own way of living. They are ingenious, witty, cunning and deceitful; very faithful indeed to their own tribes, but privately dishonest and mischievous to the Europeans and Christians. Their being honest and harmless to each other may be through fear of resentment and reprisal, which is unavoidable in case of any injury. They are very close, and retentive of their secrets; never forget injuries; revengeful of blood, to a degree of distraction. They are timorous, and consequently cautious; very jealous of encroachments from their Christian neighbours, and likewise content with freedom in every turn of fortune. They are possessed of a strong comprehensive judgement, can form surprisingly crafty schemes, and conduct them with equal caution, silence and address: they admit none but distinguished warriors and old beloved men into their councils. They are slow, but very persevering in their undertakings; commonly temperate in eating, but excessively immoderate in drinking. They often transform themselves by liquor into the likeness of mad foaming bears. The women, in general, are of a mild, amiable, soft disposition, exceedingly modest in their behaviour, and very seldom noisy either in the single or married state. The men are expert in the use of fire-arms, in shooting the bow, and throwing the feathered dart, and tomahawk, into the flying enemy. They resemble the lynx, with their sharp penetrating black eyes, and are exceedingly swift of foot, especially in a long chase: they will stretch away, through the rough woods, by the bare track, for two or three hundred miles, in pursuit of a flying enemy, with the continued speed and eagerness of a stanch pack of blood-hounds, till they shed blood. When they have allayed this their burning thirst, they return home at their leisure, unless they chance to be pursued, as is sometimes the case: whence the traders say, that "an Indian is never in a hurry, but when the devil is at his heels."

It is remarkable that there are no deformed Indians: however, they are generally weaker, and smaller bodied, between the tropics, than in the higher latitudes, but not in an equal proportion; for though the Chikkasah and Choktah countries have not been long divided from each other, as appears by the similarity of their language, as well as other things, yet the Chikkasah are exceedingly taller and stronger bodied than the latter, though their country is only two degrees further north. Such a small difference of latitude, in so healthy a region, could not make so wide a difference in the constitution of their bodies. The former are a comely, pleasant looking people; their faces are tolerably round, contrary to the visage of the others, which inclines much to flatness, as is the case of most of the other Indian Americans. The lips of the Indians, in general, are thin: their eyes are small, sharp and black; and their hair is lank, coarse and darkish. I never saw any with curled hair, but one in the Choktah country, where was also another with red hair: probably they were a mixture of the French and Indians. Romancing travellers and their credulous copyists report them to be *imberbes*, and as persons *impuberes*, and they appear so to strangers. But both sexes pluck all the hair off their bodies with a kind of tweezers, made formerly of clam-shells, now of middle-sized wire, in the shape of a gun-worm; which being twisted round a small stick, and the ends fastened therein, after being properly tempered, keeps its form: holding this Indian razor between their fore-finger and thumb, they deplume themselves, after the manner of the Jewish novitiate priests and proselytes; as the former could not otherwise be purified for the function of his sacerdotal office, or the latter be admitted to the benefit of religious communion.

Their chief dress is very simple, like that of the patriarchal age: of choice, many of their old head-men wear a long wide frock, made of the skins of wild beasts, in honour of that ancient custom. It must be necessity that forces them to the pinching sandals for their feet. They seem quite easy and indifferent in every various scene of life, as if they were utterly divested of passions and the sense of feeling. Martial virtue, and not riches, is their invariable standard for preferment; for they neither esteem nor despise any of their people one jot more or less on account of riches or dress. They compare both these to paint on a warrior's face; because it incites others to a spirit of martial benevolence for their country, and pleases his own fancy and the eyes of spectators for a little time, but is sweated off while he is performing his war-dances, or is defaced by the change of weather. They formerly wore shirts made of drest deer-skins, for their summer visiting dress; but their winter hunting clothes were long and shaggy, made of the skins of panthers, bucks, bears, beavers and otters; the fleshy sides outward, sometimes doubled, and always softened like velvet-cloth, though they retained their fur and hair. The needles and thread they used formerly, (and now at times,) were fish-bones, or the horns and bones of deer rubbed sharp, and deer's sinews, and a sort of hemp that grows among them spontaneously in rich open lands. The women's dress consists only in a broad softened skin, or several small skins sewed together, which they wrap and tie round

their waist, reaching a little below their knees: in cold weather, they wrap themselves in the softened skins of buffalo calves, with the wintery shagged wool inward, never forgetting to anoint and tie up their hair, except in their time of mourning. The men wear for ornament, and the conveniences of hunting, thin deer-skin boots, well smoked, that reach so high up their thighs, as with their jackets to secure them from the brambles and braky thickets. They sew them about five inches from the edges, which are formed into tossels, to which they fasten fawns' trotters, and small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs. The beaus used to fasten the like to their war-pipes, with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound.

The young Indian men and women, through a fondness of their ancient dress, wrap a piece of cloth round them, that has a near resemblance to the old Roman toga, or prætexta. 'T is about a fathom square, bordered seven or eight quarters deep, to make a shining cavalier of the *beau monde*, and to keep out both the heat and cold. With this frantic apparel the red heroes swaddle themselves, when they are waddling, whooping, and prancing it away in their sweltery town-houses, or supposed synhedria, around the reputed holy fire. In a sweating condition, they will thus incommode themselves, frequently, for a whole night, on the same principle of pride that the grave Spaniard's winter cloak must sweat him in summer. They have a great aversion to the wearing of breeches; for to that custom they affix the idea of helplessness and effeminacy. I know a German, of thirty years' standing, chiefly among the Chikkasah Indians, who, because he kept up his breeches with a narrow piece of cloth that reached across his shoulders, is distinguished by them, as are all his countrymen, by the despicable appellative Kish-Kish Tarākshe, or *Tied-Arse*. They esteem the English much more than the Germans, because our limbs, they say, are less restrained by our apparel from manly exercise than theirs. The Indian women also discreetly observe, that, as all their men sit down to make water, the ugly breeches would exceedingly incommode them; and that if they were allowed to wear breeches, it would portend no good to their country: however, they add, should they ever be so unlucky as to have that pinching custom introduced among them, the English breeches would best suit their own female posture on that occasion; but that it would be exceedingly troublesome either way. The men wear a slip of cloth, about a quarter of an ell wide, and an ell and a half long, in the lieu of breeches; which they put between their legs, and tie round their haunches with a convenient broad bandage. The women, since the time we first traded with them, wrap a fathom of the half-breadth of Stroud cloth round their waist, and tie it with a leathern belt, which is commonly covered with brass runners or buckles: but this sort of loose petticoat reaches only to their hams, in order to show their exquisitely fine proportioned limbs. They make their shoes for common use out of the skins of the bear and elk, well dressed and smoked, to prevent hardening; and those for ornament, out of deer-skins, done in the like manner: but they chiefly go bare-footed, and always bare-headed. The men fasten several different sorts of beautiful feathers, frequently in tufts, or the wing of a red bird, or the skin of a small hawk, to a lock of hair on the crown of their heads. And every different Indian nation, when at war, trim their hair after a different manner, through contempt of each other; thus we can distinguish an enemy in the woods so far off as we can see him.

The Indians flatten their heads in divers forms; but it is chiefly the crown of the head they depress, in order to beautify themselves, as their wild fancy terms it; for they call us Long-heads, by way of contempt. The Choktah Indians flatten their foreheads, from the top of the head to the eyebrows, with a small bag of sand; which gives them a hideous appearance, as the forehead naturally shoots upward according as it is flattened: thus, the rising of the nose, instead of being equidistant from the beginning of the chin to that of the hair, is, by their wild mechanism, placed a great deal nearer to the one, and further from the other. The Indian nations round South Carolina and all the way to New Mexico (properly called Mechiko), to effect this, fix the tender infant on a kind of cradle, where his feet are tilted above a foot higher than a horizontal position, his head bends back into a hole made on purpose to receive it, where he bears the chief part of his weight on the crown of the head, upon a small bag of sand, without being in the least able to move himself. The skull, resembling a fine cartilaginous substance, in its infant state, is capable of taking any impression. By this pressure, and their thus flattening the crown of the head, they consequently make their heads thick and their faces broad; for when the smooth channel of nature is stopped in one place, if a destruction of the whole system doth not thereby ensue, it breaks out in a proportional redundancy in another. May we not to this custom, and as a necessary effect of this cause, attribute their fickle, wild and cruel

tempers,—especially when we connect therewith both a false education, and great exercise to agitate their animal spirits? When the brain, in cooler people, is disturbed, it neither reasons nor determines with proper judgement. The Indians thus look on everything around them through their own false medium, and vilify our heads because they have given a wrong turn to their own.

Observations on the Origin and Descent of the Indians.

The very remote history of all nations is disfigured with fable, and gives but little encouragement to distant inquiry and laborious researches. Much of the early history and antiquities of nations is lost, and some people have no records at all, and to this day are rude and uncivilized. Yet a knowledge of them is highly interesting, and would afford amusement and even instruction, in the most polished times, to the most polite. Every science has certain principles as its basis, from which it reasons and concludes. Mathematical theorems and logical propositions give clear demonstrations and necessary conclusions; and thus other sciences. But history, and the origin of tribes and nations, have hitherto been covered with a great deal of obscurity. Some ancient historians were ignorant, others prejudiced. Some searchers into antiquities adopted the traditional tales of their predecessors; and others, looking with contempt on the origin of tribes and societies, altogether exploded them without investigation. My design is to examine, and if possible ascertain, the genealogy and descent of the Indians, and to omit nothing that may in the least contribute to furnish the public with a full Indian system. In tracing the origin of a people where there are no records of any kind, either written or engraved, who rely solely on oral tradition for the support of their ancient usages, and have lost great part of them, though the undertaking be difficult, yet where several particulars and circumstances, strong and clear, correspond, they not only make room for conjecture, but cherish probability, and, till better can be offered, must be deemed conclusive.

All the various nations of Indians seem to be of one descent: they call a buffalo, in their various dialects, by one and the same name, *Yanasa*. And there is a strong similarity of religious rites, and of civil and martial customs, among all the various American nations of Indians we have any knowledge of on the extensive continent, as will soon be shown. Their language is copious and very expressive, for their narrow orbit of ideas, and full of rhetorical tropes and figures, like the Orientalists. In early times, when languages were not so copious, rhetoric was invented to supply that defect; and, what barrenness then forced them to, custom now continues as an ornament. Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise and for the great loss of their great judicious war-chieftain *Shu-las-hum-másh-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend *Red-shoes*. The orator compared him to the Sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings; and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expatiated on the variety of evils that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the Sun; and, with a great deal of judgement and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope with which he began. They often change the sense of words into a different signification from the natural, exactly after the manner also of the Orientalists. Even their common speech is full of it: like the Prophetic writings and the Book of Job, their orations are concise, strong, and full of fire; which sufficiently confutes the wild notion which some have espoused of the North American Indians being præ-Adamites, or a separate race of men, created for that continent. What stronger circumstantial proofs can be expected, than that they, being disjoined from the rest of the world, time immemorial, and destitute also of the use of letters, should have, and still retain, the ancient standard of speech, conveyed down by oral tradition from father to son to the present generation? Besides, their persons, customs, &c., are not singular from the rest of the world; which, probably, they would, were they not descended from one and the same common head. Their notions of things are like ours, and their organical structure is the same. In them the soul governs the body according to the common laws of God in the creation of Adam. God employed six days in creating the heavens, this earth, and the innumerable species of creatures wherewith it is so amply furnished. The works of a being infinitely perfect must entirely answer the design of them: hence there could be no necessity for a second creation, or God's creating many pairs of the human race differing from each other and fitted for different climates, because that implies imperfection in the grand scheme, or a want of power in the execution of it. Had there been a prior or later formation of any new class of creatures, they must materially

differ from those of the six days' work; for it is inconsistent with Divine wisdom to make a vain or unnecessary repetition of the same act. But the American Indians neither vary from the rest of mankind in their internal construction, nor external appearance, except in colour, which, as hath been shown, is either entirely accidental or artificial. As the Mosaic account declares a completion of the manifestations of God's infinite wisdom and power in creation within that space of time, it follows that the Indians have lineally descended from Adam, the first and the great parent of all the human species. Both the Chikkasah and Choktah Indians call a deceitful person *Seente*, a snake; and they frequently say they have not *Seente Soolish*, the snake's tongue; the meaning of which is very analogous to רמי, a name the Hebrews gave to a deceitful person; which probably proceeded from a traditional knowledge of Eve's being beguiled by the tempter in that shape; for the Indians never affix any bad idea to the present reptile fraternity, except that of poisonous teeth, and they never use any such metaphor as that of a snake's teeth.

Some have supposed the Americans to be descended from the Chinese; but neither their religion, laws, customs, &c., agree in the least with those of the Chinese; which sufficiently proves they are not of that line. Besides, as our best ships now are almost half a year in sailing to China, or from thence to Europe, it is very unlikely they should attempt such dangerous discoveries in early time, with their (supposed) small vessels, against rapid currents, and in dark and sickly monsoons; especially as it is very probable they were unacquainted with the use of the loadstone to direct their course. China is above eight thousand miles distant from the American continent, which is twice as far as across the Atlantic Ocean: and we are not informed by any ancient writer of their maritime skill, or so much as any inclination that way, besides small coasting voyages. The winds blow likewise, with little variation, from east to west, within the latitudes of thirty and odd north and south, and therefore they could not drive them on the American coast, it lying directly contrary to such a course. Neither could persons sail to America from the north by the way of Tartary, or ancient Scythia: that from its situation never was or can be a maritime power, and it is utterly impracticable for any one to come to America by sea from that quarter. Besides, the remaining traces of their religious ceremonies, and civil and martial customs, are quite opposite to the like vestiges of the old Scythians. Nor even in the moderate northern climates is to be seen the least vestige of any ancient stately buildings, or of any thick settlements, as are said to remain in the less healthy regions of Peru and Mexico. Several of the Indian nations assure us they crossed the Mississippi before they made their present northern settlements; which, connected with the former arguments, will sufficiently explode that weak opinion, of the American aborigines being lineally descended from the Tartars, or ancient Scythians.

It is a very difficult thing to divest ourselves, not to say other persons, of prejudices and favourite opinions; and I expect to be censured by some for opposing commonly received sentiments, or for meddling with a dispute agitated among the learned ever since the first discovery of America. But truth is my object: and I hope to offer some things which, if they do not fully solve the problem, may lead the way, and enable others, possessing stronger judgement, more learning, and more leisure, to accomplish it. As I before suggested, where we have not the light of history or records to guide us through the dark maze of antiquity, we must endeavour to find it out by probable arguments; and in such subjects of inquiry, where no material objections can be raised against probability, it is strongly conclusive of the truth, and nearly gives the thing sought for. From the most exact observations I could make, in the long time I traded among the Indian Americans, I was forced to believe them lineally descended from the Israelites, either while they were a maritime power, or soon after the general captivity: the latter however is the most probable. This descent I shall endeavour to prove from their religious rites, civil and martial customs, their marriages, funeral ceremonies, manners, language, traditions, and a variety of particulars, which will at the same time make the reader thoroughly acquainted with nations of which it may be said to this day very little has been known.

Observations and Arguments, in proof of the American Indians being descended from the Jews.

A NUMBER of particulars present themselves in favour of a Jewish descent. But to form a true judgement, and draw a solid conclusion, the following arguments must not be partially separated. Let them be distinctly considered; then unite them together, and view their force collectively.

ARGUMENT I.

As the Israelites were divided into tribes, and had chiefs over them, so the Indians divide themselves: each tribe forms a little community within the nation; and as the nation hath its particular symbol, so hath each tribe the badge from which it is denominated. The Sachem of each tribe is a necessary party in conveyances and treaties, to which he affixes the mark of his tribe, as a corporation with us doth their public seal*. If we go from nation to nation among them, we shall not find one who doth not lineally distinguish himself by his respective family. The genealogical names which they assume are derived, either from the names of those animals whereof the cherubim are said in Revelation to be compounded, or from such creatures as are most familiar to them. They have the families of the Eagle, Panther, Tiger and Buffalo; the family of the Bear, Deer, Racoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, and likewise of the Wind. The last, if not derived from the appearance of the Divine glory, as expressed by the prophet Ezekiel, may be of Tyrian extraction. We are told in the fragment of Sanchoniathon, that the Tyrians worshiped fire and the aërial wind as gods; and that Usous, the son of Hypsouranias, built a sacred pillar to each of them: so that, if it is not of Israelitish extraction, it may be derived from the Tyrians, their neighbours, as may likewise the appellative name of Fish; especially as the Indians sometimes invoke the eagle and the fish when they are curing their sick. The Tyrians were the people, in early times, who above all others enriched themselves in the natural element of the fish. The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species when opportunity serves. The wolf, indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns. Considering the proximity of Tyre to Egypt, probably this might be a custom of Egyptian extraction; though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation. There is no tribe or individual among them, however, called by the name Opossum †, which is with the Cheerake styled *seequa*, and with the Chikkasah and Choktah Indians *shookka*, synonymous with that of a hog. This may be more material than at first appears, as our natural histories tell us that the opossum is common in other parts of the world. Several of the old Indians assure us they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal as a hog; although they confess, and we know by long observation, that from the time our traders settled among them they are every year more corrupt in their morals, not only in this instance of eating an impure animal, but in many other religious customs of their forefathers.

When we consider the various revolutions these unlettered savages are likely to have undergone among themselves, through a long-forgotten measure of time, and that probably they have been above twenty centuries without the use of letters to convey down their traditions, it cannot be reasonably expected they should still retain the identical names of their primogenial tribes. Their main customs corresponding with those of the Israelites, sufficiently clears the subject: besides, as hath been hinted, they call some of their tribes by the names of the cherubimical figures that were carried on the four principal standards of Israel.

I have observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them, after the patriarchal manner, and that of the primitive Christians, especially with those of their own tribe. Though they are become exceedingly corrupt in most of their ancient commendable qualities, yet they are so hospitable, kind-hearted and free, that they would share with those of their own tribe the last part of their provisions, even to a single ear of corn; and to others if they called when they were eating, for they have no stated meal-time. An open generous temper is a standing virtue among them: to be narrow-hearted, especially to those in want, or to any of their own family, is accounted a great crime, and to reflect scandal on the rest of the tribe. Such wretched misers they brand with bad characters, and wish them the fate of Prometheus, to have an eagle or vulture fastened

* Many of the ancient heathens followed the Jewish custom of dividing themselves into tribes or families. The city of Athens was divided into ten parts, or tribes, and which the Greeks called *Phule*, a tribe. They named each of the heads that presided over them, Archegos, Archiphulogos, &c. And writers inform us, that the East-Indian pagans have to this day tribes or casts; and that each cast chooses a head, to maintain its privileges, to promote a strict observance of their laws, and to take care that everything be managed with proper order. The ancient heathens mimicked a great deal of the Jewish ceremonial law.

† A creature that hath a head like a hog, and a tail like a rat.

to their liver; or of Tantalus, starving in the midst of plenty, without being able to use it. The Cheerake Indians have a pointed proverbial expression to the same effect,—*Sinnawàh nà wóra,* "The great hawk is at home." However, it is a very rare thing to find any of them of a narrow temper; and though they do not keep one promiscuous common stock, yet it is to the very same effect, for every one has his own family or tribe; and when one of them is speaking either of the individuals or habitations of any of his tribe, he says, "He is of my house," or "It is my house." Thus, when King David prayed that the Divine wrath might only fall on his house, he might mean the tribe of Judah, as well as his own particular family, exclusive of the aggregate body of Israel.

When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they inquire for a house of their own tribe; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before: they eat, drink and regale themselves with as much freedom as at their own tables, which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their usual custom to carry nothing along with them in their journeys but a looking-glass and red paint hung to their back, their gun and shot pouch, or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows, and frequently both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a state-house, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrim, where almost every night the head men convene about public business, or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance and rejoice in the Divine presence, as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness; he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed, covered with the softened skins of bears or buffalos, to sleep on. But when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom they are slow in greeting one another,) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman.

When a warrior dies a natural death, (which seldom happens,) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion are laid aside for the space of three days and nights. In this time of mourning for the dead, I have known some of the frolicsome young sparks to ask the name of the deceased person's tribe; and once, being told it was a Racoon, (the genealogical name of the family,) one of them scoffingly replied, "Then let us away to another town, and cheer ourselves with those who have no reason to weep; for why should we make our hearts weigh heavy for an ugly dead racoon?" But notwithstanding they are commonly negligent of any other tribe bu their own, they regard their own particular lineal descent in as strict a manner as did the Hebrew nation.

ARGUMENT II.

By a strict, permanent, Divine precept, the Hebrew nation were ordered to worship at Jerusalem Jehovah, the true and living God, and who by the Indians is styled *Yohewah,* which the seventy-two interpreters, either from ignorance or superstition, have translated *Adonai,* and is the very same as the Greek *Kurios,* signifying Sir, Lord, or Master, which is commonly applied to earthly potentates, without the least signification of, or relation to, that most great and awful name which describes the Divine essence, who naturally and necessarily exists of himself, without beginning or end. The ancient heathens, it is well known, worshiped a plurality of gods,—gods which they formed to themselves, according to their own liking, as various as the countries they inhabited, and as numerous with some as the days of the year. But these Indian Americans pay their religious devoir to *Loak-Ishtōhoollo-Aba,* 'the great, beneficent, supreme, holy spirit of fire,' who resides (as they think) above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life. They do not pay the least perceivable adoration to any images, or to dead persons; neither to the celestial luminaries, nor evil spirits, nor any created being whatsoever. They are utter strangers to all the gestures practised by the pagans in their religious rites. They kiss no idols; nor, if they were placed out of their reach, would they kiss their hands, in token of reverence and a willing obedience.

The ceremonies of the Indians in their religious worship are more after the Mosaic institution than of Pagan imitation, which could not be if the majority of the old natives were of heathenish descent; for all bigots and enthusiasts will fight to death for the very shadow of their superstitious worship, when they have even lost all the substance. There yet remain so many marks, as to enable us to trace the Hebrew extraction and rites through all the various nations of Indians; and we may with a great deal of probability conclude, that if any heathens accompanied

them to the American world, or were settled in it before them, they became proselytes of justice, and their pagan rites and customs were swallowed up in the Jewish. To illustrate the general subject, I shall give the Indian opinion of some of the heathen gods, contrasted with that of the Pagan.

The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. Conversing with the Chikkasah archi-magus, or high-priest, about that luminary, he told me, "it might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house, but he thought it could not well exceed it." We cannot be surprised at the stupidity of the Americans in this respect, when we consider the gross ignorance which now prevails among the general part of the Jews, not only of the whole system of nature, but of the essential meaning of their own religious ceremonies, received from the Divine Majesty; and also when we reflect, that the very learned and most polite of the ancient Romans believed (not by any new-invented mythology of their own) that the Sun was drawn round the Earth in a chariot. Their philosophic system was not very dissimilar to that of the wild Americans; for Cicero tells us Epicurus thought the Sun to be less than it appeared to the eye; and Lucretius says "tantillus ille sol," 'a diminutive thing.' And if the Israelites had not at one time thought the Sun a portable god, they would not have thought of a chariot for it. This they derived from the neighbouring heathen; for we are told that they had an house of the Sun, where they danced in honour of him, in circuits, and had consecrated spherical figures; and that they likewise built a temple to it; for "they purified and sanctified themselves in the gardens behind the house, or temple of Achad." In Isai. xvii. 8, we find they had sun-images, which the Hebrews called *chummanim*, made to represent the Sun, or for the honour and worship of it; and the Egyptians met yearly to worship in the temple of Beth-Shemesh, a house dedicated to the Sun. Most part of the old heathens adored all the celestial orbs, especially the Sun; probably they first imagined its enlivening rays immediately issued from the holy fire, light and spirit, who either resided in, or was the identical Sun. That idolatrous ceremony of the Jews Josiah utterly abolished about 640 years before our Christian æra: the Sacred Text says, "He took away the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the Sun, and he burned the chariots of the Sun with fire." At Rhodes, a neighbouring island to Judæa, they consecrated chariots to the Sun, on account of his glorious splendour and benign qualities. Macrobius tells us that the Assyrians worshiped Adad, or Achad, an idol of the Sun; and Strabo acquaints us, the Arabians paid divine homage to the Sun, &c. But the Indian Americans pay only a civil regard to the Sun; and the more intelligent sort of them believe, that all the luminaries of the heavens are moved by the strong fixed laws of the great Author of nature.

In 2 Kings xvii. 30, we read that the men of Babylon built Succoth-benoth, 'tents for young women:' having consecrated a temple to Venus, they fixed tents round it, where young women prostituted themselves in honour of the goddess. Herodotus and other authors are also sufficient witnesses on this point. Now were the Americans originally heathens, or not of Israel, when they wandered there from captivity in quest of liberty, or on any other accidental account, that vicious precedent was so well calculated for America, where every place was a thick arbour, it is very improbable they should have discontinued it. But they are the very reverse: to commit such acts of pollution while they are performing any of their religious ceremonies, is deemed so provoking an impiety, as to occasion even the supposed sinner to be excluded from all religious communion with the rest of the people: or even was a man known to have gone in to his own wife during the time of their fastings, purifications, &c., he would also be separated from them. There is this wide difference between the impure and obscene religious ceremonies of the ancient heathens, and the yet penal and strict purity of the natives of America.

The heathens chose such gods as were most suitable to their inclinations, and the situation of their country. The warlike Greeks and Romans worshiped Mars, the god of war; and the savage and more bloody Scythians deified the Sword. The neighbouring heathens round Judæa each built a temple to the supposed god that presided over their land. *Rimmon* was the Syrian god of pomegranates; and the Philistines likewise erected a temple to Dagon, who had first taught them the use of wheat, which the Greeks and Romans changed into Ceres, the goddess of corn, from the Hebrew *Geres*, which signifies grain. But the Red Americans firmly believe that their war-captains and their reputed prophets gain success over their enemies, and bring on seasonable rains, by the immediate reflection of the divine fire co-operating with them. We are informed by Cicero that the maritime Sidonians adored fishes, and by the fragment of Sanchoniathon that the Tyrians worshiped the element of fire and the aërial wind as gods, probably having forgotten that the first and last names of the three celestial cherubic emblems only typified the Deity. Ancient history informs us that Zoroaster, who lived A.M. 3480, made light

the emblem of good, and darkness the symbol of evil: he taught an abhorrence of images, and instructed his pupils to worship God under the figurative likeness of Fire; but he asserted two contrary original principles, the one of good and the other of evil: he allowed no temples, but enjoined sacrificing in the open air, and on the top of an hill. The ancient Persians kept up their reputed holy fire, without suffering it to be extinguished which their pretended successors observe with the strictest devotion, and affirm it has been burning without the least intermission several thousand years. But the Indian Americans are so far from the idolatry of the Sidonians, that they esteem fish only as they are useful to the support of human life; though one of their tribes is called the Fish. They are so far from paying any religious worship to the aërial wind, like the Tyrians, that they often call the bleak north wind, explicatively, very evil, and accursed; which they probably would not say if they derived the great esteem they now have for the divine fire from the aforesaid idolatrous nations: neither would they wilfully extinguish their old fire before the annual sacrifice is offered up, if, like the former heathens, they paid religious worship to the elementary fire; for no society of people would kill their own gods, unless the Papists, who go further, even to eat him. The Indians esteem the old year's fire as a most dangerous pollution, regarding only the supposed holy fire, which the archi-magus annually renews for the people. They pay no religious worship to stocks or stones, after the manner of the old eastern pagans; neither do they worship any kind of images whatsoever: and it deserves our notice in a very particular manner, to invalidate the idle dreams of the jesuitical fry of South-America, that none of all the various nations from Hudson's Bay to the Mississippi has ever been known by our trading people to attempt to make any image of the great Divine Being whom they worship. This is consonant to the Jewish observance of the second commandment, and directly contrary to the usage of all the ancient heathen world, who made corporeal representations of their deities; and their conduct is a reproach to many reputed Christian temples, which are littered round with a crowd of ridiculous figures to represent God, spurious angels, pretended saints, and notable villains.

The sacred penmen and prophane writers assure us that the ancient heathens had lascivious gods, particularly מפלצת, 2 Chron. xv. 16. which was the abominable Priapus: but I never heard that any of our North-American Indians had images of any kind. There is a carved human statue of wood, to which however they pay no religious homage: it belongs to the head war-town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero who deserved well of his country; for when their *cusseena*, or bitter black drink, is about to be drunk in the synedrion, they frequently on common occasions will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant; and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his co-adjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders, who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist. As no body of people we are acquainted with have in general so great a share of strong natural parts as those savages, we may with a great deal of probability suppose, that their tradition of the second commandment prevented them from having one, not to say the same plentiful variety of images or idols as have the Popish countries. Notwithstanding they are all degenerating apace, on account of their great intercourse with foreigners, and other concurring causes, I well remember that, in the year 1746, one of the upper towns of the aforesaid Muskohge was so exceedingly exasperated against some of our Chikkasah traders, for having when in their cups forcibly viewed the nakedness of one of their women, (who was reputed to be an hermaphrodite,) that they were on the point of putting them to death, according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind: but several of us, assisted by some of the Koosah town, rescued them from their just demerit. Connecting together these particulars, we can scarcely desire a stronger proof that they have not been idolaters since they first came to America, much less that they erected and worshiped any such lascivious and obscene idols as the heathens above recited.

The Sidonians and Philistines worshiped Ashtaroth in the figure of the celestial luminaries, or according to others in the form of a sheep: but the Americans pay the former only a civil regard, because of the beneficial influence with which the deity hath impressed them; and they reckon sheep as despicable and helpless, and apply the name to persons in that predicament, although a ram was the animal emblem of power with the ancient eastern heathens. The Indians sometimes call a nasty fellow *Chookphe kussooma*, 'a stinking sheep,' and 'a goat';

and yet a goat was one of the Egyptian deities, as likewise were all the creatures that bore wool; on which account the sacred writers frequently term idols 'the hairy'. The despicable idea which the Indians affix to the species, shows they neither use it as a divine symbol, nor have a desire of being named Dorcas, which with the Hebrews is a proper name expressive of a wild she-goat. I shall subjoin here, with regard to Ashtaroth or Astarte, that though the ancients believed their deities to be immortal, yet they made to themselves both male and female gods, and by that means Astarte and others are of the feminine gender. Trismegistus too, and the Platonics, affirmed there was *deus masculo-fœmineus*, though different sexes were needful for the procreation of human beings.

Instead of consulting such as the heathen oracles, or the Teraphim, the Dii Penates, or Dii Lares of the ancients, concerning future contingencies, the Indians only pretend to divine from their dreams; which may proceed from the tradition they still retain, of the knowledge their ancestors obtained from heaven in visions of the night: Job xxxiii. "God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed, then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction." When we consider how well stocked with gods all the neighbouring nations of Judæa were; especially the maritime powers, such as Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Egypt, which continually brought home foreign gods, and entered them into their own Palladia; and that these Americans are utterly ignorant both of the gods and their worship, it proves with sufficient evidence that the gentlemen who trace them from either of those states only perplex themselves in wild theory, without entering into the merits of the question.

As the Bull was the first terrestrial cherubic emblem, denoting fire, the ancient Egyptians, in length of time, worshiped Apis, Serapis, or Osiris, under the form of an ox; but when he grew old they drowned him, and lamented his death in a mourning habit; which occasioned a philosopher thus to jest them, *Si dii sunt, cur plangitis? Si mortui, cur adoratis?* "If they be gods, why do you weep for them? and if they are dead, why do you worship them?" A bull, ox, cow, or calf, was the favourite deity of the ancient idolaters. Even when Yohewah was conducting Israel in the wilderness, Aaron was forced to allow them a golden calf, according to the usage of the Egyptians; and at the defection of the ten tribes, they worshiped before the emblematical images of two calves, through the policy of Jeroboam. The Troglodites used to strangle their aged with a cow's tail; and some of the East Indians are said to fancy they shall be happy, by holding a cow's tail in their hand when dying: others imagine the Ganges to wash away all their crimes and pollution. The Indian Americans, on the contrary, though they derive the name of cattle from part of the divine essential name, (as shall be elsewhere observed,) and use the name of a buffalo as a war appellative, and the name of a tribe, yet their regard to them centres only in their usefulness for the support of human life; and they believe they can perform their religious ablutions and purifications in any deep clean water.

The superstitious heathens, whom the Hebrews called *Yedonim*, pretended that the bones of those they worshiped as gods when alive, revealed both present and future things, that were otherwise concealed; and the hieroglyphics, the priestly legible images, which the Egyptians inscribed on the tombs of the deceased, to praise their living virtue, and incite youth to imitate them, proved a great means of inducing them, in process of time, to worship their dead. But the Americans praise only the virtues of their dead, as fit copies of imitation for the living. They firmly believe that the hand of God cuts off the days of their dead friend, by his predetermined purpose. They are so far from deifying fellow-creatures, that they prefer none of their own people, only according to the general standard of reputed merit. The Chinese, likewise, though they call God by the appellative *Cham Ti*, and have their temples of a quadrangular form, yet they are gross idolaters: like the ancient Egyptians, instead of offering up religious oblations to the great Creator and Preserver of the universe, they pay them to the pictures of their deceased ancestors, and erect temples to them in solitary places without their cities,—likewise to the sun, moon, planets, spirits, and inventors of arts, especially to the great Confucius, notwithstanding he strictly prohibited the like idolatrous rites. And the religious modes of the ancient inhabitants of Niphon, or the Japanese, are nearly the same, which are diametrically opposite to the religious tenets of the wild Americans.

The diviners among the Philistines pretended to foretell things by the flying, chirping and feeding of wild fowls. The Greeks and Romans called fowls *nuncii deorum*. And Calchas is said to have foretold to Agamemnon, by the number of sparrows which flew before him, how many years the Trojan war should last. The Assyrians worshiped pigeons, and bore the figure of them on their standards, as the sacred oracles show us, where the anger

of the pigeon, and the sword of the pigeon, points at the destroying sword of the Assyrians. But though the American woods swarm with a surprising variety of beautiful wild fowl, yet the natives do not make the least pretension to auguries. They know it is by a certain gift or instinct, inferior to human reason, that the birds have a sufficient knowledge of the seasons of the year. I once indeed observed them to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it pitched and chirped on a tree over their war-camp. But that is the only trace of such superstition, as I can recollect, among them. Instead of calling birds the messengers of the gods, they call the great eagle *Ooóle,* which seems to be an imitation of *Eloha.* This may be accounted for from the eagle being one of the cherubic emblems, denoting the air or spirit. They esteem pigeons only as they are salutary food, and they kill the turtle-dove, though they apply it as a proper name to their female children.

The Babylonians were much addicted to auguries; and they believed them to be unerring oracles, and able to direct them in doubtful and arduous things. Ezek. xxi. 21. Those auguries always directed their conduct in every material thing they undertook; such as the beginning and carrying on war, going a journey, marriage, and the like. But, as we shall soon see, the Americans, when they go to war, prepare and sanctify themselves only by fasting and ablutions, that they may not defile their supposed holy ark, and thereby incur the resentment of the Deity: and many of them firmly believe that marriages are made above. If the Indian Americans were descended from any of the states or people above mentioned, they could not well have forgotten, much less could they have so essentially departed from, their idolatrous worship. It is hence probable they came here soon after the Captivity, when the religion of the Hebrew nation, respecting the worship of Deity, was in its purity. And if any of the ancient heathens came with them, they became proselytes of habitation or justice: hereby their heathenish rites and ceremonies were, in process of time, entirely absorbed in the religious ceremonies of the Jews. Had the nine tribes and half of Israel which were carried off by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and settled in Media, continued there long, it is very probable that, by intermarrying with the natives, and from their natural fickleness and proneness to idolatry, and the force of example, they would have adopted and bowed before the gods of the Medes and the Assyrians, and carried them along with them. But there is not a trace of this idolatry among the Indians. The severe afflictions they underwent in captivity doubtless humbled their hearts, and reclaimed them from the service of the calves and of Baalam to the true Divine worship, a glimpse of which they still retain. And that the first settlers came to America before the destruction of the first temple, may be inferred; as it is certain, both from Philo and Josephus, that the second temple had no cherubim. To reflect yet greater light on the subject, I shall here add a few observations on the Indians' supposed religious cherubic emblems, the cherubimical names of their tribes, and from whence they and the early heathens may be supposed to have derived them.

When the goodness of Deity induced him to promise a saviour to fallen man in paradise, he stationed flaming cherubim in the garden. The type I shall leave: but when mankind became entirely corrupt, God renewed his promise to the Israelites; and to convey to posterity the true Divine worship, ordered them to fix in the tabernacle, and in Solomon's temple, cherubim over the mercy-seat: the very curtains which lined the walls, and the veil of the temple, likewise, were to have those figures. The cherubim are said to represent the names and offices of *Yohewah Elohim* in redeeming lost mankind. The word כרבים is drawn from כ, a note of resemblance, and רב, a great or mighty one, *i. e.* the 'similitude of the great and mighty One,' whose emblems were the bull, the lion, the man, and the eagle. The prophet Ezekiel has given us two draughts of the cherubim (certainly not without an instructive design,) in his two visions, described in the first and tenth chapters. In chap. x. ver. 20, he assures us that "he knew they were the cherubim." They were uniform, and had those four compounded animal emblems; "Every one had four faces"—פנים, appearances, habits or forms; which passage is illustrated by the similar divine emblems on the four principal standards of Israel. The standard of Judah bore the image of a *lion*; Ephraim's had the likeness of a *bull*; Reuben's had the figure of a *man's* head; and Dan's carried the picture of an *eagle*, with a serpent in his talons *. Each of the cherubim, according to the prophet, had the head and face of a man; the likeness of an eagle about the shoulders, with expanded wings; their necks, manes and breasts resembled those of a lion, and their feet those of a bull or calf: "The sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot." One would conclude, from Ezekiel's visions, and Psal. xviii. 10. xcix. 1.—"He rode upon a cherub, and did fly:" "The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble: he sitteth between the cherubim, let the earth be moved,"—that

* The Man, which the lion on the standard of Judah, and the head on Reuben's, typified, was in the fullness of time united to the Divine essence.

Elohim chose the cherubic emblems in condescension to man, to display his transcendent glorious title of King of kings. We view him seated in his triumphal chariot, and as in the midst of a formidable war camp, drawn by those four creatures, the bull, the lion, the man and the eagle; strong and descriptive emblems of the divine essence. What animal is equal to the bull or ox for strength, indefatigable service, and also for food? in Eastern countries they were always used to plough and beat out the grain, besides other services omitted in modern times: the lion excels every other animal in courage, force and prowess: man far surpasses all other creatures in understanding, judgement and wisdom; and there is no bird so sagacious, or can fly so swift or soar so high, as the eagle, or that bears so intense a love to its young ones. These are the emblems of the terrestrial cherubim: and the Psalmist calls them Merabha Hashekina, 'the Chariot of Divine Majesty': "God sitteth between, and rideth upon, the cherubim" or divine chariot. — The celestial cherubim were fire, light, and air or spirit, which were typified by the bull, the lion, and the eagle. Those divine emblems, in a long revolution of time, induced the ancients by degrees to divide them, and make images of the divine persons, powers and actions which they typified, and to esteem them gods. They consecrated the bull's head to the fire, the lion's to light, and the eagle's to the air, which they worshiped as gods. And in proportion as they lost the knowledge of the emblems, they multiplied and compounded their heads with those of different creatures. The Egyptians commonly put the head of a lion, hawk, or eagle, and sometimes that of a ram or bull, to their images, some of which resembled the human body. Their Apis, or Osiris, gave rise to Aaron's and apostate Israel's golden calf, and their Sphynx had three heads. Diana of Ephesus was triformis; Janus of Rome biformis, and sometimes quadriformis; and Jupiter, Sol, Mercury, Proserpine and Cerberus were triple-headed.

Hesiod tells us the ancient heathens had no less than thirty thousand gods. It is well known that the ancient heathens, especially the Greeks and Romans, abounded with male and female deities, and commonly in human effigy. As they imagined they could not safely trust themselves to the care of any one god, they therefore chose a multiplicity: they multiplied and changed them from childhood to old-age. The Romans proceeded so far as to make Cloacina the guardian goddess of each house-of-office. The heathens in general appointed one god to preside over the land, and another over the water; one for the mountains, and another for the valleys. And they were so diffident of the power of their gods, that they chose a god or goddess for each part of the body; contrary to the religious system of their best poets and philosophers, and that of the present savage Americans: the former affirmed, *Sapiens dominabitur astris, &c.*; 'A wise good man will always be ruled by divine reason, and not pretend to be drawn to this or that by an overbearing power of the stars or fortune;' and the latter assert, that temporal good or evil is the necessary effect of their own conduct, and that the Deity presides over life and death.

If the first institution of the cherubic emblems was not religious, nor derived from the compounded figures of the Scripture cherubim, how is it that so many various nations of antiquity, and far remote from each other, should have chosen them as gods, and so exactly alike? Is it not most reasonable to suppose, that as they lost the meaning of those symbolical figures, and their archetypes, fire, light, and air, or spirit, which represented the attributes, names, and offices of *Yohewah Elohim*, they divided them into so many various gods, and paid them divine worship? Yet, though the Indian Americans have the supposed cherubimical figures in their synhedria, and through a strong religious principle dance there, perhaps every winter's night, always in a bowing posture, and frequently sing *Halelu-Yah Yo He Wah*, I could never perceive, nor be informed, that they substituted them, or the similitude of anything whatsoever, as objects of divine adoration, in the room of the great invisible divine essence. They use the feathers of the eagle's tail in certain friendly and religious dances; but the whole town will contribute, to the value of two hundred deer-skins, for killing a large eagle; (the bald eagle they do not esteem;) and the man also gets an honourable title for the exploit, as if he had brought in the scalp of an enemy. Now, if they reckoned the eagle a god, they would not only refuse personal profits and honours to him who killed it, but assuredly inflict on him the severest punishment for committing so atrocious and sacrilegious an act. — I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria two white painted eagles, carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats: and on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint with a chalky clay the figure of a man with buffalo horns, and that of a panther with the same colour; from which I conjecture, especially connected with their other rites and customs, soon to be mentioned, that the former emblem was designed to describe the divine attributes, as that bird excels the rest of the feathered kind in various superior qualities; and

that the latter symbol is a contraction of the cherubimical figures, the man, the bull, and the lion. And this opinion is corroborated by an established custom, both religious and martial, among them, which obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew at the first fruit-offering, or the annual expiation of sins. Every one of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy ark, before he is admitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war-song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, &c. Now we know it was a usual custom with the Eastern nations to affix horns to their gods. The Sidonian goddess Ashtaroth was horned; and Herodotus says the Egyptians painted their Venus, or Isis, after the same manner: and the Greek Jo (which probably was Yo) had horns, in allusion to the bull's head, the chief emblem of the celestial cherubic fire, representing Yo (He Wah,) as its name plainly indicates. A horn was likewise a Persian emblem of power*.

That the Indians derived those symbolical representations from the compounded figures of the cherubim, seems yet more clear from the present cherubic names of their tribes, and the preeminence they formerly bore over the rest. At present, indeed, the most numerous tribe commonly bears the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us it was not so even within their own remembrance. The title of 'the old beloved men', or 'archi-magi', is still hereditary in the panther or tiger family: as North America breeds no lions, the panther, of any animal it contains, is the nearest emblem of it. The Indian name of each cherub, both terrestrial and celestial, reflects great light on the present subject; for they call the buffalo (bull) *Yanasa*; the panther, or supposed lion, *Koè-Ishto*, or *Koè-O*, 'the cat of God'; the man, or human creature, *Ya-we*; and the eagle, *Ooóle*: fire is *Loak*; the solar light, *Ashtahále*; and air, *Màhàle*, in allusion to מי, water, and אל, the omnipotent: the note of aspiration is inserted, to give the word a fuller and more vehement sound. Their eagle and buffalo tribes resemble two other cherubic names or emblems: they have one they call *Sphàne*, the meaning of which they have lost; perhaps it might have signified the *man*.—Near to the red and white imperial seats they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half-moon, or a breast-plate raised five or six feet high, at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay: sometimes black paintings are intermixed. But let it be noticed, that in the time of their most religious exercises, or their other friendly rejoicings there, they do not pay the least adoration to any of those expressive emblems, nor seem to take any notice of them; which is the very reverse to the usage of all the ancient heathen world. Hence one would conclude, that they not only brought with them the letter, but the meaning of those reputed cherubimical figures which were designed to represent the inseparable attributes of *Yohewah*.

It is universally agreed by the Christian world, that every religious observance of the ancient heathens which the Mosaic law approved of, was at first derived from divine appointment; and as we are assured in the first pages of the sacred oracles, concerning Cain, (Gen. iv. 16.) that "he went out from the *presence of the Lord*," we learn that God, in that early state of the world, chose a place for his more immediate presence,—פנים, his faces, appearances or forms residing in or between the cherubim. We may therefore reasonably conclude, from the various gods and religious worship of the ancient heathens, and from the remaining divine emblems and family names of the Indian Americans, that the former deduced those emblems they deified from the compounded cherubim in paradise; and that the Indians derived their cherubic figures and names of tribes from the cherubim that covered the mercy-seat in the tabernacle, and in Solomon's temple, alluded to and delineated in several parts of the sacred oracles.

ARGUMENT III.

Agreeable to the theocracy or divine government of Israel, the Indians think the Deity to be the immediate head of their state. All the nations of Indians are exceedingly intoxicated with religious pride, and have an inexpressible contempt of the white people, unless we except those half-savage Europeans who are become their proselytes. 'Nothings' is the most favourable name they give us, in their set speeches: even the Indians who were formerly bred in amity with us, and in enmity to the French, used to call us in their war orations *hottúk ookproose*, 'the accursed people.' But they flatter themselves with the name *hottúk oretoopah*, 'the beloved people,' because their

* The metaphorical expressions and emblematical representations of the Law and the Prophets are generally suited to the usages of the Eastern countries: and this metaphor of a horn is commonly so used through all the divine registers, multiplying the number of horns of the object they are describing, to denote its various, great and perfect power; unless where seven is mentioned as a number of perfection, as in St. John's figurative, magnificent, and sublime description of Christ.

supposed ancestors, as they affirm, were under the immediate government of the Deity, who was present with them in a very particular manner, and directed them by prophets; while the rest of the world were aliens and outlaws to the covenant.

When the archimagus, or any one of their magi, is persuading the people at their religious solemnities to a strict observance of the old beloved or divine speech, he always calls them 'the beloved', or holy people, agreeable to the Hebrew epithet *Ammi*, during the theocracy of Israel: he urges them with the greatest energy of expression he is capable of, a strong voice, and very expressive gestures, to imitate the noble actions of their great and virtuous forefathers, which they performed in a surprising manner by their holy things, and a strict observance of the old beloved speech. Then he flourishes on their beloved land that flowed with milk and honey, telling them they had good and the best things in the greatest plenty, and speaks largely of their present martial customs and religious rites, which they derived from their illustrious predecessors, strictly charging them not to deviate in the least out of that old beloved beaten path, and they will surely meet with all the success that attended their beloved forefathers. I have heard the speaker on these occasions, after quoting the war-actions of their distinguished chieftains who fell in battle, urging them as a copy of imitation to the living, assure the audience that such a death, in defence of their beloved land and beloved things, was far preferable to some of their living pictures, that were only spending a dying life, to the shame and danger of the society, and of all their beloved things, while the others died by their virtue, and still continue a living copy. Then, to soften the thoughts of death, he tells them they who died in battle are only gone to sleep with their beloved forefathers, (for they always collect the bones,) and mentions a common proverb they have, *Neetak intàhāh*, 'the days appointed or allowed him were finished'. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm that there is a certain fixt time and place when and where every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light'; ascribing life and death to God's unerring and particular providence; which may be derived from a religious opinion and proverb of the Hebrews, that "the divine care extended itself from the horns of the unicorn to the very feet of the lice": and the more refined part of the old heathens believed the like. The ancient Greeks and Romans, who were great copiers of the rites and customs of the Jews, believed there were three Destinies who presided over human life, and had each of them their particular office; one held the distaff of life, while another spun the thread, and Atropos cut it off; a strong but wild picture of the divine fire, light and spirit. When Virgil is praising the extraordinary virtue of Ripheus, who was killed in defence of his native city Troy, he adds, "Diis aliter visum est,"—submitting to the good and wise providence of the gods, who thought fit to call him off the stage. However, he seems to be perplexed on the subject, as he makes fate sometimes conditional:

"..... Similis si cura fuisset,
Nec pater omnipotens Trojam nec fata vetabant
Stare:"

'If the usual proper care had been taken, neither Jupiter nor fate would have hindered Troy from standing at this time.' But if the time of dying was unalterably fixed, according to the Indian system, or that of our fatalists, how would its votaries reconcile the scheme of Divine Providence, which must be in conformity to truth, reason and goodness? and how explain the nature of moral good and evil? On their principle, self-murder would be a necessary act of a passive being set on work by the first mover; and his obligations would be proportionable only to his powers and faculties, which would excuse the supposed criminal from any just future punishment for suicide. But religion and true reason deny the premises, and they themselves will not own the consequence.

It is their opinion of the theocracy, or that God chose them out of all the rest of mankind as his peculiar and beloved people, which animates both the white Jew and the red American with that steady hatred against all the world except themselves, and renders them hated or despised by all. The obstinacy of the former, in shutting their eyes against the sacred oracles, which are very explicit and clear in the original text, and of which they were the trustees, incites both our pity and reproof; whereas the others' firm adherence to, and strong retention of, the rites and customs of their forefathers, only attract our admiration. The American Indians are so far from being atheists, as some godless Europeans have flattered themselves, to excuse their own infidelity, that they have the great sacred name of God, that describes his divine essence, and by which he manifested himself to Moses, and are firmly persuaded they now live under the immediate government of the Deity. The ascension of the smoke of their victim as a sweet savour to Yohewah (of which hereafter,) is a full proof to the contrary, as also that they worship

God in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the supposed holy annual fire. It is no way material to fix any certain place for the residence of Him who is omnipresent, and who sustains every system of beings. It is not essential to future happiness, whether we believe his chief place of abode is *in cœlo tertio, paradiso terrestri,* or *elemento igneo*. God hath placed conscience in us for a monitor, witness and judge. It is the guilty or innocent mind that accuses or excuses us to Him: if any further knowledge was required, it would be revealed; but St. Paul studiously conceals the mysteries he saw in the empyreal heavens. The place of the Divine residence is commonly said to be above the clouds; but that is because of the distance of the place, as well as our utter ignorance of the nature of Elohim's existence, the omnipresent spirit of the universe. Our finite minds cannot comprehend a being who is infinite. This inscrutable labyrinth occasioned Simonides, a discreet heathen poet and philosopher, to request Hiero king of Sicily, for several days successively, to grant him a longer time to describe the nature of the Deity; and at the end to confess ingenuously, that the further he waded in that deep mystery, the more he sunk out of his depth, and was less able to define it. If we trace Indian antiquities ever so far, we shall find that not one of them ever retained or imbibed atheistical principles, except such whose interest as to futurity it notoriously appeared to be, whose practices made them tremble whenever they thought of a just and avenging God: but these rare instances were so far from infecting the rest, that they were the more confirmed in the opinion, of not being able either to live or die well without a God: and this all nature proclaims in every part of the universe.

ARGUMENT IV.

We have abundant evidence of the Jews' believing in the ministration of angels during the Old Testament dispensation: their frequent appearances and their services on earth are recorded in the oracles which the Jews themselves receive as given by Divine inspiration; and St. Paul, in his Epistle addressed to the Hebrews, speaks of it as their general opinion, that "angels are ministering spirits to the good and righteous on earth." And that it was the sentiment of those Jews who embraced Christianity, is evident from Acts xii., where an angel is said to deliver Peter from his imprisonment; and when the maid reported that Peter stood at the gate knocking, his friends doubting, said, "It is his angel." Women also are ordered to have their heads covered in religious assemblies, because of the presence of the angels, and to observe silence, the modest custom of the Eastern countries. The Indian sentiments and traditions are the same: they believe the higher regions to be inhabited by good spirits whom they call *hottuk Ishtohoollo,* and *nana Ishtohoollo,* 'holy people', and 'relations to the great holy One'. The *hottuk ookproose* or *nana ookproose,* 'accursed people' or 'accursed beings', they say, possess the dark regions of the West: the former attend and favour the virtuous, and the latter in like manner accompany and have power over the vicious; on which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbours. All the adjacent towns also on the occasion whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to re-possess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise. As they believe in God, so they firmly believe that there is a class of higher beings than men, and a future state and existence.

There are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women,) concerning the power of witches, wizards and evil spirits: it is the chief subject of their idle winter night's chat, and both they and several of our traders report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises. They pretend it was impossible for all their senses to be deluded at the same time; especially at Okmulge, the old waste town belonging to the Muskohge, 150 miles S.W. of Augusta in Georgia, which the South-Carolinians destroyed about the year 1715. They strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house; with a great deal more to the same effect. Whenever I have been there, however, all hath been silent: our noisy bacchanalian company might indeed have drowned the noise with a greater of their own. But as I have gone the tedious Chikkasah war-path, through one continued desert, day and night, much oftener than any of the rest of the traders, and alone, to the Chikkasah country, so none of those frightful spirits ever appeared to, nor any tremendous noise alarmed me. But they say

this was "because I am an obdurate infidel that way." The Hebrews seem to have entertained notions pretty much resembling the Indian opinions on this head, from some passages in their rabbins, and which they ground even on the Scriptures*. We read, Isai. xiii. 21. "But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there†."

Several warriors have told me, that their *nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits', or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and with extreme difficulty escaped the crafty pursuing enemy. Similar to this was the opinion of many of the Jews, and several of the ancient and refined heathens, and is the sentiment of moderns, that intimations of this kind, for man's preservation and felicity, proceed from God by the instrumentality of good angels, or superior invisible beings, which he employs for that purpose, who can so impress the imagination and influence the mind, as to follow the suggestions, but not so as to destroy the liberty, of the will. Thus Homer introduces Minerva as suggesting what was proper for the persons she favoured,—and other superior beings; but they deliberated on the counsel, and chose that which appeared to be right.

ARGUMENT V.

The Indian language and dialects appear to have the very idiom and genius of the Hebrew. Their words and sentences are expressive, concise, emphatical, sonorous and bold, and often, both in letters and signification, synonymous with the Hebrew language. It is a common and old remark, that there is no language in which some Hebrew words are not to be found. Probably Hebrew was the first and only language, till distance of time and place introduced a change, and then soon followed a mixture of others. The accidental position of the characters might also coincide with some Hebrew words, in various dialects, without the least intention. As the true pronunciation of the Hebrew characters is lost in a considerable degree, it is too difficult a task for a skilful Hebraist to ascertain a satisfactory identity of language between the Jews and American aborigines; much more so to an Indian trader, who professes but a small acquaintance with the Hebrew, and that acquired by his own application. However, I will endeavour to make up the deficiency of Hebrew with a plenty of good solid Indian roots.

The Indian nouns have neither cases nor declensions: they are invariably the same through both numbers, after the Hebrew manner. In their verbs, they likewise sometimes use the preterperfect instead of the present tense of the indicative mood; as, *blahsas aiahre, apeesahre,* 'yesterday I went and saw'; and *eemmako aiahre, apeesahre,* 'now I go and see'. Like the Hebrews, they have no comparative or superlative degree: they express a preference by the opposite extremes; as, *chekusteene,* 'you are virtuous'; *sahakse,* 'I am vicious': but it implies a comparative degree, and signifies, 'you are more virtuous than I am'. By prefixing the adverbs which express 'little' and 'much' to the former words, it conveys the same meaning; the former of which is agreeable to the Hebrew idiom: and a double repetition of the same adjective makes a superlative, according to the Hebrew manner; as, *lawwa lawwa,* 'most, or very many'. To add *hah* to the end of an adjective, unless it is a noun of multitude like the former, makes it also a superlative; as, *hakse to hah,* 'they are most, or very, wicked': *hakse* signifies 'vicious'; probably when the vicious part of the Israelites were under the hand of the corrector, the judge repeated that word: *ta* is a note of plurality; and *hah* an Hebrew accent of admiration; which makes it a superlative. To join the name of God, or the leading vowel of the mysterious, great, divine name, to the end of a noun, likewise implies a superlative; as, *hakse-ishto,* or *hakse-o,* 'he, or she, is very wicked.' The former method of speech exactly agrees with the Hebrew idiom, as the original text shows in innumerable instances. When the Hebrews compare two things, and would signify a parity between them, they double the particle of resemblance; "I am as thou art, and my people as thy people:" and the Indians, on account of that original defective standard of speech, are forced to use the like circumlocution; as, *che ahōba sia,* 'I am like you', and *sahottuk chehottuk tooah,* &c.; for *hottuk* signifies 'people', and the *s* expresses the pronoun 'my, or mine'; and it likewise changes an active into a passive verb. Although this Indian and Hebrew method of speech is rather tedious and defective, yet, at the same

* Lev. xix. 31; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. &c.; Isai. viii. 19.

† Bochart supposes that *tsiim* signify 'wild cats'; and that אחים is not any particular creature, but the crying or howling of wild beasts. His opinion is confirmed by many judicious writers.

time, they who attain any tolerable skill in the dialects of the one and language of the other, will discover the sense plain enough, when a comparison is implied.

There is not, perhaps, any one language or speech, except the Hebrew and the Indian American, which has not a great many prepositions. The Indians, like the Hebrews, have none in separate and express words: they are forced to join certain characters to words, in order to supply that great defect. The Hebrew consonants called serviles were tools to supply the place of the prepositions. The Indians, for want of a sufficient number of radical words, are forced to apply the same noun and verb to signify many things of a various nature: with the Cheerake, *eeankke* signifies 'a prisoner, captive, slave, awl, pin, needle,' &c., which occasions the Indian dialects to be very difficult to strangers. The Jewish rabbins tell us that the Hebrew language contains only a few more than a thousand primitive words, of which their whole language is formed: so that the same word very often denotes various, though not contrary things; but there is one radical meaning, which will agree to every sense that word is used in. By custom, a Hebrew noun frequently supplied the place of a pronoun; by which means it caused a tedious and sometimes an ambiguous circumlocution. From this original defective standard of speech, the Indians have forgotten all their pronouns, except two primitives and two relatives; as, *anòwah, ego,* and *ishna, tu*: the latter bears a great many significations, both as singular and plural, viz. *eeàpa* and *eeàko,* which signify 'he, she, this, that,' &c.: and they are likewise adverbs of place; as, 'here, there,' &c. הוא (*hewa*) signifies 'he, or she'; אני (*ani*) 'we'; and אנו (*anowa*) 'he, she, him, her,' &c.

The Hebrew language frequently uses hyberboles, or magnifying numbers, to denote a long space of time: the Indians accordingly apply the words *neetak akroohah,* 'all days', or in other words, 'for ever', to a long series of years. With the Jews, sitting signified dwelling; and with the Indians it is the very same; for when they ask a person where he dwells, they say, *katèmuk ishbeneele* (*chuak?*), which is literally, 'where do you sit?' And when they call us irreligious, they say, *nāna u-bat,* 'no thing', or literally, 'a relation to nothing', for *nāna* signifies 'a relation', and the other is always a negative adverbial period: which seems also to proceed from a religious custom of the Hebrews, in giving despicable borrowed names to idols; as to בעלים (*Baalim*), 'particles of air', meaning *nothing.* To which the Psalmist alludes, saying, "I will not take up their names in my lips:" and St. Paul says, "We know that an idol is *nothing.*" This expression the Indians apply, in a pointed metaphor, to the white people, but never to each other. Like the Hebrews, they seldom, if ever, double the liquid consonant *r*; for they generally seem desirous of shuffling over it, at any rate; and they often give it the sound of *l*: but if it precedes a word where the other consonant soon follows, they always give it its proper sound, contrary to the usage of the Chinese; as the name of a stone they often call *tahle,* instead of *tahrè*; but the Indians say *tahre lakkàna,* literally 'yellow stone', *i. e.* gold.

The Hebrews subjoined one of their serviles to words, to express the pronoun relative 'thy, or thine': and as that particle was also a note of resemblance, it shows the great sterility of that language. As a specimen: they said אביך (*abiche*) 'your father', and אמך (*ameche*) 'your mother', &c. Only that the Hebrew period is initial in such a case to the Indian nouns, they always use the very same method of expression. This I shall illustrate with two words in the dialects of the Chikkasah and Cheerake: as, *chinge,* and *chatokta,* 'your father'; *angge* and *aketohta* signifying 'my father', in resemblance of אב (*abba*) of the same import: likewise *chishke* and *chacheeah,* 'your mother'; for *saske* and *akachee* signify 'my mother', in imitation of אשה (*ashe*). Also *sas kish* signifies 'podex meus', *chish kish* 'podex tuus', and *kish kish* 'podex illius'; which I guess to be an opprobrious allusion to Kish the father of Saul, for the son's assuming the throne at the end of the Jewish theocracy. In their adjectives and verbs they use the same method of speech; as, *nahoorèso chin-chookoma,* 'your book is good'. The former word is compounded of נא (*na*), 'now, or the present time', and *hoorèso,* 'delineated, marked or painted'. *Aia* signifies 'to go', and *maia-cha* 'go along!' or *maia,* the same; for by prefixing מ to it, it implies a requisite obedience. In like manner *apeesah,* 'to see', and *peesàcha,* 'look! or, see you!' And when that particle is prefixed to a verb, it always expresses the accusative case of the same pronoun; as, *chepeesahre,* 'I saw you,' and *chepeesahras,* 'I shall see you'. Each of the Hebrew characters are radicals, although half of them are serviles, according to that proper term of the scholiasts; for when they are prefixed, inserted or subjoined, either at the beginning, middle, or end of a radical word, they serve to form its various augments, inflexions and derivatives. According to this difficult standard of speech, the Indian nouns, moods and tenses are variously formed to express different things. As there is no other known language or dialect which has the same tedious, narrow and difficult principles, must we not consider

them to be twin-born sisters? The want of proper skill to observe the original fixed idea of the Indian words, their radical letters, and the due sounds in each of them, seems to have been the only reason why the writers on the American aborigines have not exhibited the true and genuine properties of any one of their dialects; as they are all uniform in principle, so far at least as an extensive acquaintance reaches.

The Hebrew nouns are either derived from verbs, or both of them are one and the same; as, ברכה (*beroche*) 'blessing', from ברך (*beroch*) 'to bless', and דבר דבר (*dabar daber*) 'he spoke the speech'. This proper name signifies 'loquacious', like the Indian *sekàkee*, signifying 'the grasshopper'. The Indian method of expression exactly agrees with that Hebrew mode of speech; for they say *anumbōle anumbole* (*kis*), 'I spake the speaking'; and *anumbole enumbole* (*kis*), 'he spoke the speaking, or speech'. And by inserting the name of God between these two words, their meaning is the very same with those two first Hebrew words. I shall subjoin another word of the same sort: *hookseelèta* signifies 'a shutting instrument'; and they say *Ishtookseelèta*, or *Hookseelèta*, *ish-hookseetas*, or *hookseetà cha*, 'you shall, or, shut you the door'. Their period of the last word always denotes the second person singular of the imperative mood, and that of the other preceding it, either the first or second person singular of the indicative mood; which is formed so by a fixed rule, on account of the variegating power of the serviles, by affixing, inserting, or suffixing them to any root. According to the usage of the Hebrews, they always place the accusative case also before the verb, as in the former Indian words.

With the Hebrews, תפלה signified 'a prayer', or a religious invocation, derived from פלח (*phelac*) 'to pray to or invoke the Deity'. In a strong resemblance thereof, when the Indians are performing their sacred dance with the eagles' tails, and with great earnestness invoking Yo He Wah to bless them with success and prosperity, *phale* signifies 'waving', or invoking by waving, *ishphāle* 'you wave', *phalècha* 'wave you', *aphalàle* 'I waved', *aphalèlas* 'I will wave', &c. Psalmodists seem to have borrowed the notes *fa*, *la* from the aforesaid Hebrew words of praying, singing to, or invoking Elohim. פעל (*phoole*) 'to work' is evidently drawn from the former Hebrew word, which signifies 'to invoke (and probably to wave the feathers of the cherubic eagle before) Yo He Wah'. The greatest part of the Levitical method of worshiping consisted in laborious mechanical exercises, much after the Indian manner, which the popish priests copy after in a great many instances; as pulling off their clothes and putting on others, imagining that the Deity is better pleased with persons who variegate their external appearances, like Proteus, than with those who worship with a steady, sincere disposition of mind; besides a prodigious group of other superstitious ceremonies, which are often shamefully blended with those of the old pagans.

As the Hebrew word נא (*na*) signifies the present time, so when the Indians desire a person to receive something from them speedily, they say *Nà* (short and gutturally) *eescha*, 'take it now'. He replies, *Unta*, or *Omeh*, which are good-natured affirmatives. The pronoun relative 'you', which they term *ishna*, is a compounded Hebrew word, signifying (by application) the person present, or 'you'. With the Hebrews, הר הר (*hara hara*) signifies 'most, or very hot'; the repetition of the word makes it a superlative. In a strict resemblance of that word and mode of speech, when an Indian is baffled by any of their humorous wits, he says in a loud jesting manner *Hara hara*, or *Hala hala*, according to their capacity of pronouncing the liquid *r*, and it signifies 'you are very hot upon me': their word which expresses 'sharp' conveys the idea of bitter-heartedness with them; and that of bitterness they apply only to the objects of taste. With the Cheerake, Chikkasah and Choktah Indians, *nannè* signifies 'a hill'; and *nanném*, with the two last-mentioned nations, 'a fish'; and *unchàba*, 'a mountain': but they call an alligator or crocodile *nanném chunchàba*, literally, 'the fish like a mountain', which the English language would abbreviate into the name of 'a mountain-fish'; but instead of a hyphen they use the Hebrew כ, a note of resemblance, which seems to point at the language from which they derived it. In like manner *aà* signifies 'to walk', and *eette*, 'wood'; but *eette chanáa*, any kind of wheel, which is consonant to the aforesaid Hebrew idiom; with many others of the like nature: but a specimen of this sort must suffice. The Hebrew and Indian words which express delineating, writing, deciphering, marking and painting, convey the same literal meaning in both languages; as, Exod. xvii. 14, כתבש פר (*chethéba sepháre*), 'delineate this with delineations'; and with the Indians *hoorèso* is, in like manner, the radical name of books, delineating, &c., and *ootehna* that for numbering, instead of reading. The nearest approach they can make to it is *Anumbōle hoorèso ishanumbōlas*, 'you shall speak the speech which is delineated'. They call a razor *baspoo shaphe*, 'a shaving knife': and *shaphe* always signifies 'to shave'; probably because, when they first began to shave themselves, they were ridiculed by the higher or more religious part of the people for imitating that heathenish custom;—the Hebrew שפה (*shaphe*), signifying 'lip, confession, or worship'; which divine

writ assures us the descendants of Noah changed, when they opposed the divine will of settling various parts of the earth, and built the great tower of Babel, as an emblem of greatness, to get them a name*. *Loak* signifies 'fire', and *loak Ishtohoollo*, 'the holy or divine fire', or the anger of Ishtohoollo, 'the great holy One', which nearly agrees with the Hebrew להט, that which flames or scorches with vehement heat. And it is the Scripture method of conveying to us a sensible idea of the divine wrath, according to the cherubic name אש, which likewise signifies 'fire'. But the Persians worshiped the burning fire by the name of Oromazes, and darkness or the spirit by that of Aramanius, quite contrary to the religious system of the Indian Americans: and the aforesaid Indian method of expression seems exactly to coincide with the Hebrew idiom. *Buk-she-ah-ma* is the name of their Indian flap, or broad slip of cloth, with which the men cover their nakedness; but the word they use to express our sort of breeches is a compound, *balaphooka*, derived from the Hebrew באל, which signifies 'behind', and the Indian *naphooka*, 'a coat, any kind of clothes or covering': *baloka* signifies 'behind'; silently telling us they formerly wore a different sort of breeches to what they use at present. They likewise say, *neeppe-phú-ka*, 'a flesh covering'. The father of King Saul was called *Kish*, 'podex'; which signifies also the rear of an army, or the hindermost person, according to the Hebrew idiom. Thus the Indians by *kish* express the podex of any animal, the hindermost person, the gavel-end of a house, and the like. *Kish kish* is with them a superlative, and, as before hinted, used to convey the contempt they have for that proper name. May not the contemptible idea the West-Florida-Mississippi Indians affix to the name of Kish be on account of his son's succession to the throne, at the end of the theocracy of Israel, and beginning a despotic regal government?

The Indians, according to the usage of the Hebrews, always prefix the substantive to the adjective; as, *netak chookòma*, 'a good day'; *nakkàne* and *eho chookòma*, 'a good or goodly man and woman': the former of which is termed in Hebrew *yoma tobe*, signifying, according to our method of salutation, 'a good day, a merry season, a festival day', &c. And the Indian appellatives are similarly exprest in Hebrew, *behtobe* and *ashe-tobe*, 'a good, goodly, discreet, or wise man and woman'. *Chookòma*, with the Indians, is the proper name of a comely woman, when *a* is prefixed to it, as *a-chookòma*, 'my goodly, or beautiful': they use it for a warrior, when it is compounded without the *a*, as *chookoma hummáshtàbe*, 'one who killed a beautiful, great, red or war-chieftain', which is compounded of *chookoma* 'comely', *humma* 'red', אש, (*ash*) 'fire', and *abe*, a contraction of אבל, (*abele*), signifying 'grief, or sorrow'. Hence it appears, that because the Hebrews affixed a virtuous idea to *tobe*, 'goodly', the Indians call white by the same name, and make it the constant emblem of everything that is good, according to a similar Hebrew custom. Of this the sacred oracles make frequent mention. The Jews called that which was the most excellent of everything, the *fat*; and the Indians, in the like manner, say, *oosto neehe*, 'the fat of the pompion', *tranche neehe*, 'the fat of the corn'. *Neeha* is the adjective, signifying 'fat', from which the word *neeta*, 'a bear', is derived. They apply the word 'heart' only to animate beings.

As the Deity is the soul of every system, and as every nation, from the remotest ages of antiquity, believed that they could not live well without some god or other, when, therefore, we clearly understand the name or names by which any society of people express their notions of a deity, we can with more precision form ideas of the nature of their religious worship, and of the object or objects of their adoration. I shall therefore here give a plain description of the names by which the Indian Americans speak of God. *Ishtohoollo* is an appellative for God. Ishtohoollo points at the greatness, purity and goodness of the Creator in forming איש and אישא: it is derived from *ishto* 'great', which was the usual name of God through all the prophetic writings; likewise, from the present tense of the infinitive mood of the active verb *ahoollo*, 'I love', and from the preter tense of the passive verb *hoollo*, which signifies 'sanctifying, sanctified, divine, or holy'. Women set apart, they term *hoollo*, *i. e.* sanctifying themselves to Ishtohoollo: likewise, *netakhoollo* signifies 'a sanctified, divine or holy day'; and, in like manner, *ookka hoollo*, 'water sanctified', &c. So that *Ishtohoollo*, when applied to God, in its true radical meaning, imports, 'The great, beloved, holy Cause'; which is exceedingly comprehensive, and more expressive of the true nature of God than the Hebrew name *Adonai*, which is applicable to a human being. Whenever the Indians apply the epithet, compounded, to any of their own religious men, it signifies 'the great, holy, beloved and sanctified men of the Holy One'. They make this divine name point yet more strongly to the supreme Author of nature; for as אב signifies 'father', and as the omnipresent Spirit of the universe, or the holy Father of mankind, is said to dwell

* *Skin* signifies 'an eye', and *skeeshāpha*, 'one-eyed', as if proceeding from the Divine anger. They often change *i* into *ee*.

above, they therefore call the immense space of the heavens *Aba, Abáse* and *Abatàra*; and to distinguish the King of kings, by his attributes, from their own *minggo ishto*, or great chieftains, they frequently name him *Minggo Ishto Aba*, &c., *Ishto Aba*, &c., *Minggo Aba*, &c., and when they are striving to move the passions of the audience, *Ishtohoollo Aba*. The Hebrew servants were not allowed to call their master or mistress אב, (*abba*,) till they were adopted; to which custom St. Paul alludes, Rom. viii. 15. They have another appellative which with them is the mysterious, essential name of God—the *tetragrammaton*, or great four-lettered name, which they never mention in common speech: of the time and place when and where they mention it they are very particular, and always with a solemn air.

There is a species of tea that grows spontaneously, and in great plenty, along the sea-coast of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East and West Florida, which we call *yopon*, or *cusseena*: the Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it: they drink it on certain stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations; but the women and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro aris et focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square when they are on this religious duty, otherwise they would be dry-scratched with snakes' teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed, or piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin. When this beloved liquid, or supposed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their magi brings two old, consecrated, large conch-shells out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the supposed sanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white seats, (which the traders call the war, and beloved cabins,) stooping with their heads and bodies pretty low. Advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells with both hands, at an instant, to one of the most principal men on those red and white seats, saying, on a bass key, Y'AH, quite short: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across rather below their breast, and their eyes half-shut: thus, in a very grave, solemn manner, they sing, on a strong bass key, the awful monosyllable O, for the space of a minute; then they strike up majestic HE, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a bass key, with a bold voice and short accent, they at last utter the strong mysterious sound WAH, and thus finish the great song, or most solemn invocation of the divine essence. The notes together compose their sacred, mysterious name Y-O-HE-WAH. That this seems to be the true Hebrew pronunciation of the divine essential name יהוה, (*Jehovah*,) will appear more obvious from the sound they seem to have given their characters. The Greeks, who chiefly copied their alphabet from the Hebrew, had not *jod*, but *iota*, very nearly resembling the sound of our *y*. The ancient Teutonic and Sclavonian dialects have *Yah* as an affirmative, and use the consonant *w* instead of *v*. The high importance of the subject necessarily would lead these supposed red Hebrews, when separated from other people in America, to continue to repeat the favourite name of God, YO HE WAH, according to the ancient pronunciation.

Contrary to the usage of all the ancient heathen world, the American Indians not only name God by several strong compounded appellatives, expressive of many of his divine attributes, but likewise say YAH at the beginning of their religious dances, with a bowing posture of body; then they sing Yo Yo, HE HE, and repeat those sacred notes on every religious occasion: the religious attendants calling to YAH to enable them humbly to supplicate, seems to point to the Hebrew custom of pronouncing יה, (*Yah*,) which likewise signifies the divine essence. It is well known what sacred regard the Jews had to the four-lettered divine name, so as scarcely ever to mention it but once a year, when the high-priest went into the holy sanctuary, at the expiation of sins. Might not the Indians copy from them this sacred invocation? Their method of invoking God, in a solemn hymn, with that reverential deportment, and spending a full breath on each of the two first syllables of the awful divine name, hath a surprising analogy to the Jewish custom, and such as no other nation or people, even with the advantage of written records, have retained. It may be worthy of notice, that they never prostrate themselves, nor bow their bodies to each other, by way of salute, or homage, though usual with the Eastern nations, except when they are making or renewing peace with strangers, who come in the name of YAH; then they bow their bodies in that religious solemnity: but they always bow in their religious dances, because then they sing what they call divine hymns, chiefly composed of the great, beloved, divine name, and addressed to Yo HE WAH. The favoured persons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine essence to bless, hold up the shells with both hands to their mouths, during the awful, sacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to spirt out on the ground, as a supposed

drink-offering to the great self-existent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at those times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as godless and wild as the wolves of the desert*. After the same manner, the supposed holy waiters proceed, from the highest to the lowest, in their synedrion; and when they have ended that awful solemnity, they go round the whole square, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the sanctified sinners, according to ancient custom; "for they who serve at the altar, must live by the altar."

The Cheerake method of adjuring a witness to declare the truth, strongly corroborates the former hints, and will serve as a key to open the vowels of the great, mysterious, four-lettered name of God. On small affairs, the judge, who is an elderly chieftain, asks the witness, *Cheeakōhgà (sko?)*, 'do you lie?' To which he answers, *Ansa kai-e-koh-gà*, 'I do not lie.' But when the judge will search into something of material consequence, and adjures the witness to speak the naked truth concerning the point in question, he says, O E A (*sko?*), 'What you have now said, is it true, by this strong emblem of the beloved name of the great self-existent God?' To which the witness replies, O E A, 'It is true, by this strong pointing symbol of YO He Wah.' When the true knowledge of the affair in dispute seems to be of very great importance, the judge swears the witness thus: O E A—Yah (*sko?*). This most sacred adjuration imports, 'Have you now told me the real truth by the lively type of the great awful name of God, which describes his necessary existence, without beginning or end; and by his self-existent literal name, in which I adjure you?' The witness answers, O E A—Yah, 'I have told you the naked truth, which I most solemnly swear by this strong religious picture of the adorable, great, divine self-existent name, which we are not to profane; and I likewise attest it by his other beloved, unspeakable, sacred, essential name.'

When we consider that the period of the adjurations, according to their idiom, only asks a question, and that the religious waiters say Yah, with a profound reverence, in a bowing posture of body, immediately before they invoke YO He Wah, the one reflects so much light upon the other, as to convince me that the Hebrews both invoked and pronounced the divine tetragrammaton Yo He Wah, and adjured their witnesses to give true evidence, on certain occasions, according to the Indian usage; otherwise, how could they possibly, in a savage state, have a custom of so nice and strong-pointing a standard of religious caution? It seems exactly to coincide with the conduct of the Hebrew witnesses even now on the like religious occasions, who, being sworn, by the name of the great living God, openly to declare the naked truth, hold up their right hand, and answer, אמן אמן, (*Amen Amen,*) or 'Very true', 'I am a most faithful witness'. The Hebrew word signifies 'faithful', and by being repeated twice, becomes a superlative, and O E A—Yah is one of the highest degree. St. John, in his Gospel, according to the Hebrew method of adjuration, often doubles the *Amen*. And the same divine writer, at the beginning of each of his seven Epistles, in describing the glorious and transcendent qualities of Jesus Christ, and particularly in the Epistle to the church of Laodicea, points at the same custom: "These things saith the *Amen*, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God."

The Cheerake use another expression, which bears a strong analogy to the former method of adjuration; though it is not so sacred in their opinion, because of one letter prefixed, and another subjoined. The judge, in small controversies, asks the witness, *To e u (sko?)*; to which he answers, *To e u*, or *To e u hah*, 'It is very true,' or 'a most certain truth'. Such an addition of any letter, or letters, to the vowels of the supposed divine four-lettered name, seems to proceed from a strict religious custom of proportioning them to the circumstances of persons and things, lest otherwise they should blaspheme, or profane the emblems of the great divine name. And the vowel *u* seems to allude to אחד, *i. e. One*—a name of God, figuratively,—for in their dialect when it is a period, it makes a superlative, according to their usage in applying the rest of the divine appellatives, symbols, or names. They esteem *To e u hah* so strong an assent to anything spoken, that *Cheesto Kaiēhre*, 'the old rabbit,' (the name of the interpreter) who formerly accompanied seven of their head warriors to London, assured me they held there a very hot debate, in their subterranean lodgings, in the dead hours of the night of September the 7th, 1730, whether they should not kill him, and one of the war-chieftains, because by his mouth the other answered *To e u hah* to His Majesty's speech, wherein he claimed, not only their land, but all the other unconquered countries of the

* The Mosaic law enjoined the offering of libations; as Exod. xxix. and Numb. xv. And the heathens, especially the ancient Greeks and Romans, mimicked a great deal of the Mosaic institution. They observed the like ceremonies in their idolatrous sacrifices. The priests only tasted, and then spilt some wine, milk, or other liquor, in honour of the Deity to whom the sacrifice was offered. Alexander is said to have sacrificed a bull to Neptune, and to have thrown a golden vessel used for the libation into the sea.

neighbouring nations, as his right and property. When they returned home, they were tried again, by the national sanhedrim, for having betrayed the public faith, and sold their country for acknowledged value, by firm compact, as representatives of their country; they having received a certain quantity of goods, and a decoying belt of white wampum: but upon serious deliberation they were honourably acquitted, because it was judged the interpreter was bound by the like oath to explain their speeches, and that surprise, inadvertence, self-love, and the unusual glittering show of the courtiers, extorted the sacred assent *To e u hah* out of the other's mouth, which spoiled the force of it; being much afraid lest they should say something amiss, on account of the different idiom of the English and Indian American dialects*. As there is no alternative between a falshood and a lie, they usually tell any person in plain language, 'You lie,' as a friendly negative to his reputed untruth. The cheerful inoffensive *old rabbit* told me, he had urged to them, with a great deal of earnestness, that it was certain death by our laws to give His Majesty the lie to his face; and cautioned them to guard their mouths very strongly from uttering such dangerous language: otherwise their hearts would become very heavy, and even sorrowful to death; as he would be bound as firmly by our holy books to relate the bare naked truth, as they were by repeating *To e u ah,* or even O-E-A—YAH.

The Chikkasah and Choktah method of adjuring a witness to give true evidence is something similar to the former attestation by *To e u hah*: when they ask them whether they do not lie, they adjure them thus, *Chiklooska ke-e-u chua?* The termination implies a question of the second person singular number, and the whole oath signifies literally, 'Do not you lie? do you not, of a certain truth?' To which he answers by two strong negative asseverations, *Aklooska ke-e-u-que-ho,* 'I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth.' When the Choktah are averring anything asked of them, they assert it by saying *Yah.* This shows their ignorance of the vowels of the supposed divine four-lettered name, in comparison of the Cheerake; and that they are become less religious, by profaning the divine name YAH; which confirms me in the opinion, that the Cheerake Indians were a more civilized people than any of the other neighbouring Indians.

We are told that the northern Indians, in the time of their rejoicings, repeat YO HA HAN; which, if true, evinces that their corruption advances, in proportion as they are distant from South-America, and wanted a friendly intercourse with those who had an open communication with those southern regions†. Living in moderate high latitudes would naturally prevent them from sinking into effeminacy, and inspire them with martial tempers, (as we are told of the Chili Indians,) without being originally a bloodier people than any of the southern nations. However, we should be sparing of credit to what unskilful writers have carefully copied from each other and transmitted to the learned world. I shall hereafter, under another Argument, show that the Indians variously transpose, shorten, and lengthen each syllable of the great divine name YO HE WAH, in a very extraordinary manner, when they are singing and dancing to and before the divine essence; and that they commonly derive such words as convey a virtuous idea from, or compound them with that divine essential name. I shall now show a further parity between the Hebrew language and the aboriginal American dialects.

* The strong sentiments, natural wit, and intense love of liberty, which the Indians show themselves possessed of in a high degree, should direct our colonists to pursue a different method of contracting Indian covenants than they have commonly used. First, let them consider the general good of the community, who chose them for that end; and then make a plain agreement with the Indians, adapted to their fixed notion of liberty, and the good of their country, without any deluding sophisms. If they do not keep these essential points of amity in view, we shall fare again as hath Georgia; for, by a childish treaty with the Muskohge Indians, when defeated An. 1715, its most northern boundaries are confined to the head of the ebbing and flowing of Savànnah river. We are said to have flourished off very commodious Indian treaties in the *council-books*, with the Muskohge, which the community know nothing of, except a few plain common particulars, as they some years since declared.

† They who have a desire to see the genuine oratory of the Indians, may find it partly exhibited to the public by the laborious Mr. Colden, mostly in the manner, I am told, he found it in the *council-books*. As that gentleman is an utter stranger to the language and customs of the Indians, it was out of his power to do justice to the original. Their speech in general abounds with bolder tropes and figures than illiterate interpreters can well comprehend or explain. In the most essential part of his copied work he committed a very material blunder, by writing, in the first edition, the Indian solemn invocation, *YO Ha Han.* I was well assured by the intelligent Sir William Johnson, and the skilful, benevolent, pious and reverend Mr. John Ogilvie, that the northern Indians always pronounce it *YO He A' Ah*; and so it is inserted in the second edition. In justice to this valuable luminary of the church, and the worthy laity of the city of New York, I must observe, that while the rest of his sacerdotal brethren were much blamed for neglecting their office of teaching, and instead thereof were militating for an *episcopate*, that gentleman was universally beloved by all ranks of people. He spent his time, like a true servant of God, in performing the various duties of his sacred office; and had the utmost pleasure in healing breaches both in public society and in private families. Great numbers of the poor negro slaves were instructed by him in the principles of Christianity, while the other clergymen were earnestly employed in disturbing the quiet of the public, for the sake of their favourite Peter's pence.

Pushkoosh signifies 'an infant', *neetta* 'a bear', *nassooba* 'a wolf', &c. By joining the word *ooshe* to the end of the names of animals, it makes a distinction; as *nassoob-ooshe* 'a wolf-cub'; *neett'-ooshe* 'a bear-cub'; but though the word *oophe* signifies 'a dog', as an exception to their general method of speech they call a puppy *ooph-ishik*, because he is so domestic, or sociable, as ישק, 'to kiss, or fondle'. In like manner *pishi* signifies 'milk'; and *pishik* 'a woman's breast', or the udder of any animal; as the young ones, by kissing or sucking, shade the breast (פי) with their mouth, and thereby receive their nourishment. With the Hebrews עפך (*oophecha*) signifies 'active, or restless', which, according to the Indian idiom, expresses the quality of a dog; *oophe* is therefore the name of this animal, and their period denotes a similarity, according to the usage of the Hebrews.

Shale and *shatèra* signify 'to carry', *shapore* 'a load'. The former word consists of *sheth* and *ale*. *Illeh* imports 'dead', and *kaneha* 'lost'. They say *shat kaneha*, 'to carry a thing quite away, or to Canaan': likewise, *illeht kaneha*, literally, 'dead and lost', or probably, 'gone to Canaan'. Several old Indian American towns are called *Kanāai*; and it hath been a prevailing notion with many Jews, that when any of their people died in a strange land they passed through the caverns of the earth till they arrived at Canaan, their attractive centre. And the word *oobèa* likewise imports 'dead, or cut off by O E A, or Yohewah'; for they firmly believe, as before hinted, they cannot outlive the time the Deity has prescribed them. They likewise say, *hasse ookklīlle cheele*, 'the sun is, or has been, caused to die in the water', *i. e.* sun-set. When they would say, 'do not obscure or darken me,' they cry *Ish-ookkīlle chinna*, verbatim, 'Do not occasion *ish*, me, to become like the sun dead in the water.' They call the new moon *hasse awáhta*, 'the moon is called upon to appear by Yohewah'; which plainly shows that they believe the periodical revolutions of the moon to be caused, and the sun every day to die, or be extinguished in the ocean, by the constant laws of God. When we ask them, if today's sun is drowned in the western ocean, how another can rise out of the eastern ocean tomorrow? they only reply, *Pilla Yammi* or *Yammi mung*, or 'such is the way of God with his people.' It seems to be a plain contraction of יה and אממי (*Ammi*), which was the name of Israel during the theocracy. Besides, *aeemmi* signifies 'I believe'; as the peculiar people believed in Yohewah. And it likewise imports, 'I am the owner of, &c.'—according to the Hebrew idiom, the words and meaning nearly agree.

Eette signifies 'wood'; and they term any kind of chest, box, or trunk, *eette oobe*, and frequently *oobe*, which seems to point to the "ark of the purifier," that was so fatal to the laity even to touch; a strong emanation of the holy fire, light, and spirit residing in it, as well as in that which the priests carried to war against the devoted enemy. The Chikkasah settled a town in the upper or most western part of the Muskohge country, about 300 miles eastward of their own nation, and called it *Ooe-ásа*; which is derived from O E A, and *asa* 'there, or here, is'; *i. e.* 'YO He Wah presides in this place.' And when a person is removing from his former dwelling, they ask him, *Ish-ooè-à* (*tūm?*), 'Are you removing hence in the name, or under the patronage, of YO He Wah?' And it both signifies 'to ascend', and 'remove to another place'; as OEA, Aba, the omnipresent Father of mankind, is said to dwell above, so the Indian hopes to remove there from hence, by the bounty of Ishtohoollo, the great holy One: according to their fixed standard of speech, had they made any nearer approach to O E A, the strong religious emblem of the beloved four-lettered name, it would have been reckoned a profanation.

Phutchik signifies 'a star', and *oonna* 'he is arrived'; but *phutchik oonnache* 'the morning star', because he is the forerunner of light, and resembles the sun that reflects it: and *oonna-hah* signifies 'tomorrow', or 'it is day'. The termination denotes their gladness that the divine light had visited them again; and when they are asking if it is day, they say *Onna hē* (*tak?*). The last monosyllable only asks a question; and the feminine gender treble note is the mid syllable of the great divine name, which may reflect some light upon the former observations.

Although the Hebrews had a proper name for the human soul, calling it נפש, yet in Prov. xx. 27. it is called נר יהוה, 'the candle or lamp of God'; and figuratively applied it conveys a strong idea of the human soul: thus the Indians term it *nāna Ishtohoollo*, 'something of, or a relation to, the great holy One'; very analogous to the former method of expressing the rational principle, in allusion to the celestial cherubic name אש (*ashe*), 'fire', as they believe the Deity resides in the new year's supposed holy fire. Because *ish*, 'man', received his breath from the divine inspiration of the beneficent creator Yah, they term the human species, in their strong-pointing language, *yāhwè*; which, though different from the divine, essential, four-lettered name in sound, has יה (Yah) for s radix. But, because the monkey mimics *yahweh*, or 'the rational creation', more than any other brute in features, shape, gesture, and actions, in proportion to the similitude, they give him a similar name, *shaw-we*. This indeed makes a near

approach to *Ish* and *Yah,* and to *yahwe*; but it wants the radix of both, and consequently bears no signification of relation to either. While they urge that the regularity of the actions of the brute creatures around them expresses a nice understanding or instinct, they deny their being endued with any portion of the reasoning and living principle, but bear only a faint allusion to *nana Ishtohoollo,* 'the rational soul'. The most intelligent among them say the human soul was not made of clay, like the brute creation, whose soul is only a corporeal substance attenuated by heat, and thus rendered invisible.

Through a seeming war-contempt of each other, they all use a favourite termination to their adjectives, (very rarely to their substantives,) and sometimes to their verbs; especially when they are flourishing away in their rapid war-speeches, which on such occasions they always repeat with great vehemence. I shall give a specimen of two words in the dialects of our southern Indians. *RI* is the favourite period of the Katāhba Indians; as, *mare-rí,* or *wahre-rí,* 'good', and *maretawah-rí,* or *wahrètawàh-rí,* 'best, or very good'; *Wah* the last syllable of the great divine name, is evidently the radix, and magnifies the virtuous idea to a superlative. In like manner *shegàre-wahrí* 'not bad', but *sheekàre-rí* signifies 'bad'. With these Indians, *sheeke* is the name of a buzzard, which they reckon to be a most impure fowl, as it lives on putrid carcasses; upon which account they choose that word to convey a vicious idea. *Quo* is the sounding termination of the Cheerake; as, *seohsta-quo* 'good', and *o-se-u* 'best, or very good'. Here they seem to have studiously chosen the vowels; as the following words will illustrate, *tonàte-ū* 'very honest, or virtuous', and *Y-O-U* 'evil, or very bad'. To corroborate the hints I gave concerning the Indian names of monkey and the human species, let it be observed, that though their words convey a virtuous or vicious idea, in proportion as they are constituted out of any of their three divine names, YOHEWAH, YAH, and ISHTOHOOLLO; or contain the vowels of the great sacred name, yet the aforesaid word Y-O-U is so far from being a deviation from that general custom, it is an emphatical and emblematical term to express evil by the negative of good; for as it is the only substantive or adjective of that word, it is a strong expressive symbol of the nature and physical cause of moral evil, by separating *YO,* the first syllable of the divine four-lettered name, into two syllables; and adding *U,* as a superlative period, to make it *malum malorum. Shèh* is the sounding criterion of the Muskohge or Creek Indians, a kind of cant jargon; for example, *heettla-sheh* signifies 'good', and *heettla-wah-E-sheh* 'very good'; according to their universal standard of speech, it becomes a superlative by subjoining that part of the divine name to it. With the Chikkasah and Choktah *heettla* signifies 'dancing', probably because that religious exercise was good and highly pleasing to them, when, according to ancient custom, they danced in their symbolical circles to and before YO HE WAH. With the former, *apullowhage-sheh* expresses 'bad, or evil', thereby inverting the divine letters. *Skeh* is the favourite termination of the Chikkasah and Choktah; as *chookòma-skeh* 'good', *chookòmasto-skeh* (alluding to *Ishto*) 'very good', and *ookproo-skeh* 'bad'. Likewise, *ookproosto* 'worst, or very bad'; for by annexing the contracted initial part of the divine name *Ishtohoollo* to the end of it, it is a superlative. These remarks may be of service to the inhabitants of our valuable and extensive barriers, in order to discover the national name of those savages who now and then cut them off. *Ookproo-se,* with those Indians, signifies 'accursed'; the two last letters make only a *samech,* which implies a neuter passive; and, as *ookproo* is the only substantive or adjective they use to express 'evil', by doubling the leading vowel of the four-lettered divine name, both at the beginning and end of the word, may we not conjecture at its origin, as glancing at the introduction of sin or evil by man's overacting or innovating, through a too curious knowledge or choice? "Ye shall be as gods," and in order to gain the resemblance they ate what was forbidden.

The greater number of their compounded words (and, I believe, every one of them) which convey a virtuous or pure idea, either have some syllables of the three divine names, or visibly glance at them, or have one or two vowels of the sacred name Yo HE WAH, and generally begin with one of them; which I shall exemplify with a few Chikkasah and Cheerake words:—*isse-ahowwè* 'deer', *yanàsa* 'buffalo', which, as it begins with the divine name YAH, contains no more of their beloved vowels: in like manner, *wahka* 'cattle', *ishke-oochēa* 'a mother'. This last seems to be drawn from *Isha,* the mother of all mankind. *Ehó* and *enekia* signify 'a woman'. The latter is derived from the active verb *akekiuhah,* signifying 'to love ardently', or like a woman; *nakkàne askai* 'a man'. From this word the Chikkasah derive *nakke* the name of an arrow or bullet; and with the Cheerake *askai* signifies to fear'; as all the American brute animals were afraid of man, &c.

Words which imply either a vicious or impure idea generally begin with a consonant, and double those favourite vowels either at the beginning and end, or in the middle of such words; as, *nassooba wohèea* 'a wolf'. With

the Chikkasah *eassooba* signifies 'bewildered', *patche* 'a pigeon', and *patche eassooba* 'a turtle dove'. *Soore* and *sheeke* are the Chikkasah and Cheerake names of a 'turkey-buzzard'; *choola* and *choocòla* 'a fox'; *shookqua* and *scequa* 'an opossum, or hog'; *ookoonne* 'a polecat'; *ookoonna* 'a badger'; *chookphe* and *cheesto* 'a rabbit'. The last word is derived from the defective verb *chesti*, 'forbear, or do not meddle with'; and rabbits were prohibited to the Israelites. In like manner, *ooppa* and *ookookoo* 'a night-owl'; *oophe* and *keera* 'a dog'; *nahoolla* and *u-nēhka* 'white people', or 'impure animals'. The Chikkasah both corrupt and transpose the last part of the divine name *Ishtohoollo*; and the Cheerake invert their magnifying termination *U*, to convey an impure idea. And through the like faint allusion to this divine name, *hoollo* signifies 'idols, pictures, or images'; a sharp-pointed sarcasm! for the word *hoollo* signifies also 'menstruous women', who were for the time an equal abomination to the Israelites, and with whom they were to have no communion. These two words seem to bear the same analogy to each other, as אל (*Al*), a name of God, and אלה (*Aleh*), signifying the covenant of the Holy One to redeem man, and אלוה (*aloah*), 'execrated, or accursed of God', as idols were.

With the Cheerake, *awwa*, or *amma*, signifies 'water', and *ammoi* 'a river'; not much unlike the Hebrew. They likewise term salt, *hawa*; and both the conjunction copulative, and 'to marry', is *tawa*. The name of a wife is *awah*, which, written in Hebrew, makes חוה (*Eve* or *Eweh*), the name of our general mother. So that the Indian name of a wife is literally and emphatically, HIS AND, 'one absolutely needful for the well-being of *ish*, or man'; *ishtawa* (*tim?*) signifies 'have you married?' We gain additional light from the strong significant appellative *ish-ke*, 'a mother'; which is an evident contraction of *Isha*, the mother of *yawe*, or mankind, with their favourite termination *ske* subjoined; the word becomes thus smoother than to pronounce it at its full length, *Isha-ske*. If we consider that the Hebrews pronounced ו (*vau*) when a consonant, as *w*, here is a very strong expressive gradation, through those various words, up to the divine, necessary AND, who formed and connected every system of beings; or to the Hebrew divine original, YO HE WAH: at the same time we gain a probable reason why so many proper names of old Indian places in South Carolina, and elsewhere along the great continent, begin with our Anglo-Saxon borrowed character *w*; as, *Wampee, Watboo, Wappoo, Wadmolā, Wassamèsāh*, &c. Chance is fluctuating, and can never act uniformly.

To elucidate the aforesaid remarks, it may not be amiss to observe, that according to the Israelitish custom both of mourning and employing mourners for their dead, and calling weeping the lifting up of their voices to God, the Choktah literally observe the same custom, and both they and the Chikkasah term a person who through a pretended religious principle bewails the dead, *yah-ah*, 'Ah God!' and one who weeps on other occasions *yāhma*, 'pouring out salt tears to, or before, God'; which is similar to יהמי. When a person weeps very bitterly, they say *yahmishto*, which is a compounded word, derived from יה and ומי, with the initial part of the divine name *Ishtohoollo* subjoined, to magnify the idea, according to the usage of the Hebrews. When the divine penman is describing the creation, and the strong purifying wind which swept along the surface of the waters, he calls it 'the air, or spirit'; and more significantly, 'the wind of God', or a very great wind; and in other parts of the divine oracles, great hail, a great lion, and the like, are by the same figure called the hail of God. They also apply the former words, *yah-ah*, *yah-ma*, and the like, to express the very same ideas through all the moods and tenses; as *cheyaàras*, 'I shall weep for you'; *sawa cheyaàra awa*, 'wife, I will not weep for you'. And when the violence of their grief for the deceased is much abated, the women frequently in their plaintive notes repeat *Yo Hé* (*tà*) *Wāh, Yo Hé* (*tà*) *Wēh, Yò Hé ta Há, Yo Hé tà Héh*; with a reference probably to the Hebrew custom of immoderately weeping and wailing for their dead, and invoking the name of God on such doleful occasions; and which may have induced these supposed red Hebrews to believe the like conduct a very essential part of religious duty. *Neetak yah-ah* signifies 'a fast day', because they were then humbly to say *Ah*, and afflict their souls before YAH. In like manner, *yah-àbe* signifies 'one who weeps for having killed or murdered another'. Its roots are יה (*yah*), their continual war-period, and אבל (*abele*), signifying 'sorrow or mourning'; for, as killing or murdering is an hostile act, it cannot be drawn from אבה, which signifies 'brotherly love, or tender affection'. *Nana-yah-abe* describes a person weeping while another is killing him. Now, as *nana* is 'a relation', *Yah* 'God', and *abe* as above, the true meaning seems to be, 'one, like bleeding Abele, weeping to God'. Likewise their name for salt, *hawa*, may inform us that though at present they use no salt in their religious offerings, they forbore it, by reason of their distant situation from the sea-shore, as well as by the danger of blood attending the bringing it through an enemy's country; for according to the idiom of their language, if they had not thought salt an essential part of the law

of sacrificature, they most probably would not have derived it from the two last syllables of the great divine name; whereas they double the consonant when they express water, without drawing it from the clear fountain of living waters, Yo He Wah.

With the Hebrews, as before observed*, טפל (*tephale*) signifies 'shaking or pulling of the hand, cohesion, conjunction, or entering into society', and 'praying or invoking'. In conformity to that original standard, when the Indians would express a strong lasting friendship, they have no other way than by saying *Aharattlè-la pheena chemanumbóle*, 'I shall firmly shake hands with your discourse or speech'. When two nations of Indians are making or renewing peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their chieftain, who is a-head of the rest, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the visitant approach one another in a bowing posture. The former says, *Yò, ish la chu anggòna?* 'Are you come a friend in the name of God?' or, 'Is God with you, friend?' for *Yo* is a religious contraction of *Yohewah,—ish* 'the man', *la* a note of joy, *chu* a query, and *anggona* 'a friend'. The other replies, *Yah—arahre-o, anggona,* 'God is with me, I am come, a friend, in God's name'. The reply confirms the meaning of the questionary salute in the manner before explained. The magus then grasps the stranger with both his hands around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches—again about the elbow—then around the arm close to his shoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles' tails over the head of the stranger is the strongest pledge of good faith. Similar to the Hebrew word, *phále* with the Indians signifies 'to wave', and likewise 'to shake'; for they say *skooba—phále,* 'shaking one's head'. How far the Indian oath, or manner of covenanting, agrees with that of the Hebrews on the like solemn occasion, I refer to the intelligent reader. Their method of embracing each other seems to resemble also that custom of the Hebrews when a stranger became surety for another, by giving him his wrist; to which Solomon alludes, "If thou hast striken hand with the stranger," &c.—Their common method of greeting each other is analogous with the above; the host only says, *Ish-la chu?* and the guest replies, *Arahre-o,* 'I am come in the name of O E A, or Yo He Wah'.

When *O* is joined to the end of words, it always denotes a superlative, according to their universal figurative abbreviations of the great beloved name; thus with the Chikkasah, *isse* 'deer,' and *isse-o* 'very great deer'; *yanása* 'a buffalo,' *yanas-o* 'a very extraordinary great buffalo'; which is, at least, as strong a superlative as אל בית אל, signifying 'the house of the Omnipotent, or, the temple.' With the Cheerake Indians, *a* (*wàh tà*) *howwe* signifies 'a great deer-killer:' it is compounded of *ahowwe* 'a deer,' *Wah* the period of the divine name, and *ta* a note of plurality. The title 'the deer-killer of God for the people' was, since my time, very honourable among them, as its radical meaning likewise imports. Every town had one solemnly appointed; him, whom they saw the Deity had at sundry times blessed with better success than the rest of his brethren, in supplying them with an holy banquet, that they might eat and rejoice before the divine essence. But now it seems, by reason of their great intercourse with foreigners, they have left off that old social religious custom; and even their former noted hospitality. I would also observe, that though necessity obliged them to apply the bear's grease or oil to religious uses, they have no such phrase as (*Wah ta*) *eeōna*; not accounting the bear so clean an animal as the deer, to be offered and eaten in their religious friendly feasts; where they solemnly invoked, ate, drank, sung and danced in a circular form, to and before Yo He Wah.

The Indian dialects, like the Hebrew language, have a nervous and emphatical manner of expression. The Indians do not personify inanimate objects, as did the Oriental heathens; but their style is adorned with images, comparisons and strong metaphors, like the Hebrews, and equal in allegories to any of the Eastern nations. According to the ages of antiquity, their war-speeches and public orations always assume a poetical turn, not unlike the sound of the measures of the celebrated Anacreon and Pindar. Their poetry is seldom exact in numbers, rhymes or measure; it may be compared to prose in music, or a tuneable way of speaking. The period is always accompanied with a

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sounding vehemence, to enforce their musical speech: and the music is apparently designed to please the ear and affect the passions.

After what hath been said of their language, it may be proper here to show how they accent the consonants: I shall range them in the order of our alphabet, except those they pronounce after our manner. When *ch* begins a word, or is prefixed to a vowel, it conveys a soft sound, as *cháa* 'high': but otherwise it is guttural; as is *d*, which is expressed by fixing the tip of the tongue between the teeth, as *Dawi* for 'David'. *G* is always guttural, as we accent *go*. They cannot pronounce *gn*; and they have not the *hh*, neither can it be expressed in their dialects, as their leading vowels bear the force of guttural consonants. They have not the *jod*, as I can any way recollect, or get information of; nor can they repeat it any nearer than *chot*. They pronounce *k* as in *ko*; *l* and *n*, as *d—s*, by fixing the tongue to the lower teeth; *t* like *d*, as in the old Hibernian or Celtic affirmative *ta*. They cannot pronounce *v* or *x*; they call the governor of Moveel (Mobille), *Goweno-Moweeleh*: and they have not a word which begins or ends with *x*. *Ks* are always divided into two syllables; as *hak-se* 'mad', &c. They have not the letter z; much less any such harsh sound as *tz*, although they have *tl*. As they use the Hebrew consonants *y* and *w*, in their most solemn invocation YO He Wah, instead of the present Hebrew *jod* and *vau*, so they seem to exclude them entirely out of their various dialects: the pronunciation, therefore, of the Hebrew characters which are supposed to convey the other sounds, they are unacquainted with; and those which seem to be transposed may be clearly ascertained by persons of proper capacity and leisure, by comparing a sufficient number of Hebrew and Indian words together: the Indian accents *oo* and *o*, *qu*, and *tl*, may prove a pretty good key to speculative inquirers. *Tl* often occur in their words; as *tlumba*, 'to bleed with a lancet, to bore, scoop, or make anything hollow'; and *heettla*, 'to dance'. And the South Americans, we are told, had likewise the same sound, as in that national name *Tlaskala*: it seems to have been universal over the extensive continent. And, from a similarity of the Hebrew manners, religious rites, civil and martial customs, we have a strong presumptive proof, that they used the aforesaid double vowels, and likewise a single vowel, as a termination, to give their words a soft accent: and it is plain to me, that the Hebrew language did not sound so harsh as it is now commonly expressed, but, like the American dialects, it was interspersed with vowels, and a vowel was commonly subjoined to each word, for the sake of a soft cadence; as *Abele*, and *Ale*, instead of אבל (*Abel*), and אל (*Al*), *&c.*

The English characters cannot be brought any nearer to the true pronunciation of the Indian words, than as above set down: so that former writers have notoriously strayed by writing conjecturally, or taking things on the wing of fame. What Indian words we had, being exceedingly mangled, either by the fault of the press, or of torturing pens, heretofore induced skilful persons to conjecture them to be hieroglyphical characters, in imitation of the ancient Egyptian manner of writing their chronicles. The Indians express themselves with a great deal of vehemence and with short pauses in all their set speeches; but in common discourse, they express themselves according to our usual method of speech, only when they scold each other; which I never observed, unless they were intoxicated with spirituous liquors, or casually overheard a husband when sober in his own family. They always act the part of a stoic philosopher in outward appearance, and never speak above their natural key: and in their philosophic way of reasoning, their language is the more sharp and biting, like keen irony and satire, that kills whom it praises. They know that thus they correct and subdue the first boilings of anger; which, if unchecked, proves one of the most dangerous passions to which human nature is subject. So that remote savages, who have heard only the jarring screeches of night owls, and the roaring voices of ravenous beasts of prey, in this respect give lessons and set a worthy example to our most civilized nations. I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches, and images almost as full and animating as the eloquent penman of the old divine Book of Job, even where he is painting with his strong colours the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands, their tomahawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy, and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, "Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy!" They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn awful song *Yó, &c.*

In Virginia resides the remnant of an Indian tribe who call themselves Sepóne; which word with the Egyptians signifies the time of putting their wine into vessels; derived, according to mythologists, from *saphan*, 'to inclose or

conceal'. From thence they formed the fictitious Tisiphone, the punisher of sins, animated with hatred; and also, the rest of their pretended furies, from the like circumstances of the year. Our early American writers have bestowed on these Indians an emperor, according to the Spanish copy, calling him *Pawhatan,*—contrary to the Indian method of ending their proper names with a vowel; and have pictured them as a separate body of fierce idolatrous cannibals. We however find them, in the present day, of the same temper and religious tenets as the rest of the Indian Americans, in proportion to their situation in life. Considering the nearness of Egypt to Judea, they might have derived that appellative from the Egyptians,—especially as here and in several of our American colonies (particularly on the north side of Susquehāna river, in Pennsylvania,) are old towns called *Kanāa.* There was about thirty years ago a remnant of a nation, or subdivided tribe of Indians, called *Kanāai*; which resembles the Hebrew proper name כנען, (*Canaan*, or *Chanoona*). Their proper names always end with a vowel, and they seldom use a consonant at the end of any word*. I cannot recollect any exceptions but the following, which are sonorous, and seem to be of an ancient date; *ookkàh* 'a swan', *ilpàtak* 'a wing', *kooshàk* 'reeds', *sheenuk* 'sand', *shūtik* 'the skies', *phutchik* 'a star', *soonak* 'a kettle', *skin* 'the eye', *ai-eep* 'a pond',—and from which they derive the word *ai-ee-pe* 'to bathe', which alludes to the Eastern method of purifying themselves. *Ilbàk* signifies 'a hand'; and there are a few words that end with *sh*, as *soolish* 'a tongue', *&c.*

The Indians call the lightning and thunder *eloha,* and its rumbling noise *rowah,* which may not improperly be deduced from the Hebrew. To enlighten the Hebrew nation, and impress them with a reverential awe of Divine majesty, God spoke to them at Sinai, and other times during the theocracy, with an awful or thundering voice. The greater part of the Hebrews seem to have been formerly as ignorant of philosophy as are the savage Americans now. They did not know that thunder proceeded from any natural cause, but from the immediate voice of Elohim, above the clouds: and the Indians believe, according to this Hebrew system of philosophy, that *Minggo Ishto eloha alkaiasto,* 'the great chieftain of the thunder is very cross, or angry, when it thunders': and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered and blew sharp for a considerable time, that the beloved or holy people were at war above the clouds: and they believe that the war at such times is moderate or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm. I have seen them in these storms fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion; the former, to show that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape, much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise; and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishtohoollo Eloha*†. May not this proceed from an oral tradition of the war which the rebellious angels waged against the great Creator, and which the ancient heathens called the war of the giants? Nothing sounds bolder, or is more expressive, than the Cheerake name of thunder, *eentaquàróske.* It points at the effects and report of the battles, which they imagine the holy people are fighting above. The small-pox, a foreign disease, no way connatural to their healthy climate, they call *oonatàquára,* imagining it to proceed from the invisible darts of angry fate pointed against them, for their young people's vicious conduct. When they say 'I shall shoot', their term is *ake-rooka.* The radix of this word is in the two last syllables; the two first are expressive only of the first person singular; as *akeeohoosa,* 'I am dead or lost,' and *akeeohooséra,* 'I have lost.' *Rooka* seems to have a reference to the Hebrew name for the Holy Spirit.

The most southern old town which the Chikkasah first settled, after the Chokchoomah, Choktah, and they, sepa-

* If we consider the proximity of those Indians to a thick-settled colony, in which there are many gentlemen of eminent learning, it will appear not a little surprising that the name *Canaanites,* in the original language, according to the Indian method of expressing it as above, did not excite the attention of the curious, and prompt them to some inquiry into the language, rites, and customs of those aborigines: which had they effected, would have justly procured them those eulogia from the learned world, which their society profusely bestowed on the artful, improved strokes of a former prime magistrate of South Carolina, whose conduct in Indian affairs was so exceedingly singular, if not sordid and faulty, (as I publicly proved when he presided there,) that another year's such management would have caused the Cheerake to remove to the French barrier, or to have invited the French to settle a garrison where the late unfortunate Fort Loudon stood. But a true British administration succeeding, in the very critical time, it destroyed their immature but most dangerous threatening scheme. This note I insert here, though rather out of place, to show that the northern gentlemen have not made all those observations and inquiries with regard to the Indians, which might have been reasonably expected from so numerous and learned a body.

† The first lunar eclipse I saw, after I lived with the Indians, was among the Cheerake, An. 1736: and during the continuance of it, their conduct appeared very surprising to one who had not seen the like before; they all ran wild, this way and that way, like lunatics, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, beating of kettles, ringing horse-bells, and making the most horrid noises that human beings possibly could. This was the effect of their natural philosophy, and done to assist the suffering moon. And it is an opinion of some of the East Indians, that eclipses are occasioned by a great monster resembling a bull-frog, which now and then gnaws one edge of the sun and moon, and would totally destroy them, only that they frighten it away, and by that means preserve them and their light.

rated on our side of the Missisippi into three different tribes, they called *Yanèka,* thereby inverting *yahkàne,* the name of the earth; as their former brotherhood was then turned into enmity*. The bold Creeks on the opposite or north side of them they named *Yahnàbe,* 'killing to God,' or devoting to death; for the mid consonant expresses the present time. And their proper names of persons and places are always expressive of certain circumstances or things, drawn from roots that convey a fixed determinate meaning. — With the Muskóhge, *algeh* signifies 'a language, or speech': and because several of the Germans among them frequently say *Yah-yah,* as an affirmative, they call them *Yah-yah algeh,* 'those of the blasphemous speech'; which strongly hints to us, that they still retain a glimpse of the third moral command delivered at Sinai, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," or apply the name of Yohewah, thy Elohim, to vain or created things.

These Indians, to inculcate on their young people that YO He Wah is the author of vegetation, call the growth of vegetables *Wahráah,* 'moved by Yohewah': for *aàh* signifies 'to walk or move'; and the consonant is an expletive of distinction. In like manner *wah-àh* signifies that 'the fruits are ripe', or moved to their joy by Yohewah. They likewise call the flying of birds *wahkáàh,* as Yohewah gave them that swift motion; and when young pigeons are well feathered, they say *patche hishshè oolphotàháh*: *patchè* signifies 'a pigeon', *hishshè* 'leaves, hair or feathers', *oolpha* or *oolpho* 'a bud', *ta* a note of plurality, and *háh* of admiration, to make it a plural superlative. But when the pigeons in winter fly to a moderate climate in great clouds, they use the word *wah-àh,* which in every other application describes vegetation, and say *patche wah-àh,* 'the pigeons are moved to them by Yohewah'; which seems to allude to the quails in the wilderness, that were miraculously sent to feed the Israelites. Clay basins they call *ai-am-bo*; and their old round earthen forts, *aiambo cháah*; this last word signifying 'high, or tall': but a stockade, or wooden fort, they term *hoorèta*; and to inswamp, *book-hoore,* from *bookse* 'a swamp', and *hoorèta,* 'a fort, or place of difficult access'. High waters conveys to them an idea only of deepness; as, *ookka phobe,* 'deep waters'. And they say *ookka chookòma intáa,* 'the water glides or moves along pleasantly, or goodly'. That the word *intáa* has *ya-ah* for its radix is apparent from their name for a rapid current, *yahnāle,* 'it runs with a very extraordinary force'; the mid consonant is placed there to give the word a suitable vehemence of expression, and the word is compounded of יה (*Yah*), and אל (*Ale*), two names of God. In like manner, *yahnhà* signifies 'a pleurisy, fever', and the like; because they reckon, when Yah says *Ha* in anger to any of their vicious people, he immediately fires the blood, and makes it run violently through all the veins of the body. *Ashtahdle* signifies 'the reflection of the celestial luminaries', which is composed of two of the divine names; as אש (*Ash*), the celestial cherubimical name of God, signifying 'fire', *ta* a contraction of the conjunction copulative, and אל (*Ale*), 'the strong or omnipotent'. They say a river, or warm victuals, is *a-shù-pa*; that is, the former is become fordable, and the latter eatable. They here divide *ash* into two syllables, and the termination alludes to the word *apà,* which signifies eating.

Páàh signifies to raise the voice, 'vocifero'; for פי (*phi*) signifies 'the mouth,' and *dàh* 'to move.' *Opáe* is the name of a war-leader, because he is to move his mouth to O E A, or invoke YO He Wah, while he carries the beloved ark to war, and is sanctifying himself and his party, that they may obtain success against the enemy. But *pae-minggo* signifies 'a far-off or distant chieftain'. *Pa yak matàhdh* is the high name of a war-leader, derived from *páah,* 'to raise the voice to Yah', and *tahàh* 'finished', meaning his war-gradation; the *m* prefixed to it makes it a substantive, according to the usage of the Hebrews. Anything liquid they term *ookche,* from *ookka* and *che*: and *ookchaah* signifies 'alive': it is drawn from *ookka* 'water', *ch* a note of resemblance, and *aàh* 'moving'; *i. e.* a living creature resembles moving water. In like manner, *ookchà* signifies to awake out of sleep, and also to plant any vegetable substance, alluding to their three different states,—they first were enabled to move about, then rest or sleep is necessary, and also being planted in the earth; but they hope that in due time they shall be moved upward, after they have slept a while in the earth, by the omnipotent power of Yah. They have an idea of a resurrection of the dead body, according to the general belief of the Jews, and in conformity to St. Paul's philosophical axiom, that corruption precedes generation and a resurrection. *Keenta* signifies 'a beaver', *ookka* 'water', and *heenna* 'a path'; but, for a smooth cadence, they contract them into one word, *keentookheenna,* which very expressively signifies 'a beaver-dam'.

* They call the earth *yahkàne,* because Yah formed it as his footstool, by the power of his word. In allusion also hereto, *nakkàne* signifies a man, beause of the mother-earth; and *nakke,* a bullet or arrow. When the Cheerake ask a person, Is it not so? they say, *Wahkane?* The Divine essential name, and *kane,* are evidently the roots of these words.

The Indian compounded words are generally pretty long; but those that are radical, or simple, are mostly short: very few, if any of them, exceed three or four syllables. And as their dialects are guttural, every word contains some consonants, and these are the essential characteristics of language. Where they deviate from this rule, it is by religious emblems; which obviously proceeds from the great regard they paid to the names of the Deity, especially to the four-lettered, divine, essential name, by using the letters it contains, and the vowels it was originally pronounced with, to convey a virtuous idea; or, by doubling or transposing them, to signify the contrary. In this they all agree: and as this general custom must proceed from one primary cause, it seems to assure us they were not in a savage state when they first separated and variegated their dialects with so much religious care and exact art. Blind chance could not direct so great a number of remote and warring savage nations to fix on, and unite in, so nice a religious standard of speech. Vowels are inexpressive of things; they only typify them, as *Oo-E-A,* 'to ascend or remove'; *O E A,* a most sacred affirmation of the truth. Similar to these are many words containing only one consonant, as *To-e-u,* 'it is very true'; *O-se-u,* 'very good'; *Y-o-u,* 'evil, or very bad'; *Y-á-a,* 'he moves by the divine bounty'; *Nan-ne Y-a,* 'the divine hill, or the mount of God', &c. If language was not originally a divine gift, which some of our very curious modern philosophers deny, and have taken great pains to set aside, yet human beings are possessed of the faculties of thinking and speaking, and, in proportion to their ideas, they easily invented and learned words mixed with consonants and vowels to express them. Natural laws are common and general. The situation of the Indian Americans has probably been the means of sinking them into that state of barbarism we now behold. Yet, though in great measure they may have lost their primitive language, not one of them expresses himself by the natural cries of brute animals, any further than to describe some of the animals by the cries they make, which we ourselves sometimes imitate, as *Choo-qua-lé-qua-lôô,* the name they give that merry night-singing bird which we call 'Whip her will my poor wife', (much like our cuckoo,) so termed from its musical monotony. No language is exempt from the like simple copyings. The nervous, polite and copious Greek tongue had the loud-sounding *böô böao,* which the Romans imitated by their bellowing *boves böum*; and the Indians say *pa-a,* signifying the loud noise of every kind of animals, and their own loud-sounding war *whoô whoóp.* Where they do not use divine emblems, their words have much articulation of consonants. Their radicals have not the inseparable property of three consonants, though frequently they have; and their words are not so long as strangers conjecturally draw them out. Instead of a simple word we too often insert the wild picture of a double or triple compounded one, and the conjugation of their verbs utterly deceives us: a specimen of this will show it with sufficient clearness, and may exhibit some useful hints to the curious searchers of antiquity. *A-nô-wa* signifies 'a rambler, renegado, or a person of no settled place of abode'. *A-nó-wah,* the first person, and *ish-na,* the second person singular; but they have not a particular pronoun for the third: they distinguish it by custom. *Si-a,* or *sy-ah,* is 'I am'; *chee-a,* or *chy-ah,* 'you are'; and *too-wah,* 'he is'. *Ay-ah* signifies 'to go'; *ay-a-sa,* 'I remain', *ish-i-a-sa* 'you remain', *a-sa* 'he remains'. *A-OO-E-A* is a strong religious emblem, signifying 'I climb, ascend, or remove to another place of residence'. It points to *a-nò-wah,* the first person singular, and O-E-A or YO He Wah, and implies putting themselves under his divine patronage. The beginning of that most sacred symbol is, by studious skill and a thorough knowledge of the power of letters, placed twice, to prevent them from applying the sacred name to vain purposes or created things. In like manner they say, *nas-sap-pe-O ish-OO-E-A,* 'you are climbing a very great acorn-tree,' meaning an oak; for *nas-se* is the name of an acorn; and the mid part of that triple compounded word is derived from *ap-pê-la,* 'to help'; *che-ap-pê-la a-wa,* 'I do not help you'. The termination, according to their fixed idiom, magnifies it to a superlative. *Quoo-ran-hé-qua,* a noted old camping place, fourteen miles above the settlement of *Ninety-six,* and eighty-two below the Cheerake, signifies in their dialect 'the large white oaks'. *Oos-sak* is the name of 'a hickory nut', and *Oos-sak Ap-pe-O,* as above. *Oot-te* signifies 'a chestnut'; *noot-te,* 'a tooth'; *soot-te,* 'a pot'; and *oo-te,* 'to make a fire', which may be called an Indian type for eating boiled chestnuts.

When they say 'he is removing his camp', they express it in a most religious manner, *al-bé-na-OO-E-A. al-be-nâs-le* signifies 'I camped'; *al-be-nâs-le-chú,* 'I shall or will camp', but according to their religious mode of speaking *al-bé-na a-OO-E-A-re* expresses the former, and *al-bé-na a-OO-E-A-rá-chú* the latter phrase; likewise *al-bé-na OO-E-As* signifies 'castra moveto' imperatively. It is worthy of notice, that as they have no pronoun relative to express the third person singular, they have recourse to the first syllable of the essential word *toowah,* 'he is'. In allusion to that word, they term the conjunction copulative *ta-wah* and *tee-u-wah* 'resting'.

So mixed a train of nice and exact religious terms could not be invented by people as illiterate and savage as the Indians now are, any more than happen by accident.

Though they have lost the true meaning of their religious emblems, except what a very few of us occasionally revive in the retentive memories of their old inquisitive magi, yet tradition directs them to apply them properly. They use many plain religious emblems of the divine names YOHEWAH, YAH and ALE; and these are the roots of a prodigious number of words through their various dialects. It is surprising they were unnoticed, and that no use was made of them by the early voluminous Spanish writers, or by our own, for the information of the learned world, notwithstanding the bright lights they had to direct them in that æra, when the decorations of their holy temples and priests, their religious ceremonies and sacred hymns of praise to the Deity (of which hereafter) so nearly corresponded with the Israelitish, and might have been readily discovered by any who eyed them with attention. In our time, by reason of their long intercourse with foreigners, we have necessarily but a few dark traces to guide our inquiries in the investigation of what must have been formerly shining truths.

I must beg to be indulged with a few more remarks on their verbs.—If we prefix *as* to *a-a*, 'to move', it becomes *a-sâ-a*, 'to offend'. The monosyllables *ish* and *che* variously denote the second person singular; but when the former is by custom prefixed to a verb, the latter then expresses either the accusative or ablative case singular of the pronoun relative; as *ish-a-sâ-ah*, 'you are offended, or moved to say Ah'; *ish-a-sâ-a-re*, 'you were displeased'; but *che-a-sâ-ah* signifies 'I am displeased with you'; and *che-a-sâ-a-re* 'I was offended by you'; *che-a-sâ-a-chee-le* is 'I occasion or have occasioned you to be displeased', literally 'I produce or have produced offence to you'; and *che-a-sâ-a-cheé-la awa*, 'I shall not cause you to be displeased'. In like manner they say *a-ân-ha*, which signifies 'I despise', or literally, 'I move *ha*'; for the mid letter is inserted for distinction sake according to their idiom. So *a-chîn-ha-chu*, 'I shall contemn you'; *a-chîn-ha-cheé-la a-wa*, 'I shall not cause you to become despicable.' *Chee-le* signifies literally, 'to bring forth young'. So that the former method of expression is very significant; and yet it shows a sterility of language, as that single word is applicable to every species of female animals, fowls not excepted: thus, *phoo-she chee-le*, 'the birds lay'. *Oe-she* signifies 'a young animal' of any kind, and likewise 'an egg'. When mentioned alone, by way of excellence, it is the common name of an infant; but when the name of the species of animals is prefixed to it, it describes the young creature. *An-push-koosh oo-she*, is what the tender mother says to her well-pleased infant. The two words import the same thing. The former resembles the Hebrew, and the latter is likewise a substantive; they say *chool-loo-she teeth-lâ-a-ta-hâh*, 'the fox-cubs are run off'; *choo-la* being the name of a fox. *Phut-choos-oo-she wah-kâ-as*, 'let the young duck fly away'; and *phoo-soo-she hish-she ool-pha-quî-sa*, 'the young wild bird's hairs, or feathers, are not sprung, or budded'. *Pa-se* signifies the hair of a man's head, or the mane of animals. *Sha-le* signifies 'pregnant', literally, 'to carry a burthen'; as *oo-she shâ-le*, 'she bears or carries an infant'; but when it is born, *shoo-le* is the name for carrying it in their arms. This bears off from the divine radix, with great propriety of language. *Im* prefixed to a verb, denotes the masculine and feminine pronouns 'illum' and 'illam'. As this is their fixed method of speech, the reader will easily understand the true idiom of their language. *Sal-le* signifies 'I am dead', *chil-le*, you &c., *il-leh*, he &c. And this is likewise a substantive, as *il-let min-te*, 'death is approaching, or coming': *min-té-cha* signifies 'come you'; and *a-min-té-la a-wa* or *ac-min-tâ-qua-chù*, 'I will not come'. The former word, *shâ-le*, 'to carry a burthen', or 'she is pregnant', seems to be derived from ש and אל; and, as *a-shâ-le*, *ish-shâ-le*, and *e-shâ-le*, are the first, second, and third persons singular of the present tense, the latter may allude to her conception by the power of the Deity: and it also points to שול, (*Sha-wô-le*) or Saul, 'the grave or sepulchre', out of which the dead shall come forth to a new world of light. In like manner *chee-le* 'to bring forth,' or *a-chee-lâ-le*, 'I brought forth', appears to be derived from כ, a note of resemblance, and אל (*A-le*), 'the fruitful Omnipotent'. All the American nations, like the Jews, entertain a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren; sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger on account of their conjugal infidelity.

To enable grammarians to form a clear idea of the Indian method of variegating their verbs, and of the true meaning they convey, we must again recur to the former essential word, or rather divine emblem, *A-ah*, 'he moves'. They say *a-as*, 'let him move', and *ee-mâ-ko*, or *blâ-sas a-â-â- re*, 'I now move', or 'yesterday I moved'; for, like the Hebrews, they sometimes use the preterperfect instead of the present tense. *A-â-a-ra-chû* is the first person singular of the future tense, in the indicative mood. *A-â-ta-hah* expresses the third person plural of the present tense, and same mood. *A-â-ta-hâh-ta-kô-a* signifies, by query, 'have ye, or will ye move?' It is their method of conjugating

their verbs, that occasions any of their radical or derivative verbs to exceed three or four syllables; as we see by this, which, though composed only of two vowels, or short syllables, is yet so greatly deflected. With them two negatives make an affirmative, as *ak-hish-ko-quâ*, 'I shall not drink'; add the strong negative termination *a-wa*, it is 'I will certainly drink'. An affirmative question frequently implies a strong negative; as *ai-a-râ-ta-kô-a*, literally, 'will, or should I go?' that is, 'I really will not, or should not go': and on the contrary, a negative query imports an affirmative assertion; as *a-kai-u-quâ-ta-kô-a*, 'should not I go?' or 'I surely should go'. *Ee-á-ko a-pâ-ret sa-kâi-a-qua-ta-kô-a*, is literally, 'if I ate, should not I be satisfied?' which implies, 'if I ate, I should be fully satisfied'. To drinking they apply a word that signifies 'content'; and indeed they are most eager to drink any sort of spiritous liquors, when their bellies are quite full. When they are tired with drinking, if we say to any of them, *Un-ta ang-gó-na chee-ma-hîsh-kó-la chû*, 'Well, my friend, I will drink with you'; *che-a-yôok-pa-chée-re too-gat*, 'for indeed I rejoice in your company'; he replies, *Hai-a, ook-ka hoo-me hish-ko sa-nook-tá-ra*; which is, 'No; for I am content with drinking bitter waters'. They constantly prefix the substantive before the adjective, and place the accusative case before the verb. If we translate the following words, *ook-ka pangge hum-ma law-wa a-hish-kó-le bla-sas*, they literally signify, 'yesterday I drank a great deal of red-grape water', meaning claret. Thus they say, *tik-ké-ba, Ing-glee-she Fren-she ee-lap a-bing-ga e-tee-be*, 'formerly, when the English and French fought against each other'; *Fren-she Ing-glee-she a-be-tâ-le'*, 'the French were killed by the English'.

The verbs are seldom defective, or imperfect: though they may seem to be so to persons who do not understand the idiom of their language, they are not; they only appear as such by the near resemblance of words, which convey a different meaning; as *a-kai-a*, 'I go', *sa-kai-a*, 'I am satisfied with eating', and *sal-kai-a*, 'I am angry, cross, vexed or disturbed in mind'; *shee-a*, and *che-kai-a, chil-kai-a*, in the second person; *ai-a, e-kai-a*, and *al-kai-a*, in the third person singular. *A-pee-sa* signifies 'to see', and *al-pêê-sa*, 'straight, even, or right'. *Al-poo-é-ak*, the general name of mercantile goods, I subjoin, as such a word is uncommon with them; they seldom use so harsh a termination. I shall here close this Argument, and hope enough hath been said to give a clear idea of the principles of the Indian language and dialects, its genius and idiom, and strong similarity to, and near coincidence with, the Hebrew; which will be not easily accounted for, but by considering the American Indians as descended from the Jews.

ARGUMENT VI.

They count *time* after the manner of the Hebrews. They divide the year into spring, summer, autumn, or the fall of the leaf, and winter: which the Cheerake Indians call *kogeh, akooèa, oolekóhstè, kóra*; and the Chikkasah and Choktah nation, *otoolpha, tóme palle, ashtòra-móona, ashtòra*. *Kógeh* is drawn from *anantôge*, the general appellation for the sun and moon; because, when the sun returns from the southern hemisphere, he covers the vegetable world with a green livery. *Akooèa* alludes strongly to the essential divine name, as we have seen in the former Argument. With regard to *oolekohste*, 'the fall of the leaf', as they call a buzzard *soore* or *soole*, and as *soolekohste* signifies 'troublesome, offensive, disagreeable,' the word signifies that 'the fall of the year is as disagreeable a sight as that of a buzzard'. *Kora*, as with the Hebrews, signifies 'the winter'; and is likewise the name of a bone: and by joining *hah*, an Hebrew note of admiration, to the end of it, as *kora-hah*, it becomes the proper name of a man, signifying 'all bones, or very bony'. *Otóolphà*, 'the spring season', is derived from *oolpha*, the name of 'a bud', or 'to shoot out'; because then the solar heat causes vegetables to bud and spring. *Tómeh* signifies 'the solar light', and *palle* 'warm or hot'; *ashtora* 'winter', and *moona* 'presently', &c. They number their years by any of those four periods, for they have no name for a year; and they subdivide these, and count the year by lunar months, like the Israelites, who counted by moons, as their name sufficiently testifies; for they called them ירחים, the plural of ירח 'the moon'.

The Indians have no distinct proper name for the sun and moon; one word, with a note of distinction, expresses both; for example, the Cheerake call the sun *eus-se a-nan-tó-ge*, 'the day-moon, or sun'; and the latter, *neus-se a-nan-tó-ge*, or 'the night-sun, or moon'. In like manner the Chikkasah and Choktah term the one *neetak-hasséh*, and the other *neennak-hasséh*; for *neetak* signifies 'a day', and *neennak* 'a night'. Here I cannot forbear remarking that the Indians call the penis of any animal by the very same name, *hasse*; with this difference only, that the termination is in this instance pronounced short, whereas the other is long, on purpose to distinguish the words. This bears a strong analogy to what the rabbins tell us of the purity of the Hebrew language, that "it is so

chaste a tongue, as to have no proper names for the parts of generation." The Cheerake can boast of the same decency of style, for they call a corn-house *watóhre*, and the penis of any creature by the very same name; intimating, that as the sun and moon influence and ripen the fruits that are stored in it, so by the help of Ceres and Bacchus Venus lies warm, whereas on the contrary *sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.*

They count certain very remarkable things by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American aborigines; or by notched square sticks, which are likewise distributed among the head warriors and other chieftains of different towns, in order to number the winters &c.,—the moons also, their sleeps, and the days when they travel, and especially certain secret intended acts of hostility. Under such a circumstance, if one day elapses, each of them loosens a knot, or cuts off a notch, or else makes one, according to previous agreement; which those who are in the trading way among them call broken days. Thus they proceed day by day, till the whole time is expired which was marked out or agreed upon; and they know with certainty the exact time of any of the aforesaid periods, when they are to execute their secret purposes, be they ever so various. The authors of the romantic Spanish histories of Peru and Mexico have wonderfully stretched on these knotted or marked strings, and notched square sticks, to show their own fruitful inventions, and draw the attention and surprise of the learned world to their magnified bundle of trifles.

The method of counting time by weeks, or sevenths, was a very ancient custom practised by the Syrians, Egyptians, and most of the Oriental nations, and it evidently is a remain of the tradition of the Creation. The Creator, indeed, renewed to the Hebrews the old precept of sanctifying the seventh day, on a particular occasion: and Christianity promoted that religious observance in the Western world, in remembrance of the work of redemption. The Greeks counted time by decads, or tens; and the Romans by nones, or ninths. The number and regular periods of the Indian public religious feasts (of which presently,) is a good historical proof that they counted time by, and observed, a weekly sabbath long after their arrival on the American continent. They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews: sun-rise they term *hassé kootcha meente*, 'the sun's coming out'; noon, or mid-day, *tabookòre*; and sun-set, *hassé oobèa*, literally 'the sun is dead'; likewise *hasse ookka'tòra*, that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water': the last word is compounded of *ookka* 'water', and *etòra* 'to fall'; it signifies also 'to swim', as instinct would direct those to do who fell into the water. And they call 'dark' *ookklille*, derived from *ookka* 'water', and *illeh* 'dead'; which shows their opinion of the sun's disappearance according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day by any of the aforesaid three standards; as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner by midnight, or cock-crowing, &c.

They begin the year at the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal æquinox, according to the ecclesiastical year of Moses: and those synodical months each consist of twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and forty odd minutes, which make the moons alternately to consist of twenty-nine and of thirty days. They pay a great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and on the occasion always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands towards her, but at such times they offer no public sacrifice. Till the seventy years captivity commenced, (according to Dr. Prideaux, 606 years before the Christian æra,) the Israelites had only numeral names for the solar and lunar months, except אביב and האתנים; the former signifies 'a green ear of corn', and the latter 'robust or valiant'. And by the first name the Indians, as an explicative, term their Passover, which the trading people call 'the green-corn dance.' As the Israelites were a sensual people, and generally understood nothing but the shadow or literal part of the law, so the Indians closely imitate them, minding only that traditional part which promised them a delicious land flowing with milk and honey. The two Jewish months just mentioned were æquinoctial. Abib, or their present Nisan, was the seventh of the civil, and the first of the ecclesiastical year, answering to our March and April: and Ethanim, which began the civil year, was the seventh of that of the ecclesiastical, the same as our September and October. And the Indians name the various seasons of the year from the planting or the ripening of the fruits. 'The green-eared moon' is the most beloved or sacred, when the first-fruits become sanctified by being annually offered up: and from this period they count their beloved or holy things. When they lack a full moon, or when they travel, they count by sleeps, which is a very ancient custom, probably from the Mosaic method of counting time, that "the evening and the morning were the first day." Quantity they count by tens, the number of their fingers, which is a natural method to all people. In the mercantile way they mark on the ground their numbers by units, or by X for ten, which I presume they learned

from the white people who traded with them: they readily add together their tens, and find out the number sought. They call it *yakâ-ne tlápha,* or 'scoring on the ground'. But *old time* they can no way trace only by remarkable circumstances and æras. As they trade with each other only by the hand, they have no proper name for a pound weight.

The Cheerake count as high as an hundred, by various numeral names; whereas the other nations of East and West Florida rise no higher than the decimal number, adding units after it by a conjunction copulative; which intimates, that nation was either more mixed or more skilful than the rest: the latter seems most probable. They call a thousand *skoeh chooke kaiére,* 'the old, or the old one's, hundred'; and so do the rest, in their various dialects, by interpretation, which argues their former skill in numbers. I shall here give a specimen of the Hebrew method of counting, and that of the Cheerake, Chikkasah, and Muskohge or Creeks, by which some further analogy will appear between the savage Indians and their supposed Israelitish brethren. The Hebrew characters were numeral figures: they counted by them alphabetically, א (1), ב (2), and so on to the letter י, the tenth letter of the alphabet, and which stands for 10; then by prefixing י to those letters they proceeded with their rising numbers, as יא (11), יב (12), יג (13), יד (14), &c. They had words also of a numeral power, as אחד (1), שני (2), שלשי (3), ארבע (4), &c. We shall now see how the Indian method of numbering agrees with this old standard, as well as with the idiom of the Hebrew language in similar cases. The Cheerake number thus: *soquo* 1, *tahre* 2, *choeh* 3, *nankke* 4, *ishke* 5, *sootàre* 6, *karekóge* 7, *suhnáyra* 8, *sohnáyra* 9, *skoeh* 10, *soàtoo* 11, *taràtoo* 12, &c. And here we may see a parity of words between two of the Indian nations; for the Muskohge term a stone *tahre,* which glances at the Hebrew, as they not only built with such materials, but used it as a word of number, expressive of two. In like manner, *ishke* 'five', signifies 'a mother', which seems to show that their numeral words were formerly significant, and that they are one stock of people. The Chikkasah and Choktah count in this manner: *chephpha* 1, *toogàlo* 2, *tootchēna* 3, *oosta* 4, *tathlābe* 5, *hannāhle* 6, *untoogàlo* 7, *untootchēna* 8, *chakkále* 9, *pokoole* 10, *pokoole aawa chephpha,* 'ten and one', and so on. The Cheerake have an old waste town, on the Georgia south-west branch of Savannah river, called *Toogàlo*; which word may come under the former observation, upon the numerical word 'two': and they call a pompion *oosto,* which resembles *oosta,* 'four'. The Cheerake call twenty *tahre skoeh,* 'two tens', and the Chikkasah term it *pokoole toogalo* 'ten twos': as if the former had learned to number from the left hand to the right, according to the Syriac custom; and the latter from the right to the left hand, after the Hebrew manner. The former call an hundred *skoeh chooke*; and, as before observed, a thousand *skoeh chooke kaiére,* or 'the old one's hundred'; for with them, *kaiére* signifies 'ancient, or aged', whereas *eti,* or *eti-u,* expresses 'former old time'. May not this have some explanation by the "Ancient of days," as expressed by the prophet Daniel, magnifying the number by joining one of the names of God to it, according to a frequent custom of the Hebrews? This seems to be illustrated with sufficient clearness by the numerical method of the Chikkasah; for they call an hundred *pokoole tathleepa,* and a thousand *pokoole tathleepa tathleepa ishto*; the last of which is a strong double superlative, according to the usage of the Hebrews, by a repetition of the principal word, or by affixing the name of God to the end of it to heighten the number. *Ishto* is one of their names of God, expressive of majesty or greatness; and *soottathleepa**, the name of a drum, derived from *sootte* 'an earthen pot', and *tathleepa,* perhaps the name or number of some of their ancient legions. The Muskohge method of counting is, *hommai* 1, *hokkóle* 2, *tootchēna* 3, *ohsta* 4, *chakàpe* 5, *eepáhge* 6, *hoolophage* 7, *cheenèpa* 8, *ohstàpe* 9, *pokóle* 10, &c. I am sorry that I have not sufficient skill in the Muskohge dialect to make any useful observations on this head; however, the reader can easily discern the parity of language between their numerical words and those of the Chikkasah and Choktah nations, and may from thence conclude that they were formerly one nation and people.

I have seen their symbols or signatures in a heraldry way, to count or distinguish their tribes, done with what may be called wild exactness. The Choktah use the like in the dormitories of their dead; which seems to argue that the ancienter and thicker-settled countries of Peru and Mexico had, formerly at least, the use of hieroglyphic characters, and that they painted the real or figurative images of things to convey their ideas. The present American aborigines seem to be as skilful pantomimi as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations,

* The double vowels *oo* and *ee* are always to be joined in one syllable, and pronounced long.

who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without any interpreter, in such a surprising manner as is scarcely credible. As their dialects are guttural, the indications they use with the hand or fingers, in common discourse, to accompany their speech, is the reason that strangers imagine they make only a gaggling noise, like what we are told of the Hottentots, without any articulate sound; whereas it is an ancient custom of the Eastern countries, which probably the first emigrants brought with them to America, and still retain over the far-extended continent *.

ARGUMENT VII.

In conformity to, or after the manner of, the Jews, the Indian Americans have their Prophets, High-priests, and others of a religious order. As the Jews had a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian nations, particularly the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud wall about breast-high behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red painted war-seat: there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place. With the Muskohge, *hitch lalàge* signifies 'cunning men', or persons prescient of futurity, much the same as the Hebrew seers. *Cheeràtahége* is the name of the pretended prophets, with the Cheerake, and nearly approaches to the meaning of נביא (*nebia*), the Hebrew name of a prophet. *Cheera* is their word for 'fire', and the termination points out men possessed of or endued with it: the word seems to allude to the celestial cherubim, fire, light and spirit, which centered in O E A, or Yohewah. These Indians call their pretended prophets also *loá-che*, 'men resembling the holy fire', or 'as Elohim'; for the termination expresses a comparison, and *loa* is a contraction of *loak*, drawn from אלה (*Elóah*) the singular number of אלהים (*Elohim*) the name of the holy ones. And, as the Muskohge call the noise of thunder *erowah*, so the Cherakee, by inverting it, *worah*, 'he is'; thereby alluding to the divine essence: and as those term the lightning *elóa*, and believe it immediately to proceed from the voice of *Istohoollo Elóa Aba*, it shows the analogy to the Hebrews, and their sentiments to be different from all the early heathen world.

The Indian tradition says, that their forefathers were possessed of an extraordinary divine spirit, by which they foretold things future, and controlled the common course of nature: and this they transmitted to their offspring, provided they obeyed the sacred laws annexed to it. They believe that by the communication of the same divine fire working on their *loáche*, they can now effect the like. They say it is out of the reach of *Nana Ookproo* either to comprehend or perform such things, because the beloved fire, or the holy spirit of fire, will not co-operate with or actuate *hottuk ookproose*, 'the accursed people'. *Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one archimagus at a time: but lameness, contrary to the Mosaic law, it must be confessed, does not now exclude him from officiating in his religious function; though it is not to be doubted, as they are naturally a modest people, and highly ridicule those who are incapable of procreating their species, that formerly they excluded the lame and impotent: they who have the least knowledge in Indian affairs know that the martial virtue of the savages obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war and perform those difficult exercises that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office. Notwithstanding the Cheerake are now a nest of apostate hornets, pay little respect to grey hairs, and have been degenerating fast from their primitive religious principles for above thirty years past, yet before the last war, *Old Hop*, who was helpless and lame, presided over the whole nation as archimagus, and lived in Choàte, their only town of refuge. It was entirely owing to the wisdom of those who then presided in South Carolina, that his dangerous, pontifical and regal-like power was impaired, by their setting up *Atta Kulla Kulla*, and supporting him so well as to prevent the then easy transition of an Indian high-priesthood into a French

* The first numbering was by their fingers, to which custom Solomon alludes, Prov. iii. 16. "length of days is in her right hand." The Greeks called this αποπεμπομαζειν, because they numbered on their five fingers; and Ovid says, "*Seu, quia tot digitis, per quos numerare solemus*;" likewise Juvenal, "*Suá dextrá computat annos.*" Others numbered on their ten fingers, as we may see in Bede "De ratione temporum." And the ancients not only counted, but are said to speak with their fingers, Prov. vi. 13. "The wicked man he teacheth with his fingers." And Nævius, in Tarentilla, says, *dat digito literas.*

American bloody chair, with a bunch of red and black beads; where the devil and they could as easily have instructed them in the infernal French catechism, as they did the Canada Indians; as, Who killed Christ? Answer, The bloody English; &c.*

To discover clearly the origin of the Indian religious system, I must occasionally quote as much from the Mosaic institution, as the savages seem to copy after or imitate in their ceremonies; and only the faint image of the Hebrew can now be expected to be discerned as in an old imperfect glass. The priesthood originally centered with the first male born of every family: with the ancient heathens the royalty was annexed to it in a direct line, and it descended in that manner as low as the Spartans and Romans. But, to secure Israel from falling into heathenish customs and worship, God in the time of Moses set apart the Levites for religious services in the room of the first-born; and one high-priest was elected from the family of Aaron, and anointed with oil, who presided over the rest: this holy office descended by right of inheritance. However, they were to be free of bodily defects, and were by degrees initiated to their holy office, before they were allowed to serve in it. They were consecrated by having the water of purifying sprinkled upon them, washing all their body and their clothes clean, anointing them with oil, and offering a sacrifice.

It is not surprising that the dress of the old savage archimagus, and that of the Levitical high-priest, is somewhat different. It may well be supposed, they wandered from captivity to this far-distant wilderness, in a distressed condition, where they could scarcely cover themselves from the inclemency of heat and cold. Besides, if they had always been possessed of the greatest affluence, the long want of written records would sufficiently excuse the difference, because oral traditions are liable to variation: however, there are some traces of agreement in their pontifical dress. Before the Indian archimagus officiates in making the supposed holy fire, for the yearly atonement of sin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves: when he enters on that solemn duty, a beloved attendant spreads a white-dressed buck-skin on the white seat, which stands close to the supposed holiest, and then puts some white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the archimagus wraps around his shoulders a consecrated skin of the same sort, which reaching across under his arms he ties behind his back with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another custom he observes on this solemn occasion is, instead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buck-skin white maccasenes made by himself, and stitched with the sinews of the same animal†. The upper leather across the toes he paints for the space of three inches with a few streaks of red,—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and stalk resembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red symbol of holy things: these shoes he never wears but in the time of the supposed Passover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holiest, where much of the like sort quietly accompanies an heap of old broken earthenware, conch-shells, and other consecrated things.

The Mosaic ceremonial institutions are acknowledged by our best writers to represent the Messiah under various types and shadows: in like manner, the religious customs of the American Indians seem to typify the same; according to the early divine promise, that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, and that it should bruise his heel. The Levitical high-priest wore a breast-plate, which they called *hosechim*, and on it the *Urim* and *Thummim*, signifying lights and perfections; for they are the plurals of אור (*Awóra*), (which inverted makes *Erowa*,) and תורה (*thòràh*), 'the law', as it directed them under dark shadows to Messiah, the lamp of light and perfections. In resemblance of this sacred pectoral, or breast-plate, the American archimagus wears a breast-plate made of a white conch-shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buck-horn white button to the outside of each, as if in imitation of the precious stones of Urim, which miraculously blazoned from the high-priest's breast the unerring words of the divine oracle. Instead

* A wrong belief has a most powerful efficacy in depraving men's morals, and a right one has a great power to reform them. The bloody Romish Bulls, that France sent over to their Indian converts, clearly prove the former; and our peaceable conduct as plainly showed the latter, till Britannia sent out her lions to retaliate.

† Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.—*Juvenal.* Sat. vi.

When the high-priest entered into the holiest, on the day of expiation, he clothed himself in white; and when he finished that day's service, he laid aside those clothes, and left them in the tabernacle.—*Lev.* xvi. 23. When the Egyptian priests went to worship in their temples, they wore shoes of white parchment.—*Herodotus*, lib. ii. cap. 5.

of the plate of gold which the Levite wore on his forehead, bearing these words, קדש לי יהוה (*kadesh li Yohewah,*) 'holy or separate to God', the Indian wears around his temples either a wreath of swan-feathers, or a long piece of swan-skin doubled, so as only the fine snowy feathers appear on each side. And, in likeness to the tiara of the former, the latter wears on the crown of his head a tuft of white feathers which they call *Yatèra.* He likewise fastens a tuft of blunted wild turkeycock-spurs toward the toes of the upper part of his maccasenes, as if in resemblance to the seventy-two bells which the Levitical high-priest wore on his coat of blue. Those are as strong religious pontifical emblems as any old Hebrews could have well chosen, or retained under the like circumstances of time and place. Thus appears the Indian archimagus,—not as *Merubha Begadim,* 'the man with many clothes', as they called the high-priest of the second temple, but with clothes proper to himself when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of sins *. As religion is the touchstone of every nation of people, and as these Indians cannot be supposed to have been deluded out of theirs, separated from the rest of the world, for many long-forgotten ages, the traces which may be discerned among them will help to corroborate the other arguments concerning their origin.

These religious beloved men are also supposed to be in great favour with the Deity, and able to procure rain when they please. In this respect also we shall observe a great conformity to the practice of the Jews. The Hebrew records inform us, that in the moon *Abib,* or Nisan, they prayed for the spring or latter rain to be so seasonable and sufficient as to give them a good harvest. And the Indian Americans have a tradition that their forefathers sought for, and obtained, such seasonable rains as gave them plentiful crops; and they now seek them in a manner agreeable to the shadow of this tradition. When the ground is parched, their *rain-makers* (as they are commonly termed) are to mediate for the beloved red people with the bountiful holy Spirit of fire. But their old cunning prophets are not fond of entering on this religious duty, and avoid it as long as they possibly can, till the murmurs of the people force them to the sacred attempt for the security of their own lives. If he fails, the prophet is shot dead, because they are so credulous of his divine power conveyed by the holy Spirit of fire, that they reckon him an enemy to the state by averting the general good, and bringing desolating famine upon the beloved people. But in general he is so discerning in the stated laws of nature, and skilful in priestcraft, that he always seeks for rain either at the full or change of the moon; unless the birds, either by instinct, or the temperature of their bodies, should direct him otherwise. However, if in a dry season the clouds by the veering of the winds pass wide of their fields, while they are inveighing bitterly against him, some in speech, and others in their hearts, he soon changes their well-known notes; he assumes a displeased countenance and carriage, and attacks them with bitter reproaches for their vicious conduct in the marriage-state, and for their notorious pollutions by going to the women in their religious retirements, and for multifarious crimes that never could enter into his head to suspect them of perpetrating, but that the divinity his holy things were endued with had now suffered a great decay, although he had fasted, purified himself, and on every other account had lived an innocent life, according to the old beloved speech; adding, 'Loak Ishtohoollo will never be kind to bad people.' He concludes with a religious caution to the penitent, advising them to mend their manners, and the times will mend with them: then they depart with sorrow and shame. The old women, as they go along, will exclaim loudly against the young people, and protest they will watch their manners very narrowly for the time to come, as they are sure of their own steady virtue. If a two-years' drought happens, the synedrim, at the earnest solicitation of the mortified sinners, convene in a body, and make proper inquiry into the true cause of their calamities; because (say they) it is better to spoil a few roguish people, than a few roguish people should spoil *hottuk oretoopah*: the lot soon falls upon Jonas, and he is immediately swallowed up. Too much rain is equally dangerous to those red prophets. I was lately told by a gentleman of distinguished character, that a famous rain-maker of the Muskohge was shot dead, because the river overflowed their fields to a great height in the middle of August, and destroyed their weighty harvest. They ascribed the mischief to his ill-will; as the Deity, they say, doth not injure the virtuous, and designed him only to do good to the beloved people. In the year 1747 a Nàchee warrior told me, that while one of their prophets was using his divine invocations for rain, according to the faint image of their ancient tradition, he was killed with thunder on the spot; upon which account, the spirit of prophecy ever after subsided among them, and he became the last of their reputed prophets. They believed the

* The only ornaments that distinguished the high-priest from the rest, were a coat with seventy-two bells, an ephod, or jacket without sleeves, a breast-plate set with twelve stones, a linen mitre, and a plate of gold upon his forehead.

holy Spirit of fire had killed him with some of his angry darting fire for wilful impurity; and by his threatening voice forbade them to renew the like attempt; and justly concluded, that if they all lived well, they should fare well, and have proper seasons. This opinion coincides with that of the Israelites in taking fire for the material emblem of Yohewah; by reckoning thunder the voice of the Almighty above, according to the Scriptural language; by esteeming thunderstruck individuals under the displeasure of heaven; and by observing and enforcing such rules of purity as none of the old pagan nations observed, nor any except the Hebrews. As the prophets of the Hebrews had oracular answers, so the Indian magi who are to invoke YO He Wah and mediate with the supreme holy fire that he may give seasonable rains, have a transparent stone of supposed great power in assisting to bring down the rain, when it is put in a basin of water, by a reputed divine virtue impressed on one of the like sort in time of old, which communicates it circularly. This stone would suffer a great decay, they assert, were it even seen by their own laity; but if by foreigners, it would be utterly despoiled of its divine communicative power. Doth not this allude to the precious blazoning stones of Urim and Thummim?

In Tymáhse, a lower Cheerake town, lived one of their reputed great divine men, who never informed the people of his seeking for rain, but at the change or full of the moon, unless there was some promising sign of the change of the weather, either in the upper regions or from the feathered kalender, such as the quacking of ducks, the croaking of ravens, and from the moistness of the air felt in their quills; consequently, he seldom failed of success, which highly increased his name and profits; for even when it rained at other times, they ascribed it to the intercession of their great beloved man. Rain-making in the Cheerake mountains is not so dangerous an office as in the rich level lands of the Chikkasah country near the Missisippi. The above Cheerake prophet had a carbuncle, near as big as an egg, which they said he found where a great rattlesnake lay dead, and that it sparkled with such surprising lustre as to illuminate his dark winter-house, like strong flashes of continued lightning, to the great terror of the weak, who durst not upon any account approach the dreadful fire-darting place, for fear of sudden death. When he died, it was buried along with him according to custom in the town-house of Tymáhse, under the great beloved cabin, which stood in the westernmost part of that old fabric, where they who will run the risk of searching may luckily find it; but if any of that family detected them in disturbing the bones of their deceased relation, they would resent it as the basest act of hostility. The inhuman conduct of the avaricious Spaniards toward the dead Peruvians and Mexicans, irritated the natives to the highest pitch of distraction against those ravaging enemies of humanity. The intense love the Indians bear to their dead, is the reason that so few have fallen into the hands of our physicians to dissect or anatomise. We will hope also, that from a principle of humanity, our ague-charmers and water-casters, who like birds of night keep where the Indians frequently haunt, would not cut up their fellow-creatures, as was done by the Spanish butchers in Peru and Mexico.

Not long ago at a friendly feast, or feast of love, in West-Florida, during the time of a long-continued drought, I earnestly importuned the old rain-maker for a sight of the pretended divine stone, which he had assured me he was possessed of; but he would by no means gratify my request. He told me, as I was an infidel, literally 'one who shakes hands with the accursed speech', and did not believe its being endued with a divine power, the sight of it could no ways benefit me; and that as their old unerring tradition assured them it would suffer very great damage in case of compliance, he hoped I would kindly acquiesce; especially as he imagined I believed every nation of people had certain beloved things, that might be easily spoiled by being polluted. I told him I was fully satisfied with the friendly excuse he made to my inconsiderate request, but that I could scarcely imagine there were any such beloved men and beloved things in so extremely fertile but now sun-burnt soil. Their crops had failed the year before, by reason of several concurring causes; and for the most part of the summer season he had kept his bed through fear of incurring the punishment of a false prophet; which, joined with the religious regimen and abstemious way of living he was obliged strictly to pursue, it sweated him so severely, as to reduce him to a skeleton. I jested him in a friendly way, saying, I imagined the supreme holy fire would have proved more kind to his honest devotees than to sicken him so severely, especially at that critical season, when the people's food and his own entirely depended on his health; that though our beloved men never undertook to bring down seasonable rains, yet we very seldom failed of good crops, and always paid them the tenth basket-full of our yearly produce; because they persuaded our young people, by the force of their honest example, and kind-hearted enchanting language, to shun the crooked ways of *hottuk kallákse*, 'the mad light people', and honestly to shake hands with the old beloved speech; that the great, supreme, fatherly Chieftain had told his *loáche* to teach us how to obtain

peace and plenty, and every other good thing, while we live here; and when we die, not only to shun the accursed dark place where the Sun is every day drowned, but likewise to live again for ever, very happily in the favourite country. He replied, that my speech consisted of a mixture of good and ill; the beginning of it was crooked, and the conclusion straight. He said, I had wrongfully blamed him, for the effect of the disorderly conduct of the red people and himself, as it was well known he fasted at different times for several days together; at other times ate green tobacco-leaves; and some days drank only a warm decoction of the button-snake-root, without allowing any one except his religious attendant to come near him; and in every other respect had honestly observed the austere rules of his religious place, according to the beloved speech that *Ishtohoollo Elóa Aba* gave to the *loáche* of their forefathers: but *Loak Ishtohoollo* was sorely vexed with most of their young people for violating the chastity of their neighbours' wives, and even among the thriving green corn and pease, as their beds here and there clearly proved; thus they spoiled the power of his holy things, and tempted *Minggo Ishto Elóa*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder', to bind up the clouds, and withold the rain. Besides, that the old women were less honest in paying their rain-makers than the English women behaved to their beloved men, unless I had spoken too well of them. The wives of this and the other person, he said, had cheated him, in not paying him any portion of the last year's bad crop, which their own bad lives greatly contributed to, as that penurious crime of cheating him of his dues sufficiently testified; not to mention a late custom they had contracted since the general peace, of planting a great many fields of beans and pease in distant places after the summer crops were over, on the like dishonest principle; likewise, in affirming that when the first harvest was over it rained for nothing; by that means they had blackened the old beloved speech, that *Ishtohoollo Elóa* of old spoke to his *loáche*, and conveyed down to him only that they might paint their own bad actions white. He concluded by saying, that all the chieftains, and others present as well as myself, knew now very well, from his honest speech, the true cause of the earth's having been so strangely burnt till lately; and that he was afraid, if the hearts of those light and mad people he complained of did not speedily grow honest, the dreadful day would soon come in which *Lóak Ishtohoollo* would send *phutchik keeraah Ishtò* 'the great blazing star', *yahkàne eeklénna, loak loáchàché*, 'to burn up half of the earth with fire', *pherimmi aiúbe*, 'from the north to the south', *hassé oobèa perà*, 'toward the setting of the Sun', where they should in time arrive at the dreadful place of darkness, be confined there hungry, and otherwise sorely distrest, among hissing snakes and many other frightful creatures, according to the ancient true speech that *Ishtohoollo Aba* spoke to his beloved *loáche*.

Under this Argument I will also mention another striking resemblance to the Jews, as to their *tithes*. As the sacerdotal office was fixed in the tribe of Levi, they had forty-eight cities allotted them from the other tribes. And Moses assures us, in Deut. xiv. 28, 29, that those tribes paid them also once in three years the tithe or tenth of all they possessed, which is supposed to be about the thirtieth part of their annual possessions; by which means they were reasonably maintained as spiritual pastors, and enabled to fulfil the extensive and charitable application of their dues as enjoined. It hath been already hinted, that the Indian prophets undertake by the emanation of the divine spirit of fire, co-operating with them, to bring down proper rains for crops, on the penalty of losing their own lives; as the Indians reckon that a regular virtuous life will sufficiently enable their great beloved men to bring blessings of plenty to the beloved people; and if they neglect it, they are dangerous enemies, and a great curse to the community. They imagine his prophetic power is also restrictive as to winter rains, they doing more hurt than good; for they justly observe, that their ground seldom suffers by the want of winter rains. Their sentiments on this head are very strong; they say, *Ishtohoollo Aba* allows the winter rain to fall unsought, but that he commanded their forefathers to seek for the summer rain according to the old law, otherwise he would not give it to them. If the seasons have been answerable, when the ripened harvest is gathered in, the old women pay their reputed prophet with religious good-will a certain proportional quantity of each kind of the new fruits, measured in the same large portable back-baskets wherein they carried home the ripened fruits. This stated method they yearly observe; which is as consonant to the Levitical institution, as can be reasonably expected, especially as their traditions have been time out of mind preserved only by oral echo.

Modern writers inform us that the Persees pay a tithe of their revenues to the chief Destour, or Archimagus, of a city or province, who decides cases of conscience and points of law according to the institution of Zoroaster,—a mixture of Judaism and Paganism. Their annual religious offering to the archimagi is a misapplication of the Levitical law concerning tithes, contrary to the usage of the American aborigines, which it may be supposed they

immediately derived from the Hebrews; for, as the twelfth tribe was devoted to the divine service, they were by divine appointment maintained at the public expense. However, when we consider that their government was of a mixed kind, first a theocracy, then by nobles and by kings, and at other times by their high-priest, it seems to appear pretty plain that the Deity raised, preserved, and governed those people to oppose idolatry, and continue, till the fulness of time came, the true divine worship on earth, under ceremonial dark shadows, without exhibiting their government in the least as a plan of future imitation. Besides, as Messiah is come according to the predictions of the divine oracles, which represented him under various strong types and shadows, surely Christians ought to follow the copy of their humble Master and his holy disciples, and leave the fleecing of the flock to the avaricious Jews, whose religious tenets and rapacious principles support them in taking annual tithes from each other, who affect to believe that all the Mosaic law is perpetually binding, and that the predicted Shiloh, who is to be their purifier, king, prophet, and high-priest, is not yet come. The *law of tithing* was calculated only for the religious œconomy of the Hebrew nation; for as the merciful Deity, who was the immediate head of that state, had appropriated the Levites to his service, and prohibited them purchasing land, lest they should be seduced from their religious duties by worldly cares, He, by a most bountiful law, ordered the state to give them the tithe and other offerings for the support of themselves and their numerous families, and also of the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger.

I shall insert a dialogue that formerly passed between the Chikkasah Loáche and me, which will illustrate both this and other particulars of the general subject, and also show the religious advantages and arguments by which the French used to undermine us with the Indians. We had been speaking of trade, which is the usual topic of discourse with those craftsmen. I asked him how he could reasonably blame the English traders for cheating *Tekapé húmmah,* 'the red folks', even allowing his accusations to be just; as he, their divine man, had cheated them out of a great part of their crops, and had the assurance to claim it as his religious due, when at the same time, if he had shaked hands with the straight old beloved speech, or strictly observed the ancient divine law, his feeling heart would not have allowed him to have done such black and crooked things, especially to the helpless, the poor, and the aged; it rather would have strongly moved him to stretch out to them a kind and helping hand, according to the old beloved speech of *Ishtohoollo Aba* to his *hottuk Ishtohoollo,* who were sufficiently supported at the public expense, and strictly ordered to supply with the greatest tenderness the wants of others. He smartly retorted my objections, telling me that the white people's excuses for their own wrong conduct were as false and weak as my complaints were against him. The red people, he said, saw very clearly through such thin black paint, though his sacred employment was equally hid from them and me; by which means neither of us could reasonably pretend to be proper judges of his virtuous conduct, nor blame him for the necessary effect of our own crimes, or urge it as a plea for cheating him out of his yearly dues, contrary to the old divine speech; for the crops became light by their own vicious conduct, which spoiled the power of his holy things. So that it was visible both the red and white people were commonly too partial to themselves; and that by the bounty of the supreme fatherly chieftain it was as much out of his power, as distant from his kindly heart, either to wrong the beloved red people or the white nothings; and that it became none, except mad light people, to follow the crooked steps of *hottuk ookproose,* 'the accursed people'. As there was no interruption to our winter-night's chat, I asked him in a friendly manner whether he was not afraid thus boldly to snatch at the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure, as it belonged only to the great beloved thundering Chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds in the new year's unpolluted holy fire, and who gives it in common to all nations of people alike, and even to every living creature over the face of the whole earth, because he made them, and his merciful goodness always prompts him to supply the wants of all his creatures. He told me that by an ancient tradition their *loáche* were possessed of an extraordinary divine power, by which they foretold hidden things, and by the beloved speech brought down showers of plenty to the beloved people; that he very well knew the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people; and that he continually weighs us, and measures out good or bad things to us according to our actions. He added, that though the former beloved speech had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by aweing their young people from violating the ancient laws. This showed him to be cunning in priestcraft, if not possessed of a tradition from the Hebrew records, that their prophets by the divine power had, on material occasions, acted beyond the stated laws of nature and wrought miracles. My old prophetic friend told

me, with a good deal of surprise, that though the beloved red people had by some means or other lost the old beloved speech, yet *Frenshe lakkàne ookproo,* 'the ugly yellow French,' (as they term the Missisippians,) had by some wonderful method obtained it; for his own people, he assured me, had seen them at New Orleans to bring down rain in a very dry season, when they were giving out several bloody speeches to their head-warriors against the English Chikkasah traders. On a mischievous politic invitation of the French, several of the Chikkasah had then paid them a visit, in the time of an alarming drought and a general fast, when they were praying for seasonable rains at mass. When they came, the interpreter was ordered to tell them that the French had holy places and holy things after the manner of the red people; that if their young people proved honest, they could bring down rain whenever they stood in need of it; and that this was one of the chief reasons which induced all the various nations of the beloved red people to bear them so intense a love; and, on the contrary, so violent and inexpressible an hatred even to the very name of the English, because every one of them was marked with *Anumbole ookkproo,* 'the curse of God'.

The method the Chikkasah prophet used in relating the affair has some humour in it, for their ignorance of the Christian religion and institutions perplexes them when they are on the subject; on which account I shall literally transcribe it. He told me that the Chikkasah warriors, during three successive days, accompanied the French *loáche* and *Ishtohoollo* to the great beloved house, where a large bell hung a-top, which strange sight exceedingly surprised them; for instead of being fit for a horse, it would require a great many ten horses to carry it. Around the inside of the beloved house there was a multitude of he and she beloved people, or male and female saints or angels, whose living originals, they affirmed, dwelt above the clouds, and helped them to get every good thing from *Ishtohoollo Aba* when they earnestly crave their help. The French beloved men spoke a great deal with much warmth; the rest were likewise busily employed in imitation of their *Ishtohoollo* and *loáche.* At one time they spoke high, at another low. One chose this, and another chose that song. Here the men kneeled before the images of their she-beloved people; there the women did the like before their favourite and beloved he-pictures, entreating them for some particular favour which they stood in need of. Some of them, he said, made very wild motions over their heads and breasts; and others struck their stomachs with a vehemence like their warriors when they drink much *ookka homma,* 'bitter waters' or spirituous liquor; while every one of them had a bunch of mixed beads, to which they frequently spoke, as well as counted over; that they loved these beads, for our people strictly observed they did not give them to their *loáche* and *Ishtohoollo,* as the red people would have done to those of their own country, though it was very plain they deserved them for beating themselves so much for the young people's roguish actions, and likewise for labouring so strongly in pulling off their clothes and putting them on again, to make the beloved physic work, which they took in small pieces, to help to bring on the rain. On the third day (added he) they brought it down in great plenty, which was certainly a very difficult performance, and as surprising, too, that they who are always, when opportunity answers, persuading the red people to take up the bloody hatchet against their old steady friends, should still have the beloved speech which *Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa* formerly spoke to his beloved *loáche.* Thus ended our friendly discourse.

ARGUMENT VIII.

Their Festivals, Fasts, and Religious Rites have also a great resemblance to those of the Hebrews. It will be necessary here to take a short view of the principal Jewish feasts, &c. They kept every year a sacred feast called the Passover, in memory of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. Seven days were appointed, Lev. xxiii. To these they added an eighth, through a religious principle, as preparatory to clear their houses of all leaven, and to fix their minds before they entered on that religious duty. The name of this festival is derived from a word which signifies 'to pass over'; because, when the destroying angel flew through the Egyptian houses and killed their first-born, he passed over those of the Israelites, the tops of whose doors were stained with the blood of the lamb which they were ordered to kill. This solemnity was instituted with the strongest injunctions to let their children know the cause of that observance, and to mark that night through all their generations. Three days before this sacred festival, they chose a lamb, without spot or blemish, and killed it on the evening of the fourteenth day of Abib, which was the first moon of the ecclesiastical, and the seventh of the civil, year; and they ate it with bitter herbs, without breaking any of the bones of it, thus prefiguring the death of Messiah. This was the reason that this was the chief

of the days of unleavened bread, and they were strictly forbidden all manner of work on that day; besides, no uncircumcised or unclean persons ate of the paschal lamb. Those of the people whom diseases or long journeys prevented from observing the passover on that day, were obliged to keep it in the next moon. On the sixteenth day, which was the second of the passover, they offered up to God a sheaf of the new barley-harvest, because it was the earliest grain. The priest carried it into the temple, and having cleaned and parched it, he grinded or pounded it into flour, dipt it in oil, and then waved it before the Lord, throwing some into the fire. The Jews were forbidden to eat any of their new harvest till they had offered up a sheaf, the grain of which filled an omer,—a small measure of about five pints. All was impure and unholy till this oblation was made; but afterwards it became hallowed, and every one was at liberty to reap and get in his harvest. On the tenth day of the moon Ethanim, the first day of the civil year, they celebrated the great fast, or feast of expiation, afflicted their souls, and ate nothing the whole day. The high-priest offered several sacrifices; and having carried the blood of the victims into the temple, he sprinkled it upon the altar of incense and the veil that was before the holiest, and went into that most sacred place where the divine Shekinah resided, carrying a censer smoking in his hand with incense, which hindered him from having a clear sight of the ark. But he was not allowed to enter that holy place only once a year, on this great day of expiation, to offer the general sacrifice both for the sins of the people and of himself. Nor did he ever mention the divine four-lettered name, YO He Wah, except on this great day, when he blessed the people. Because the Israelites lived in tabernacles, or booths, while they were in the wilderness, as a memorial therefore of the divine bounty to them they were commanded to keep the feast of tabernacles, on the fifteenth day of the month Tisri, which they called *Rosh Hosanah*, or *Hoshianah*: it lasted eight days, during which time they lived in arbours, (covered with green boughs of trees,) unless when they went to worship at the temple, or sung *Hoshaniyo* around the altar. When they were on this religious duty, they were obliged each to carry in their hands a bundle of the branches of willows, palm-trees, myrtles, and others of different sorts, laden with fruit and tied together with ribbons; and thus rejoice together with the appointed singers, and vocal and instrumental music, in the divine presence before the altar. On the eighth day of the feast, one of the priests brought some water in a golden vessel from the pool of Siloam, mixed it with wine, and poured it on the morning sacrifice, and the first-fruits of their latter crops, which were then presented as an emblem of the divine graces that should flow to them when Shiloh came, who was to be their anointed king, prophet, and high-priest. The people in the mean time singing out of Isaiah, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation."

Let us now turn to the copper-colour American Hebrews. While their sanctified new fruits are dressing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the supposed holy ground in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of old magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear's-grease, having small tortoise-shells and white pebbles fastened to a piece of white-drest deer-skin, which is tied to each of their legs. The eldest of the priests leads the sacred dance ahead of the innermost row, which of course is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the supposed holy fire by invoking Yah, after their usual manner, on a bass key, and with a short accent; then he sings YO YO, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession; and he continues his sacred invocations and praises, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the same point of the circular course where they began: then He He in like manner, and Wah Wah. While dancing they never fail to repeat those notes; and frequently the holy train strike up *Halelu, Halelu*; then *Haleluiah, Halelu-Yah*, and Aleluiah and Alelu-Yah, 'Irradiation to the divine essence', with great earnestness and fervour, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well timed. Then the awful drums join the sacred choir, which incite the old female singers to chant forth their pious notes and grateful praises before the divine essence, and to redouble their former quick joyful steps, in imitation of the leader of the sacred dance, and the religious men ahead of them. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-shells, and the two sounding drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of YO He Wah. Their singing and dancing in three circles around their sacred fire appears

to have a reference to a like religious custom of the Hebrews. And may we not reasonably suppose that they formerly understood the psalms, or divine hymns? at least those that begin with *Halelu-Yah*. Otherwise, how came all the inhabitants of the extensive regions of North and South America to have and retain those very expressive Hebrew words? or how repeat them so distinctly, and apply them after the manner of the Hebrews in their religious acclamations? The like cannot be found in any other countries.

In like manner they sing on other religious occasions, and at their feasts of love, *Ale-Yo Ale-Yo*; which is אל, the divine name, by his attribute of omnipotence; and י, alluding to יהוה. They sing likewise *Hewah Hewah*, which is חוה 'the immortal soul', drawn from the divine essential name, as deriving its rational faculties from YOHEWAH. Those words that they sing in their religious dances they never repeat at any other time, which seems to have greatly occasioned the loss of the meaning of their divine hymns; for I believe they are now so corrupt, as not to understand either the spiritual or literal meaning of what they sing, any further than by allusion. In their circuiting dances, they frequently sing on a bass key, *Alué Alué, Aluhé, Aluhé,* and *Aluwàh Aluwàh,* which is the Hebrew אלוה. They likewise sing *Shilù-Yò Shilù-Yó, Shilù-Hé Shilù-Hé, Shilù-Wàh Shilù-Wàh,* and *Shilù-Hàh Shilù-Hàh.* They transpose them also several ways, but with the very same notes. The three terminations make up in their order the four-lettered divine name. *Hah* is a note of gladness: the word preceding it, *Shilù,* seems to express the predicted human and divine שילוה, Shiloh, who was to be the purifier and peace-maker. They continue their grateful divine hymns for the space of fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up. As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects and war-customs.

At the end of this notable religious dance, the old beloved or holy women return home to hasten the feast of the new-sanctified fruits. In the mean while every one at the temple drinks very plentifully of the cusseena and other bitter liquids, to cleanse their sinful bodies; after which they go to some convenient deep water, and there, according to the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, they wash away their sins with water. Thus sanctified, they return with joyful hearts in solemn procession, singing their notes of praise, till they enter into the holy ground to eat of the new delicious fruits of wild Canaan*. The women now with the utmost cheerfulness bring to the outside of the sacred square a plentiful variety of all those good things with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their stated order and reputed merit. Every seat is served in a gradual succession, from the white and red imperial long broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of courses of fifty or sixty different sorts, and thus they continue to regale themselves till the end of the festival; for they reckon they are now to feast themselves with joy and gladness, as the divine fire is appeased for past crimes, and has propitiously sanctified their weighty harvest. They all behave so modestly, and are possessed of such an extraordinary constancy and equanimity, in the pursuit of their religious mysteries, that they do not show the least outward emotion of pleasure at the first sight of the sanctified new fruits, nor the least uneasiness to be tasting those tempting delicious fat things of Canaan. If one of them acted in a contrary manner, they would say to him, *Che-Hakset Kaneha,* 'You resemble such as were beat in Canaan'. This unconcern doubtless proceeded originally from a virtuous principle; but now, it may be the mere effect of habit: for, jealousy and revenge excepted, they seem to be divested of every mental passion, and entirely incapable of any lasting affection. I shall give an instance of this. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping alongside of her, instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home.

The Indians formerly observed the grand festival of the annual expiation of sin at the beginning of the first new moon, in which their corn become full-eared; but for many years past they are regulated by the season of their harvest. And on that head they show more religious patience than the Hebrews formerly did; who, instead of waiting till their grain was ripe, forced their barley, which ripened before any other sort they planted. And they

* They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt or flesh meat till the fourth day, that during the interval the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters and able-bodied men kill and barbecue wild game in the woods at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for that sacred use.

are perhaps as skilful in observing the revolutions of the moon as ever the Israelites were, at least till the end of the first temple; for during that period, instead of measuring time by astronomical calculations, they knew it only by the phases of the moon. In like manner, the supposed red Hebrews of the American deserts annually observed their festivals, and *Neetak Yáh-àh*, 'days of afflicting themselves before the Deity.', at a prefixed time of a certain moon. To this day, a war-leader, who by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his out-standing company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by day-light; whereas he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night. As the first of the *Neetak Hoollo* precedes a long strict fast of two nights and a day, they gormandize such a prodigious quantity of strong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the succeeding fast, the sabbath of sabbaths, the *Neetak Yah-ah*: the feast lasts only from morning till sun-set. Being great lovers of the ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet with a near view of them, and having lived at this season but meanly on the wild products of nature, such a fast as this may be truly said to afflict their souls, and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During the festival, some of their people are closely employed in putting their temple in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabin, and the supposed holiest, with white clay; for it is a sacred peaceable place, and white is its emblem. Some at the same time are likewise painting the war-cabin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occasion requires; while others of an inferior order are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of the fine splinters of long canes tied together with flags. In the mean time several of them are busy in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying out the ashes from the hearth, which perhaps had not been cleaned six times since the last year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering: by which means, either through a sensual or religious principle, they strike off the work with joyful hearts. Everything being thus prepared, the archimagus orders some of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth or altar, and to sweep out the remains that by chance might either be left or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-snake-root, with some green leaves of an uncommon small sort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water*. Immediately the magi order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had designedly chosen, and laid down on the outside of the supposed holy ground: the women in the interim are busy at home in cleaning out their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleansing all their culinary vessels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law, lest by a contrary conduct they should incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is fresh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of these numerous nations of Indians would eat or even handle any part of the new harvest, till some of it had been offered up at the yearly festival by the archimagus, or those of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harvest of the past year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits to sustain life. Notwithstanding they are visibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious observance, except what concerns war, yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on such harsh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than transgress that divine precept given to their forefathers.

Having everything in order for the sacred solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others of an inferior order carefully sweep out the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first-fruit offering; and before sunset the temple must be cleared, even of every kind of vessel or utensil, that had contained or been used about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off; but none of that sex, except half a dozen of old beloved women, are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved square and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all the women and children, and those who have not initiated themselves in war, to keep apart from them according to law. Should any of them prove disobedient, the young ones would be dry-scratched, and the others stript of everything they had on them. They observe the same strict law of purity in their method of sanctifying themselves for war, in order to obtain the divine protection, assistance, and success. But a few weeks since, when a large company of

* Under the palladium of Troy were placed things of the like nature, as a preservative from evil; but the above practice seems to be pretty much tempered with the Mosaic institution; for God commanded them to make an altar of earth, to sacrifice thereon, (Exod. xx. 24.)

these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom.

Their great beloved man, or archimagus, now places four sentinels, one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first-fruit offering and that of marriage since the last year's expiation. Those sentinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their sacred trust; if they discerned a dog or cat on the out-limits of the holy square, before the first-fruit offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot. They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun; and be they ever so hungry in that sacred interval, the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the necessary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befell him in the new year, as the sinful author of his evils, and would sooner shoot themselves than suffer such long-continued sharp disgrace. The religious attendants boil a sufficient quantity of button-snake-root, highly imbittered, and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves till the end of the fast. When we consider their earnest invocations of the divine essence in this solemnity, their great knowledge of specific virtues in simples, —that they never apply the aforesaid root only on religious occasions, that they frequently drink it to such excess as to impair their health, and sometimes so as to poison themselves by its acrid quality, and take into the account its well-known medicinal property of curing the bite of the most dangerous sort of the serpentine generation,—must not one think that the aboriginal Americans chose it as a strong emblem of the certain cure of the bite of the old serpent in Eden? That the women and children, and those worthless fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defence of their holy places and holy things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godless, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leafed green tobacco on the outside of a corner of the sacred square; and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without in large pieces, which they chew heartily and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform the duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces, on account of the bitterness of the supposed sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities as she thinks are equal to their capacity of sinning, giving to the reputed worthless old he-hen-pickers the proportion only of a child, because she thinks such spiritless pictures of men cannot sin with married women, as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often successfully accompanied the beloved ark.

In the time of this general fast, the women, children, and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat as soon as they are certain the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude, but not before that period. Their indulgence to the sick and weak seems to be derived from divine precept, which forbade the offering of sacrifice at the cost of mercy; and the snake-root, joined with their sanctifying bitter green tobacco seem to be as strong expressive emblems as they could have possibly chosen, according to their situation in life, to represent the sacred institution of eating the paschal lamb with bitter herbs; and to show that though the old serpent bit us in Eden, yet there is a branch from the root of Jesse, to be hoped for by those who deny themselves their present sweet taste, which will be a sufficient purifier and effect the cure. The whole time of this fast may with truth be called a fast, and to the archimagus, to all the magi and pretended prophets in particular; for by ancient custom the former is obliged to eat of the sanctifying small-leafed tobacco and drink the snake-root, in a separate hut, for the space of three days and nights without any other subsistence, before the solemnity begins; besides his full portion along with the rest of the religious order and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general fast, which he pretends to observe with the strictest religion. After the first-fruits are sanctified, he lives most abstemiously till the end of the annual expiation, only sucking water-melons now and then to quench thirst and support life, spitting out the more substantial part. By the Levitical law the priests were obliged to observe a stricter sanctity of life than the laity; all the time they were performing the sacerdotal offices, both women and wine were strictly forbidden to them. Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their sacred mysteries to death, and the archimagus is visibly thin and meagre at the end of the solemnity. That rigid self-denial seems to have been designed to initiate the Levite, and give the rest an example of leading an innocent simple life, that thereby they might be able to subdue their unruly passions; and that

by mortifying and purifying himself so excessively, the sacrifice by passing through his pure hands may be accepted, and the holy Spirit of fire atoned according to the divine law. The superannuated religious are also emulous in the highest degree of excelling one another in their long fasting; for they firmly believe, that such an annual self-denying method is so highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the rest of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil and producing good things through the new year. They declare that a steady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly insure them a lasting round of happiness.

At the end of this solemn fast, the women by the voice of a crier bring to the outside of the holy square a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly drest, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, with regard both to time and place. The sentinels report the affair, and soon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the provisions and set them down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to show a gladness for the end of their religious duties; and shameful to hasten the holy attendants as they are all capable of their sacred offices. They are as strict observers of all their set forms, as the Israelites were of those they had from Divine appointment.

Before noon the temple is so cleared of everything the women brought to the square, that the festival after that period resembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, consisting only in a delusion of the senses. The women then carry the vessels from the temple to the water, and wash them clean for fear of pollution. As soon as the sun is visibly declining from his meridian, this third day of the fast, the archimagus orders a religious attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar, commanding every one of them to stay within their own houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing, and to be sure to extinguish and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise the divine fire will bite them severely with bad diseases, sickness, and a great many other evils, which he sententiously enumerates, and finishes his monitory caution by laying life and death before them. Now everything is hushed: nothing but silence all around: the archimagus and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke; or by rubbing two pieces together for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire, which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire. The Muskohge call the fire their Grandfather, and the supreme Father of mankind, *Esakàta-Emishe*, 'the breath-master', as it is commonly explained. When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest: then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this the archimagus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs. It is observable, that when the Levites laid wood on the sacred fire, it was unlawful for them either to blow it with bellows or their breath. The Magians, or followers of Zoroaster, poured oil on their supposed holy fire, and left it to the open air to kindle it into flame. Is not this religious ceremony of these desolate Indians a strong imitation, or near resemblance, of the Jewish customs?

Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shows his pleasure by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotten wood on it, any more than the Levites would on their sacred altars. Although the people without may well know what is transacting within, yet by order a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basketful of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart at the out-corner of the beloved square. By ancient custom she may either return home, or stand there, till the expiation of sin hath been made, which is thus performed. The archimagus, or fire-maker, rises from his white seat, and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a slow pace and in a very sedate and grave manner, stopping now and then, and speaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expression which none understand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally secrete their religious mysteries, that they may not be profaned. He then takes a little of each sort of the new harvest, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed holy ground, rubs some bear's oil

over it, and offers it up together with some flesh to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire, as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the button-snake-root, and the cusseena, by pouring a little of those two strong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white seats with those bitter liquids, and sits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been catched a-tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themselves and dress in their finest, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful distance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around to come for the sacred fire: they gladly obey. When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the archimagus addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves and all the beloved or holy people. This seems to allude to the theocratic government of the Jews, when such daring criminals were afflicted with immediate and visible divine punishment. In his female lecture, he is sharp and prolix: he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law, which may be readily excused on account of the prevalent passion of self-interest. Our own Christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness, as when that is at stake which they most value: and the old wary savage has sense enough to know that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded so much by inward principle as the fear of shame, and of incurring severe punishment; but if every bush of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a sufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that it is natural they should speak much on this part of the subject, as they think they have much at stake. After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech; otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse and commit that detestable crime. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harvest, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies; and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are certain; but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat their flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers; because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and then everything shall go well with them. He soon orders some of the religious attendants to take a sufficient quantity of the supposed holy fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lie several miles apart. The women, hating sharp and grave lessons, speedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the prospect of future joy and peace. While the women are running about, and getting ready to dress the sanctified new fruits on the sacred fire, the archimagus sends a religious attendant to pull some cusseena, or *yopon*, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot about half full: it has such a strong body as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their consecrated vessels, which are kept only for that use: of this they drink now and then till the end of the festival, and on every other religious occasion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in sanctifying themselves, often drink this and other bitter decoctions to such excess as to purge themselves very severely: when they drink it, they always invoke YO He Wah. If any of the warriors are confined at home by sickness or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the old consecrated conch-shells full of their sanctifying bitter cusseena by their magi. The traders hear them often dispute for it as their proper due by ancient custom, and

they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, especially that part which they imagine most affects their present welfare: the aged are sent to instruct the young ones in these particulars. The above allowance seems to be derived from the divine precept of mercy, in allowing a second passover in favour of those who could not go, or were not admitted, to the first; and the latter custom, to be in obedience to the divine law, which their supposed progenitors were to write on the posts of the doors to wear as frontlets before their eyes, and teach to their children.

Though the Indians do not use salt in their first-fruit oblation till the fourth day, it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot observe the annual expiation of sins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a sufficient quantity of bears for the use of this religious solemnity, and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are hard to be found and quite lean. The traders commonly supply themselves with plenty of this oil from winter to winter; but the Indians are so prepossessed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accursed, that they deem their oil as polluting on those sacred occasions, as Josephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire, if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk and steel, when they visit us, for fear of polluting themselves by lighting their pipes at our supposed *loak ookproose*, 'accursed fire', and spoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathematized and expelled from the temple, with the women who are suspected of gratifying their vicious taste. During the eight days festival they are forbidden even to touch the skin of a female child: if they are detected either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on, any of their own wives, in that sacred interval, they are stripped naked, and the offender is universally deemed so atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miserable life. Some have shot themselves dead, rather than stand the shame, and the long year's continual reproaches cast upon them for every mischance that befalls any of their people or the ensuing harvest,—a necessary effect of the divine anger, they say, for such a crying sin of pollution. An instance of this kind I heard happened some years ago in Talàse, a town of the Muskohge seven miles above the Alebáma garrison.

When we consider how sparingly they eat in their usual way of living, it is surprising to see what a vast quantity of food they consume on their festival days. It would equally surprise a stranger to see how exceedingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting only of dried flesh, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time the warriors are drest in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down: they carry feathers of the same colour, either in their hands, or fastened to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity and sceptres of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour, in which stands the holy fire. Their music consists of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick-sliding steps, and variegated postures of body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaked by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes *in tympano et choro*. Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and instrumental music, of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occasions, which they must have derived from early antiquity! Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can. They take up their war-instruments, and fight a mock battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they disobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of such religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their finest apparel, as before suggested, decorated with silver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists, their heads shining with oil, and torrepine-shells containing pebbles fastened to deer-skins tied to the outside of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a considerable while around the sacred fire, and then they separate.

At the conclusion of this long and solemn festival the archimagus orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselves, and come along with him, according to ancient custom. As they know the stated time, the joyful sound presently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themselves white. By their religious

emulation, they soon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground, with all who had sanctified themselves within it, who are likewise painted, some with streaks and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly solemn procession, to purify themselves in running water. The archimagus heads the holy train, his waiter next, the beloved men according to their seniority, and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing ALELUIAH to YO HE WAH, &c., till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the archimagus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil for their past vicious conduct: and they return in the same religious cheerful manner into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their annual great festival, and depart in joy and peace.

Ancient writers inform us, that while the Scythians or Tartars were heathens, their priests in the time of their sacrifices took some blood, and mixing it with milk, horse-dung, and earth, got on a tree, and having exhorted the people, they sprinkled them with it, in order to purify them, and defend them from every kind of evil: the heathens also excluded some from religious communion. The Egyptians excommunicated those who ate of animals that bore wool, or cut the throat of a goat*: and in ancient times they, and the Phœnicians, Greeks, &c., adored the serpent, and expelled those who killed it. The East-Indians, likewise, drive those from the supposed benefit of their altars, who eat of a cow and drink wine, or that eat with foreigners or an inferior caste. Though the heathen world offered sacrifice, had ablutions and several other sorts of purifications, and frequently by fire; yet at the best their religious observances differed widely from the divine institutions; whereas the American aborigines observe strict purity in the most essential parts of the divine law. The former concealed their various worship from the light of the sun; some seeking thick groves, others descending into the deep valleys, others crawling to get into caverns and under their favourite rocks. But we find the latter, in their state-houses and temples, following the Jerusalem copy in a surprising manner. Those of them who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west†. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south, which is a strong imitation of Solomon's temple, that was modelled according to the divine plan of the Israelitish camp in the wilderness. We find them also sacntifying themselves, according to the emblematical laws of purity, offering their annual sacrifice in the centre of their quadrangular temples, under the meridian light of the sun. Their magi are devoted to, and bear the name of, the great holy One; their supposed prophets, likewise, that of the divine fire; and each of them bear the emblems of purity and holiness, while in their religious duties they sing ALELUIAH, YO HE WAH, &c., both day and night. Thus different are the various gods, temples, prophets, and priests of all the idolatrous nations of antiquity, from the savage Americans; which shows with convincing clearness, especially by recollecting the former arguments, that the American aborigines were never idolaters, nor violated the second commandment in worshiping the incomprehensible, omnipresent, Divine essence, after the manner described by the Popish historians of Peru and Mexico; but that the greatest part of their civil and religious system is a strong old picture of the Israelitish, much less defaced than might be reasonably expected from the circumstances of time and place.

* .....Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
Mensa; nefas illic fœtum jugulare capellæ.—*Juvenal*, Sat. xv.

† The Hebrews had two presidents in the great synhedrion. The first was called *Nashe Yo*, 'a prince of God'. They elected him on account of his wisdom. The second was called *Rosh Ha-Yoshibbah*, 'the father of the assembly': he was chief in the great council. And *Ab beth din*, or 'the father of the consistory', sat at his right hand as the chief of the seventy-two, of which the great synhedrion consisted; the rest sitting, according to their merit, in a gradual declension from the prince to the end of the semicircle. The like order is observed by the Indians,—and Jer. ii. 27, God commanded the Israelites that they should not turn their backs to him, but their faces toward the propitiatory, when they worshiped him. I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end, close to the white cabin, each on a direct line north and south.

Every spring season, one town or more of the Missisippi Floridians keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, *hottuk aimpa, heettla, tanáa,* 'the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together'. The short name of their yearly feast of love, is *hottuk impanáa,* 'eating by a strong religious or social principle'; *impanáa* signifies several threads or strands twisted or warped together. *Hissoobistaráksh*e, and *yelphòha panáa,* 'a twisted horse-rope', and 'warped garter*'. This is also contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, whose festivals were in honour to their chief idols, and very often accompanied with detestable lewdness and debauchery. They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love: on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from the evening till morning. The men mask their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a-hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison for the feast of renewing their love and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which, a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind.

Before I conclude this Argument, I must here observe, that when the Indians meet at night to gladden and unite their hearts before YOHEWAH, they sing *Yohèwà-shoo Yohèwà-shoo, Yohewàhshee Yohewàshee,* and *Yohewàhshai Yohewàhshai,* with much energy. The first word is nearly in Hebrew characters, יהושע, the name of *Joshua,* or 'saviour', Numb. xiii. 8. That ע is properly expressed by our double vowel *oo,* let it be observed, that as בעל is 'a ruler', or 'commanding', so the Indians say *boole hakse* 'strike a person that is criminal'. In like manner they sing *Meshi Yo Meshi Yo, Meshi He Meshi He, Meshi Wah Meshi Wah*; likewise, *Meshi Hah Yo,* &c.; and *Meshi Wàh Háh Meshi Wàh Hé,* transposing and accenting each syllable differently, so as to make them appear different words. But they commonly make those words end with one syllable of the divine name, *Yo He Wah.* If we connect this with the former part of the subject, and consider they are commonly anointed all over in the time of their religious songs and circuiting dances, the words seem to glance at the Hebrew original, and perhaps they are sometimes synonymous; for שמו signifies 'oil', the person anointed משח (*Messiah*), and he who anointed משיחו, which with the Indians is *Meshiháh Yo.* That these red savages formerly understood the radical meaning and emblematical design of the important words they use in their religious dances and sacred hymns is pretty obvious, if we consider the reverence they pay to the mysterious divine name YO HE WAH, in pausing during a long breath on each of the two first syllables; their defining good by joining *Wah* to the end of a word which otherwise expresses moral evil, as before noticed; and again by making the same word a negative of good, by separating the first syllable of that divine name into two syllables, and adding *U* as a superlative termination, *Y-O-U*: all their sacred songs seem likewise to illustrate it very clearly; *Halelu-Yah, Shilu Wah, Meshi Wah, Meshiha Yo,* &c. The words which they repeat in their divine hymns while dancing in three circles around their supposed holy fire, are deemed so sacred, that they have not been known ever to mention them at any other time; and as they are a most erect people, their bowing posture during the time of those religious acclamations and invocations helps to confirm their Hebrew origin.

ARGUMENT IX.

The Hebrews offered Daily Sacrifice, which the prophet Daniel calls *Tamid,* 'the daily'. It was an offering of a lamb every morning and evening, at the charges of the common treasury of the temple, and except the skin and entrails it was burnt to ashes; upon which account they called it *Oolah kalile,* 'to ascend and consume'. The Indians have a similar religious service. The Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil; and they are so far from making this fat-offering through pride or

* The name of a horse-rope is derived from *tarákshe* 'to tie', and *hìssooba* 'an elk or horse that carries a burthen'; which suggests that they formerly saw elks carry burthens, though perhaps not in the northern provinces.

hypocrisy, that they perform it when they think they are not seen by those of contrary principles, who might ridicule them without teaching them better. Instead of blaming their religious conduct, as some have done, I advised them to persist in their religious duty to *Ishtohoollo Aba,* because he never failed to be kind to those who firmly shaked hands with the old beloved speech, particularly the moral precepts, and after they died he would bring them to their beloved land; and took occasion to show them the innumerable advantages their reputed forefathers were blessed with while they obeyed the divine law.

The white people (I had almost said Christians) who have become Indian proselytes of justice by living according to the Indian religious system, assure us that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home and in the woods with new-killed venison, but that otherwise they decline it. The difficulty of getting salt for religious uses from the sea-shore, and likewise its irritating quality when eaten by those who have green wounds, might in time occasion them to discontinue that part of the sacrifice. They make salt for domestic use out of a saltish kind of grass which grows on rocks, by burning it to ashes, making strong lye of it, and boiling it in earthen pots to a proper consistence. They do not offer any fruits of the field, except at the first-fruit offering; so that their neglect of sacrifice at certain times, seems not to be the effect of an ignorant or vicious, but of their intelligent and virtuous disposition, and to be a strong circumstantial evidence of their Israelitish extraction. Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by *Ishtohoollo Aba,* and a great multitude of inferior good spirits, yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent spirit of fire and light resides on earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law which was delivered to their forefathers. The former notion of the Deity is agreeable to those natural images with which the divine penmen, through all the prophetic writings, have drawn YOHEWAH ELOHIM. When God was pleased with Aaron's priesthood and offerings, the holy fire descended and consumed the burnt-offering on the altar, &c. By the divine records of the Hebrews, this was the emblematical token of the divine presence; and the smoke of the victim ascending toward heaven is represented as a sweet savour to God. The people who have lived so long apart from the rest of mankind are not to be wondered at, if they have forgotten the end and meaning of the sacrifice; and are rather to be pitied for seeming to believe, like the ignorant part of the Israelites, that the virtue is either in the form of offering the sacrifice, or in the divinity they imagine to reside on earth in the sacred annual fire; likewise, for seeming to have forgotten that the virtue was in the thing typified.

In the year 1748, when I was at the Koosàh on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors, having drank to excess, reeled into the fire and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, "Now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, for I shall piss upon you." From that time, his brethren said, God forsook that terrestrial residence, and the warrior became godless. This information exactly agrees with many such instances of Indian impiety, that happened within my own observation, and shows the bad consequences of that evil habit of using spirituous liquors intemperately, which they have been taught by the Europeans.

The Indians have among them the resemblance of the Jewish sin-offering and trespass-offering, for they commonly pull their new-killed venison (before they dress it) several times through the smoke and flame of the fire, both by the way of a sacrifice, and to consume the blood, life or animal spirits of the beast, which with them would be a most horrid abomination to eat. And they sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt, and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health, and for their former success in hunting, or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. When the Hebrews doubted whether they had sinned against any of the divine precepts,

they were obliged by the law to bring to the priest a ram of their flock to be sacrificed, which they called *Ascham.* When the priest offered this, the person was forgiven. Their sacrifices and offerings were called *Shilomim,* as they typified *Shilo-Berith,* 'the purifying root', who was to procure them peace, rest and plenty. The Indian imitates the Israelite in his religious offerings, according to the circumstances of things; the Hebrew laid his hands on the head of the clean and tame victim, to load it with his sins, when it was to be killed. The Indian religiously chooses that animal which in America comes nearest to the divine law of sacrifice, according to what God has enabled him; he shoots down a buck, and sacrifices either the whole carcass or some choice part of it, upon a fire of green wood to burn away and ascend to Yohewah. Then he purifies himself in water, and believes himself secure from temporal evils. Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious œconomy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology; which seems to proceed from a traditional knowledge, though corruption of the Hebrew law of sprinkling and of blood.

The Indians observe another religious custom of the Hebrews, in making a peace-offering, or sacrifice of gratitude, if the Deity in the supposed holy ark is propitious to their campaign against the enemy, and brings them all safe home. If they have lost any in war, they always decline it, because they imagine by some neglect of duty, they are impure: then they only mourn their vicious conduct which defiled the ark, and thereby occasioned the loss. Like the Israelites, they believe their sins are the true cause of all their evils, and that the divinity in their ark will always bless the more religious party with the best success. This is their invariable sentiment, and is the sole reason of their mortifying themselves in so severe a manner while they are out at war, living very scantily, even in a buffalo-range under a strict rule, lest by luxury their hearts should grow evil and give them occasion to mourn. The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in the divine presence, singing *Yo Yo,* &c. for their success and safety; but, according to the religious custom of the Hebrews, who offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for every notable favour that Elohim had conferred either on individuals or the body,—both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill; yet, as hath been observed, they always celebrate the annual expiation of sins in their religious temples.

The red Hebrews imagine their temples to have such a typical holiness, more than any other place, that if they offered up the annual sacrifice elsewhere, it would not atone for the people, but rather bring down the anger of *Ish-tohoollo Aba,* and utterly spoil the power of their holy places and holy things. They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned, unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity, according to a similar opinion of the Hebrews. To conclude this argument, it is well known that the heathens offered the most abominable and impure sacrifices to a multiplicity of idol gods; some on favourite high places, others in thick groves, yea, offerings of their own children were made! and they likewise prostituted their young women in honour of their deities. The former is so atrocious in the eyes of the American Hebrews, that they reckon there needs no human law to prevent so unnatural a crime; the vilest reptiles being endued with an intense love to their young ones; and as to the latter, if even a great war-leader is known to cohabit with his own wife while sanctifying himself according to their mode on any religious occasion, he is deemed unclean for the space of three days and nights; or should he during the annual atonement of sins, it is deemed so dangerous a pollution, as to demand a strict exclusion from the rest of the sanctified head-men and warriors, till the general atonement has been made at the temple, to appease the offended Deity: besides, as a shameful badge of his impiety, his clothes are stripped off. Thus different are the various modes and subjects of the heathenish worship and offerings, from those of the savage Americans. The surprising purity the latter still observe in their religious ceremonies, under the circumstances of time and place, points strongly at their origin.

ARGUMENT X.

The Hebrews had various Ablutions and Anointings, according to the Mosaic ritual; and all the Indian nations constantly observe similar customs from religious motives. Their frequent bathing, or dipping themselves and their children in rivers, even in the severest weather, seems to be as truly Jewish as the other rites and ceremonies which

have been mentioned. Frequent washing of the body was highly necessary to the health of the Hebrews in their warm climate and populous state; but it is useless in this point of view to the red Americans, as their towns are widely distant from each other, thin-peopled, and situated in cold regions. However, they practise it as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and children turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, &c., at the dawn of day, adoring Yo He Wah, at the gladsome sight of the morn; and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience. After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin. This is called dry-scratching; for their method of bleeding consists in scratching the legs and arms with goir-fish teeth, when the skin has been first well loosened by warm water. The criminals, through a false imitation of true martial virtue, scorn to move themselves in the least out of their erect posture, be the pain ever so intolerable; if they did, they would be laughed at, even by their own relations,—first for being vicious, and next for being timorous. This will help to lessen our surprise at the uncommon patience and constancy with which they are endued, beyond the rest of mankind, in suffering long-continued torture; especially as it is one of the first and strongest impressions they take; and they have constant lessons and examples of fortitude exhibited before their eyes.

The Hebrews had convenient separate places for their women to bathe in, and purify themselves as occasion required; and at the temple (and the synagogues, after the captivity,) they worshiped apart from the men, lest they should attract one another's attention from the divine worship; and it was customary for the women to go veiled, for fear of being seen, when they walked the streets. No doubt but jealousy had as great a share in introducing this custom as modesty, especially while polygamy was suffered in the rich. But the scantiness of the Jewish Americans' circumstances, has obliged them to purify themselves in the open rivers, where modesty forbade them to expose their women; who by this means are now less religious than the men in that duty, for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them. In imitation of the Hebrew women being kept apart from the men at their worship, the Indians entirely exclude their females from their temples by ancient custom, except six old beloved women, who are admitted to sing, dance and rejoice, in the time of their annual expiation of sins, and then retire. In their town-houses also they separate them from the warriors, placing them on the ground at each side of the entrance of the door within, as if they were only casual spectators. It may be objected, that the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans worshiped their gods at the dawn of day; and the Persian magi, with all the other worshipers of fire, paid their religious devoirs to the rising sun; but, as the Indians are plainly not idolaters or polytheists, as they sing to and invoke Yah, and YO He Wah, the divine essence, as they run along at the dawn of day to purify themselves by ablution, it seems sufficiently clear they are not descended from either of the last-mentioned states, but that their origin is from the Israelites. This law of purity, bathing in water, was essential to the Jews; and the Indians to this day would exclude the men from religious communion who neglected to observe it. It was customary with the Jews also after bathing to anoint themselves with oil. All the Orientalists had a kind of sacred respect to oil; particularly the Jews. With them, the same word which signified 'noon-day or splendour', צהר, denoted also 'lucid oil'. And the olive tree is derived from the verb 'to shine', because the fruit thereof tended to give their faces a favourite glistering colour. 'Tis well known that oil was applied by the Jews to the most sacred, as well as common uses. Their kings, prophets and priests, at their inauguration and consecration were anointed with oil; and the promised Saviour was himself described by the epithet "anointed", and is said, Psal. xlv. 7., to be "anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows." We shall on this point discover no small resemblance and conformity in the American Indians. The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling, through a scrupulous fear of contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people, and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they were allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink anything except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse

their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former Argument, (pages 315, 316,) are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head. If they could procure olive or palm oil, instead of bear's oil, doubtless they would prefer and use it in their sacred ceremonies, especially as they are often destitute of their favourite bear's oil for domestic uses.

The Jewish women were so exceedingly addicted to anoint their faces and bodies, that they often preferred oil to the necessaries of life; the widow who addressed herself to Elisha, though she was in the most pinching straits, and wanted everything else, yet had a pot of oil to anoint herself. This custom of anointing became universal among the eastern nations. They were not satisfied with perfuming themselves with sweet oils and fine essences, but anointed birds; as in the ninth ode of Anacreon;

Tot unde nunc odores?
Huc advolans per auras,
Spirasque, depluisque;

The poet introduces two doves conversing together; one of which carried a letter to Bathyllus, the anointed beau, and the other wishes her much joy for her perfumed wings that diffused such an agreeable smell around. And the same poet orders the painter to draw this Samian beau with his hair wet with essence, to give him a fine appearance. "Nitidas comas ejus facilto." (Ode 29.) Virgil describes Turnus, just after the same manner:

Vibratos calido ferro, myrrhaque madentes.—*Æneid.* lib. 12.

Homer tells us that Telemachus and Philistratus anointed their whole bodies with essences, after they had visited the palace of Menelaus, and before they sat down at table.—*Odyss.* lib. 4.

The Jews reckoned it a singular piece of disrespect to their guest, if they offered him no oil. When any of them paid a friendly visit, they had essences presented to anoint their heads; to which custom of civility the Saviour alludes in his reproof of the parsimonious Pharisee at whose house he dined.—*Luke* vii. 46.

All the Indian Americans, especially the female sex, reckon their bear's oil or grease very valuable, and use it after the same manner as the Asiatics did their fine essences and sweet perfumes; the young warriors and women are uneasy unless their hair is always shining with it, which is probably the reason that none of their heads are bald. But enough is said on this head to show that they seem to have derived this custom from the East.

ARGUMENT XI.

The Indians have customs consonant to the Mosaic Laws of Uncleanness. They oblige their women, in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses as they imagine may be out of the enemies' reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risk of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats, and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war, yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, &c., which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them, in this point, from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies. The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify themselves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishtohoollo Aba.*

Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after travail, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company for a considerable time. The Muskohge women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. By the Jewish law, women, after a male-birth, were forbidden to enter the temple, and even the very touch of sacred things, forty days; and after a female, the time of separation was doubled. Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the

fear of temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges.

By the Levitical law, the people who had running issues, or sores, were deemed unclean, and strictly ordered apart from the rest, for fear of polluting them; for everything they touched became unclean. The Indians, in as strict a manner, observe the very same law; they follow the ancient Israelitish copy so close, as to build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there (as the Jewish lepers formerly were, without the walls of the city,) for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail; and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking YO He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion, which is chiefly mountain alum and medicinal herbs, always enjoining a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, &c., immediately proceed from the pleased or angry Deity for their virtuous or vicious conduct in observing or violating the divine law. In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either seduce him to folly, or she, having committed it with others, or by not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert, either by a double affirmative or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife in the space of the last natural day. This law of purity was peculiar to the Hebrews, to deem those unclean who cohabited with their wives, till they purified themselves in clean water. Now as the heathen world observed no such law, it seems that the primitive Americans derived this religious custom also from divine precept; and that these ceremonial rites were originally copied from the Mosaic institution.

The Israelites became unclean only by touching their dead, for the space of seven days; and the high priest was prohibited to come near the dead. 'Tis much the same with the Indians to this day. To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though, when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety. The relations who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snake-root for their purification, as formerly described; then they purify themselves by ablution. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse a long time, mourning the dead*. The Cheerake, notwithstanding they have corrupted most of their primitive customs, observe this law of purity in so strict a manner, as not to touch the corpse of their nearest relation, though in the woods. The fear of pollution (not the want of natural affection, as the unskilful observe,) keeps them also from burying their dead in our reputed unsanctified ground, if any die as they are going to Charles-town and returning home; because they are distant from their own holy places and holy things, where only they could perform the religious obsequies of their dead, and purify themselves according to law. An incident of this kind happened several years since a little below *Ninety-six*, as well as at the Conggarees, in South Carolina: at the former place, the corpse, by our humanity, was interred; but at the latter, even the twin-born brother of an Indian Christian lady, well known by the name of the *Dark-lanthorn*, left her dead and unburied.

* One of the Cheeràke traders, who now resides in the Choktah country, assures me that a little before the commencement of the late war with the Cheerake, when the *Buck*, a native of Nuquòse-town, died, none of the warriors would help to bury him, because of the dangerous pollution they imagined they should necessarily contract from such a white corpse; as he was begotten by a white man and a half-breed Cheerake woman, and as the women are only allowed to mourn for the death of a warrior, they could not assist in this friendly duty. By much solicitation, the gentleman (my author) obtained the help of an old friendly half-bred warrior. They interred the corpse; but the savage became unclean, and was separate from every kind of communion with the rest, for the space of three days.

The conversion of this *rara avis* was in the following extraordinary manner: There was a gentleman who married her according to the manner of the Cheeràke; but observing that marriages were commonly of a short duration in that wanton female government, he flattered himself of engrossing her affections, could he be so happy as to get her sanctified by one of our own beloved men with a large quantity of holy water in baptism, and be taught the conjugal duty, by virtue of her new Christian name, when they were married anew. As she was no stranger in the English settlements, he soon persuaded her to go down to the Conggarees, to get the beloved speech, and many fine things beside. As the priest was one of those sons of wisdom the Church sent us in her maternal benevolence, both to keep and draw us from essential errors, he readily knew the value of a convert, and grasping at the opportunity, he changed her from a wild savage to a believing Christian in a trice. He asked her a few articles of her creed, which were soon answered by the bridegroom, as interpreter, from some words she spoke on a trifling question he asked her. When the priest proposed to her a religious question, the bridegroom, by reason of their low ideas and the idiom of their dialects, was obliged to mention some of the virtues, and say he recommended to her a very strict chastity in the married state. "Very well," said she, "that's a good speech, and fit for every woman alike, unless she is very old; but what says he now?" The interpreter, after a short pause, replied, that he was urging her to use a proper care in domestic life. "You evil spirit," said she, "when was I wasteful or careless at home?" He replied, "Never." "Well then," said she, "tell him his speech is troublesome and light; but first, where are those fine things you promised me?" He bid her be patient a little, and she should have plenty of everything she liked best; at this she smiled. Now the religious man was fully confirmed in the hope of her conversion; however, he asked if she understood and believed that needful article, the doctrine of the Trinity. The bridegroom swore heartily, that if he brought out all the other articles of his old book, she both knew and believed them, for she was a sensible young woman. The bridegroom had a very difficult part to act, both to please the humour of his Venus and to satisfy the inquisitive temper of our religious son of Apollo; he behaved pretty well, however, till he was desired to ask her belief of the uni-trinity and tri-unity of the Deity; which the beloved man endeavoured to explain. On this, she smartly asked him the subject of their long and crooked-like discourse. But, as his patience was now exhausted, instead of answering her question, he said with a loud voice that he believed the religious man had picked out all the crabbed parts of his old book, only to puzzle and stagger her young Christian faith; otherwise how could he desire him to persuade such a sharp, discerning young woman, that one was three, and three, one? Besides, that if his book had any such question, it belonged only to the deep parts of arithmetic, in which the very Indian beloved men were untaught. He assured the priest that the Indians did not mind what religion the women were of, or whether they had any, and that the bride would take it very kindly if he shortened his discourse, as nothing can disturb the Indian women so much as long lectures. The *Dark-lanthorn* (which was the name of the bride,) became very uneasy, both by the delay of time, and the various passions she attentively read in the bridegroom's face and speech, and she asked him sharply the meaning of such a long discourse. He instantly cried out that the whole affair was spoiled unless it was brought to a speedy conclusion; but the religious man insisted upon her belief of that article before he could proceed any further. But by way of comfort, he assured him it should be the very last question he would propose, till he put the holy water on her face, and read over the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom, revived at this good news, immediately sent the bowl around, with a cheerful countenance; which the bride observing, she asked him the reason of his sudden joyful looks. But what with the length of the lecture, the close application of the bowl, and an over-joy of soon obtaining his wishes, he proposed the wrong question; for instead of asking her belief of the mysterious union of the tri-une Deity, he only mentioned the manly faculties of nature. The bride smiled, and asked if the beloved man borrowed that speech from his beloved marriage-book? or whether he was married, as he was so waggish and knowing in those affairs. The priest, imagining her cheerful looks proceeded from her swallowing his doctrine, immediately called for a bowl of water to initiate his new convert. As the bridegroom could not mediate with his usual friendly offices in this affair, he persuaded her to let the beloved man put some beloved water on her face, and it would be a sure pledge of a lasting friendship between her and the English, and entitle her to everything she liked best. By the persuasive force of his promises, she consented, and had the constancy, though so ignorant a novitiate in our sacred mysteries, to go through her catechism, and the long marriage ceremony,—although it was often interrupted by the bowl. This being over, she proceeded to go to bed with her partner, while the beloved man sung a psalm at the door concerning the fruitful vine. Her name he soon entered in capital letters, to grace the first title-page of his church book of converts, which he often showed to his English sheep, and

with much satisfaction would inform them how, by the co-operation of the Deity, his earnest endeavours changed an Indian *Dark-lanthorn* into a lamp of Christian light. However, afterward, to his great grief, he was obliged, on account of her adulteries, to erase her name from thence, and enter it anew in some of the crowded pages of female delinquents.

When an Israelite died in any house or tent, all who were in it, and the furniture belonging to it, contracted a pollution, which continued for seven days. All, likewise, who touched the body of a dead person, or his grave, were impure for seven days. Similar notions prevail among the Indians. The Choktah are so exceedingly infatuated in favour of the infallible judgement of their pretended prophets, as to allow them, without the least regret, to dislocate the necks of any of their sick who are in a weak state of body, to put them out of their pain, when they presume to reveal the determined will of the Deity to shorten his days, which is asserted to be communicated in a dream; by the time that this theo-physical operation is performed on a patient, they have a scaffold prepared opposite to the door, whereon he is to lie till they remove the bones, in the fourth moon after, to the remote bone-house of that family: they immediately carry out the corpse, mourn over it, and place it in that dormitory, which is strongly pallisadoed around, lest the children should become polluted even by passing under the dead. Formerly, when the owner of a house died, they set fire to it and to all the provisions of every kind; or sold the whole at a cheap rate to the trading people, without paying the least regard to the scarcity of the times. Many of them still observe the same rule, through a wild imitation of a ceremonial observance of the Israelites in burning the bed whereon a dead person lay, because of its impurity. This is no copy from the ancient heathens, but from the Hebrews.

ARGUMENT XII.

Like the Jews, the greatest part of the southern Indians *abstain* from most things that are, either in themselves or in the general apprehension of mankind, loathsome or *unclean*: where we find a deviation from that general rule among any of them, it is a corruption, either owing to their intercourse with Europeans, or having contracted an ill habit from necessity. They generally affix very vicious ideas to the eating of impure things; and all their prophets, priests, old warriors and war-chieftains, before they enter on their religious duties, and while they are engaged in them, observe the strictest abstinence in this point. Formerly, if any of them did eat in white people's houses, or even of what had been dressed there, while they were sanctifying themselves, it was deemed a dangerous sin of pollution. When some of them first corrupted their primitive virtue, by drinking of our spirituous liquors, the religious spectators called it *ooka hoome,* 'bitter waters'; alluding, I conjecture, to the bitter waters of jealousy that produced swelling and death to those who committed adultery, but had no power over the innocent. That this name is not accidental, but designedly pointed, and expressive of the bitter waters of God, seems obvious, not only from the image they still retain of them, but likewise, when any of them refuse our invitation of drinking spirituous liquors in company with us, they say, *Ahiskòla awa, ooka hoomeh Ishto,* 'I will not drink; they are the bitter waters of the great one.' Though *Ishto,* one of the names of God, subjoined to nouns denotes a superlative degree, in this case they deviate from that general rule, and for this reason they never affix the idea of bitter to the spirituous liquors we drink among them. *Hoomeh* is the only word they have to convey the meaning of bitter; as, *aneh hoomeh,* 'bitter ears', or pepper.

They reckon all birds of prey and birds of night to be unclean, and unlawful to be eaten. Not long ago, when the Indians were making their winter's hunt, and the old women were without flesh-meat at home, I shot a small fat hawk, and desired one of them to take and dress it; but though I strongly importuned her by way of trial, she as earnestly refused it, for fear of contracting pollution, which she called the 'accursed sickness', supposing disease would be the necessary effect of such an impurity. Eagles of every kind they esteem unclean food; likewise ravens, (though the name of a tribe with them,) crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owls; and they believe that swallowing flies, musketoes or gnats, always breeds sickness or worms according to the quantity that goes into them; which, though it may not imply extraordinary skill in physic, shows their retention of the ancient law which prohibited the swallowing of flies; for to this that divine sarcasm alludes, "swallowing a camel, and straining at a gnat." Such insects were deemed unclean, as well as vexatious and hurtful. The God of Ekron was *Beelzebub,* or the God and ruler of flies. None of them will eat of any animal whatsoever, if they either know or suspect that it died of itself. I lately asked one of the women the reason of throwing a dunghill fowl out of doors, on the corn-

house; she said that she was afraid *oophe abeeka hakset illeh,* 'it died with the distemper of the mad dogs', and that if she had eaten it, it would have affected her in the very same manner. I said, if so, she did well to save herself from danger, but at the same time it seemed she had forgotten the cats. She replied, "that such impure animals would not contract the accursed sickness, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the flesh of the swine that fed on such polluting food, would certainly become mad." In the year 1766, a madness seized the wild beasts in the remote woods of West Florida, and about the same time the domestic dogs were attacked with the like distemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt found several lying dead, some in a helpless condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they are all fond of increasing their number of deer-skins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durst venture to flay them, lest they should pollute themselves and thereby incur bodily evils. The head-man of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *hottuk hakse,* who had resided a long time at Savannah, from touching such deer, saying to him *chehaksinna,* 'do not become vicious and mad', for *isse hakset illehtàhah* 'the deer were mad, and are dead'; adding, that if he acted the part of *hakse* he would cause both himself and the rest of the hunting camp to be spoiled; nevertheless he shut his ears against his honest speech, and brought those dangerous deer-skins to camp. But the people would not afterward associate with him; and he soon paid dear for being *hakse,* by a sharp splintered root of a cane running almost through his foot, near the very place where he first polluted himself; and he was afraid some worse ill was still in wait for him.

In 1767 the Indians were struck with a disease which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *wahka abeeka,* 'the cattle's distemper, or sickness'. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, &c., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief or greater ills from befalling the beloved people, for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open corn-fields; upon which account, the traders' arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief.

They reckon all those animals to be unclean, that are either carnivorous or live on nasty food; as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. And if we except the bear, they deem all beasts of prey unhallowed and polluted food; all amphibious quadrupeds they rank in the same class. Our old traders remember when they first began the custom of eating beavers; and to this day none eat of them except those who kill them; though the flesh is very wholesome, on account of the bark of trees they live upon. It must be acknowledged, they are all degenerating apace, insomuch that the Choktah Indians, on account of their scantiness of ammunition while they traded with the French, took to eat horse-flesh, and even snakes of every kind; though each of these species, and every sort of reptiles, are accounted by the other neighbouring nations impure food in the highest degree. And they ridicule the Choktah for their cannibal apostacy, and term them, in common speech, 'the evil, ugly Choktah'. They abhor moles so exceedingly, that they will not allow their children even to touch them, for fear of hurting their eye-sight; reckoning it contagious. They believe that nature is possessed of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who feeds on venison is, according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dullness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigour in their martial, civil and religious duties. I have already sohwn their aversion to eating of unsanctified fruits; and in this Argument, that they abstain from several other things, contrary to the usage of all the old heathen world. It may be objected, that now they seldom refuse to eat hog's flesh, when the traders invite them to it; but this proceeds

entirely from vicious imitation, and which is common with the most civilized nations. When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed readmitted to his usual privileges. Formerly none of their beloved men or warriors would eat or drink with us on the most pressing invitation, through fear of polluting themselves; they deemed us such impure animals. Our eating the flesh of swine and venison with the gravy in it helped to rivet their dislike, for this they reckon as blood.

I once asked the Archimagus to sit down and partake of my dinner; but he excused himself, saying, he had in a few days some holy duty to perform, and that if he eat evil or accursed food, it would spoil him,—alluding to swine's flesh. Though most of their virtue hath lately been corrupted in this particular, they still affix vicious and contemptible ideas to the eating of swine's flesh; insomuch, that *shúkàpa,* 'swine-eater', is the most opprobrious epithet they can use to brand us with: they commonly subjoin *akanggàpa,* 'eater of dunghill fowls'. Both together signify 'filthy helpless animals'. By our surprising mismanagement in allowing them a long time to insult, abuse, rob and murder the innocent British subjects at pleasure, without the least satisfaction, all the Indian nations formerly despised the English as a swarm of tame fowls, and termed them so in their set speeches. The Indians, through a strong principle of religion, abstain in the strictest manner from eating the BLOOD of any animal; as it contains the life and spirit of the beast, and was the very essence of the sacrifices that were to be offered up for sinners. And this was the Jewish opinion and law of sacrifice, Lev. xvii. 11. "For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood which maketh an atonement for the soul." When the English traders have been making sausages mixed with hog's blood, I have observed the Indians to cast their eyes upon them with the horror of their reputed forefathers when they viewed the predicted abomination of desolation fulfilled by Antiochus in defiling the temple. An instance lately happened, which sufficiently shows their utter aversion to blood. A Chikkesah woman, a domestic of one of the traders, being very ill with a complication of disorders, the Indian physician seemed to use his best endeavours to cure her, but without the least visible effect. To preserve his medical credit with the people, he at last ascribed her ailment to the eating of swine's flesh, blood, and other polluting food; and said, that such an ugly or accursed sickness overcame the power of all his beloved songs and physic; and in anger, he left his supposed criminal patient to be punished by Loak Ishtohoollo. I asked her some time afterwards what her ailments were, and what she imagined might have occasioned them? She said, she was full of pain, that she had *abeeka ookproo,* 'the accursed sickness', because she had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *issish ookproo,* 'accursed blood', in them. In time she recovered, and now strictly abstains from tame fowls, unless they are bled to death, for fear of incurring future evil by the like pollution.

There is not the least trace, among their ancient traditions, of their deserving the hateful name of cannibals, as our credulous writers have carefully copied from each other. Their taste is so opposite to that of the Anthropophagi, that they always over-dress their meat, whether roasted or boiled. The Muskohge, who have been at war time out of mind against the Indians of Cape Florida, and at length reduced them to thirty men, who removed to the Havannah along with the Spaniards, affirm, they could never be informed by their captives of the least inclination they ever had of eating human flesh, only the heart of the enemy, which they all do sympathetically (blood for blood) in order to inspire them with courage; and yet the constant losses they suffered might have highly provoked them to exceed their natural barbarity. To eat the heart of an enemy will, in their opinion, like eating other things before mentioned, communicate and give greater heart against the enemy. They also think that the vigorous faculties of the mind are derived from the brain; on which account I have seen some of their heroes drink out of a human skull; they imagine, they only imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained.

When speaking to the Archimagus concerning the Hottentots, those heterogeneous animals, according to the Portuguese and Dutch accounts, he asked me, whether they builded and planted, and what sort of food they chiefly lived upon. I told him I was informed that they dwelt in small nasty huts, and lived chiefly on sheep's guts and crickets. He laughed, and said there was no credit to be given to the far-distant writers of those old books, because they might not have understood the language and customs of the people; but that those whom our books reported to live on such nasty food, (if they did not deceive us,) might have been forced to it for the want of better, to keep

them from dying; or by the like occasion they might have learned that ugly custom and could not quit it when they were free from want, as the Choktah eat horse-flesh, though they have plenty of venison; however, it was very easy, he said, to know whether they were possessed of human reason, for if they were endued with shame to have a desire of covering their nakedness, he concluded them to be human. He then asked me whether I had been informed of their having any sort of language, or method of counting as high as the number of their fingers, either by words or expressive motion; or of bearing a nearer resemblance to *yáwe*, the human creature, in laughter, than *shawe*, the ape, bore; or of being more social and gregarious than those animals of the country where they lived. If they were endued with those properties, he affirmed them to be human creatures, and that such old lying books should not be credited.

The more religious, or the least corrupted, of the various remote Indian nations, *will not eat of any young beast when it is newly yeaned*; and their old men think they would suffer damage even by the bare contact; which seems to be derived from the Mosaic law, that prohibited such animals to be offered up or eaten, till they were *eight days old*; because, till then, they were in an imperfect and polluted state! They appear, however, to be utterly ignorant of the design and meaning of this appointment and practice, as well as of some other customs and institutions. But as the time of circumcising the Israelitish children was founded on this law of purity, it seems probable that the American aborigines observed the law of circumcision for some time after they arrived here, and desisted from it when it became incompatible with the hard daily toils and sharp exercises which necessity must have forced them to pursue, to support life; especially when we consider, that the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him, in public company, *hoobuk waske*, eunuchus, *præputio detecto*. They resent it so highly, that in the year 1750, when the Cheerake were on the point of commencing a war against us, several companies of the northern Indians, in concert with them, compelled me, in the lower Cheerake town, to write to the government of South Carolina, that they made it their earnest request to the English not to mediate in their war with the Katáhba Indians, as they were fully resolved to prosecute it with the greatest eagerness while there was one of that hateful name alive; because in the time of battle, they had given them the ugly name of short-tailed eunuchs. Now as an eunuch was a contemptible name with the Israelites, and none of them could serve in any religious office, it should seem that the Indians derived this opprobrious and singular epithet from Jewish tradition, as castration was never in use among the ancient or present Americans. The Israelites were but forty years in the wilderness, and would not have renewed the painful act of circumcision, only that Joshua enforced it; and by the necessary fatigues and difficulties to which, as already hinted, the primitive Americans must be exposed at their first arrival in this waste and extensive wilderness, it is likely they forbore circumcision, upon the divine principle extended to their supposed predecessors in the wilderness, of not accepting sacrifice at the expense of mercy. This might soothe them afterwards wholly to reject it as a needless duty, especially if any of the eastern heathens accompanied them in their travels in quest of freedom. And as it is probable that by the time they reached America they had worn out their knives and every other sharp instrument fit for the occasion, so, had they performed the operation with flint stones, or sharp splinters, there is no doubt that each of the mothers would have likewise said, "This day thou art to me a bloody husband*." However, from the contemptible idea the Americans fix to castration, &c., it seems very probable the more religious among them used circumcision in former ages.

Under this Argument I must observe, that *ai-ú-be* signifies 'the thigh' of any animal, and *e-ee-patták tekále*, 'the lower part of the thigh', or literally, 'the hanging of the foot'. And when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, lengthways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it; from which I conjecture, that as every ancient custom was designed to convey either a typical or literal instructive lesson of some useful thing, and as no usage of the old heathen world resembled this custom, it seems strongly to point at Jacob's wrestling with an angel, and obtaining for himself and his posterity the name ישר־אל, (perhaps, *yosher-ale*,) 'divine guide', or 'one who prevails with the Omnipotent', and to the children of Israel not eating the sinew of the thigh of any animal, to perpetuate the memory of their ancestor's sinew being shrunk, which was to obtain the blessing. The Indians always sew their maccasenes with deer's sinews, though of a sharp cutting quality, for they reckon them more fortunate than the wild hemp; but to eat such, they imagine, would breed worms and other

* Exod. iv. 25, 26.

ailments, in proportion to the number they eat. And I have been assured by a gentleman of character, who is now an inhabitant of South Carolina, and well acquainted with the customs of the northern Indians, that they also cut a piece out of the thigh of every deer they kill, and throw it away; and reckon it such a dangerous pollution to eat it, as to occasion sickness and other misfortunes of sundry kinds, especially by spoiling their guns from shooting with proper force and direction. Now as none of the old heathens had such a custom, must it not be considered as of Israelitish extraction?

ARGUMENT XIII.

The Indian Marriages, Divorces, and Punishments of Adultery still retain a strong likeness to the Jewish laws and customs in these points. The Hebrews had *sponsalia de præsenti* and *sponsalia de futuro*. A considerable time generally intervened between their contract and marriage; and their nuptial ceremonies were celebrated in the night. The Indians observe the same customs to this day; insomuch that it is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently a moon elapses after the contract is made and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride; and on the marriage day he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. The grandeur of the Hebrews consisted pretty much in the multiplicity of their wives to attend them as a showy retinue: as the meaner sort could not well purchase one, they had a light sort of marriage suitable to their circumstances, called by the scholiasts *usu capio*, 'taking the woman for present use'. When they had lived together about a year, if agreeable, they parted good friends by mutual consent. The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted and dull-constitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time, and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *à la mode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *toopsa táwah*, 'a make haste marriage', because it wants the usual ceremonies and duration of their other kind of marriages.

The friendliest kind of marriage among the Hebrews was eating bread together. The bridegroom put a ring on the fourth finger of the bride's left hand before two witnesses, and said, "Be thou my wife, according to the law of Moses." Her acceptance and silence implying consent, confirmed her part of the marriage contract, because of the rigid modesty of the eastern women. When the short marriage contract was read over, he took a cake of bread and broke it in two, for himself and her; or otherwise, he put some corn between their hands; which customs were used as strong emblems of the necessity of mutual industry and concord, to obtain present and future happiness. When an Indian makes his first address to the young woman he intends to marry, she is obliged by ancient custom to sit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether she likes or dislikes him; but afterward she is at her own choice whether to stay or retire*. When the bridegroom marries the bride, after the usual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witnesses, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himself; or otherwise, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readiness with which she ought to serve him. In return, she presents him with some cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domestic care and gratitude in return for the offals; for the men feast by themselves, and the women eat the remains. When this short ceremony is ended, they may go to bed like an honest couple. Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West Floridans, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt; that is reckoned a sufficient annual tie of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskohge men, if newly married, are obliged by ancient custom to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed; and the more jealous repeat the custom every year, to make their wives subject to the laws against adultery. But the Indians in general reckon that before the bridegroom can presume to any legal power over the bride, he is, after the former ceremonies, or others something similar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcass of venison, and lay it down at her house, wrapped up in its skin; and if she opens the pack, carries it into the house,

* Cant. iii. 4. "I held him, and would not let him go, until I had brought him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that conceived me." See Gen. xxiv. 67. Such was the custom of the Hebrews.

and then dresses and gives him some of it to eat with cakes before witnesses, she becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adulteress.

The Hebrews had another sort of marriage,—by purchase: the bridegroom gave the father of the bride as much as he thought she was worth; and according to the different valuation, so, sooner or later, she went off at market. The only way to know the merit of a Hebrew lady was to inquire the value for which her father would sell her; and the less rapacious he was, the sooner she might get an husband. Divine writ abounds with instances of the like kind; as Gen. xxxiv. 12. "Ask me never so much dowry, and I will give it." David bought Michal, and Jacob dearly purchased Rachel, &c. The women brought nothing with them, except their clothes, rings and bracelets, and a few trinkets. When the Indians would express a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a suitable idea of it; but when they are speaking of their sensual marriage-bargains, they always term it, "buying a woman"; for example, they say with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas,* 'I shall marry you'; the last syllable denotes the first person of the future tense, the former "I shall make you as *Awa* or *Hewa* was to *Ish,*" which is confirmed by a strong negative similar expression, *Che-Awala Awa,* 'I shall not marry you'. But the name of their market-marriages is *otoolpha*; *Eho achumbàras saookcháa,* 'In the spring I shall buy a woman, if I am alive'. Or *Eho achumbàra Awa,* 'I shall not buy a woman', *sàlbasa toogat,* 'for indeed I am poor'. The former usage and method of language is exactly calculated to express that singular custom of the Hebrews, *per coemptionem.* They sometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom sends so much in value to the nearest relations of the intended bride as he thinks she is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good sign that her relations approve of the match, but she is not bound by their contract alone; her consent must likewise be obtained; but persuasions most commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too small, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himself, or some of his nearest kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it, according to the like method of expression with the Hebrews, the loving couple may in a short time bed together upon trial, and continue or discontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honest married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already described. When one of their chieftains is married, several of his kinsmen help to kill deer and buffalos, to make a rejoicing marriage-feast, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors sing with their two chief musicians, who beat on their wet deer-skin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raise their voices, singing *Yo Yo,* &c. When they are tired with feasting, dancing, and singing the *epithalamium,* they depart with friendly glad hearts from the house of praise.

If an Israelite lay with a bond-woman betrothed, and not redeemed, she was to be beaten, but not her fellow-criminal; for in the original text, Lev. xix. 20., the word is in the feminine gender. When offenders were beaten, they were bowed down, as Deut. xxv. 2., so that they neither sat nor stood, and their whip had a large knot to it, which commanded the thongs so as to expand or contract them; the punishment was always to be suited to the nature of the crime, and the constitution of the criminal. While the offenders were under the lash, three judges stood by to see that they received their full and just due. The first repeated the words of Deut. xxviii. 58., the second counted the stripes, and the third said, "Hack, or lay on." The offender received three lashes on the breast, three on the belly, three on each shoulder, &c. But adultery was attended with capital punishment, as Deut. xxii. 22. The parties, when legally detected, were tried by the lesser judicatory, which was to consist at least of twenty-three. The Sanhedrim gave the bitter waters to those women who were suspected of adultery. The former were stoned to death, and the latter burst open, according to their imprecation, if they were guilty: the omnipotent divine wisdom impressed those waters with that wonderful quality, contrary to the common course of nature. The men married and were divorced as often as their caprice directed them; for if they imagined their wives did not value them according to their own partial opinion of themselves, they notified the occasion of the dislike in a small billet, that her virtue might not be suspected; and when they gave any of them the ticket, they ate together in a very civil manner, and thus dissolved the contract.

I have premised this to trace the resemblance to the marriage divorces and punishments of the savage Americans. The middle-aged people of a place which lies about half-way to Mobille, and the Illinois, assure us that they remember when adultery was punished among them with death by shooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no stones there. But what with the losses of their people at war with the French and their savage confederates, and the constitutional wantonness of their young men and women, they have, through a political desire

of continuing or increasing their numbers, moderated the severity of that law, and reduced it to the present standard of punishment, which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one person, the evidence is deemed good in judgement against her; the evidence of a well-grown boy or girl they even reckon sufficient, because of the heinousness of the crime, and the difficulty of discovering it in their thick forests. This is a corruption of the Mosaic law, which required two evidences, and exempted both women and slaves from public faith, because of the reputed fickleness of the one, and the base grovelling temper of the other. When the crime is proved against the woman, the enraged husband, accompanied by some of his relations, surprises and beats her most barbarously, and then cuts off her hair and nose, or one of her lips. There are many of that sort of disfigured females among the Chikkasah, and they are commonly the best-featured and the most tempting of any of their countrywomen, which exposed them to the snares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably first tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal punishment.

With the Muskohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger. If we seriously reflect on the rest of their native customs, this old law, so singular to themselves from the rest of the world, gives us room to think they drew it from the Jewish bitter waters that were given to real or suspected adulteresses, either to prove their guilt or attest their innocence. Among those Indians, when adultery is discovered, the offending parties commonly set off speedily for the distant woods, to secure themselves from the shameful badge of the sharp penal law, which they inevitably get if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of sin; afterward every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always pursued and frequently overtaken; though perhaps three or four moons absent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers, on contrary courses, and by various intricate windings, the pursuers are eager and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the husband has the chilling news first whispered in his ear, he steals off with his witness to some of his kinsmen to get them to assist him in revenging his injury: they are soon joined by a sufficient number of the same family, if the criminal was not of the same tribe; otherwise, he chooses to confide in his nearest relations. When the witness has asserted to them the truth of his evidence, by a strong asseveration, they separate to avoid suspicion, and meet, commonly in the dusk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a small hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient custom,) with which they correct the sinners; for as their law in this case doth not allow partiality, if they punished one of them, and either excused or let the other escape from justice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to such punishment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties. They commonly begin with the adulterer, because of the two he is the more capable of making his escape: they generally attack him at night by surprise, lest he should make a desperate resistance, and blood be shed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and merciless, whooping their revengeful noise, and thrashing their captive with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; some over his head and face; others on his shoulders and back. His belly, sides, legs and arms are gashed all over, and at last he happily seems to be insensible of pain: then they cut off his ears*. They observe, however, a gradation of punishment, according to the criminality of the adulteress. For the first breach of the marriage faith they crop her ears and hair, if the husband is spiteful; either of those badges proclaim her to be a whore, or *hakse Kaneha*, 'such as were evil in Canaan,' for the hair of their head is their ornament: when loose, it commonly reaches below their back; and when tied, it stands below the crown of the head, about four inches long and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the rest of the women, by being trimmed so sharp, she always keeps her dark winter hot house, till by

* Among these Indians, the trading people's ears are often in danger, by the sharpness of this law, and their suborning false witnesses, or admitting foolish children as legal evidence; but generally either the tender-hearted females or friends give them timely notice of their danger. Then they fall to the rum-keg, and as soon as they find the pursuers approaching, they stand to arms in a threatening parade. Formerly the traders, like so many British tars, kept them in proper awe, and consequently prevented them from attempting any mischief. But since the patenteed race of Daublers set foot in their land, they have gradually become worse every year, murdering valuable innocent British subjects at pleasure: and when they go down, they receive presents as a tribute of fear, for which these Indians upbraid and threaten us. The Muskohge lately clipt off the ears of two white men for supposed adultery. One had been a disciple of *Black Beard* the pirate, and the other, at the time of going under the hands of those Jewish clippers, was deputed by the whimsical war-governor of Georgia to awe the traders into an obedience of his despotic power. His successor lost his life on the Chikkasah war-path, twenty miles above the Koosah, or uppermost western town of the Muskohge, in an attempt to arrest the traders; which should not by any means be undertaken in the Indian country.

keeping the hair moistened with grease, it grows so long as to bear tying. Then she accustoms herself to the light by degrees; and soon some worthless fellow, according to their standard, buys her for his *and*; which term hath been already explained. The adulterer's ears are slashed off close to his head, for the first act of adultery, because he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married persons, their noses and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature is attended with more danger; for their law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous, to set their aggrieved hearts at ease, and prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery, nor be terrified nor shamed from their ill course of life, that the one may not frighten and abuse their wives, nor the other seduce their husbands and be a lasting plague and shame to the whole society, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldoms happens.

When I asked the Chikkasah the reason of the inequality of their marriage-law, in punishing the weaker passive party, and exempting the stronger, contrary to reason and justice, they told me it had been so a considerable time, because their land being a continual seat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put such old cross laws of marriage in force, all their beloved brisk warriors would soon be spoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waste. It is remarkable that the ancient Egyptians cut off the ears and nose of the adulteress; and the prophet alludes to this sort of punishment, Ezek. xxiii. 25. "They shall deal furiously with thee: they shall *take away thy nose* and thine ears." And they gave them also a thousand stripes with canes on the buttocks*. The Cheerake are an exception to all civilized or savage nations, in having no laws against adultery; they have been a considerable while under petticoat-government, and allow their women full liberty to plant their brows with horns as oft as they please, without fear of punishment. On this account their marriages are ill observed and of a short continuance; like the Amazons, they divorce their sighing bed-fellows at their pleasure, and fail not to execute their authority when their fancy directs them to a more agreeable choice. However, once in my time a number of warriors belonging to the family of the husband of the adulteress, revenged the injury committed by her, in her own way; for they said, as she loved a great many men instead of a husband, justice told them to gratify her longing desire,—wherefore, by the information of their spies, they followed her into the woods a little way from the town, (as decency required,) and then stretched her on the ground, with her hands tied to a stake, and her feet also extended, where upwards of fifty of them lay with her, having a blanket for a covering. The Choktah observe the same savage custom with adulteresses. They term their female delinquents, *ahowwe Ishto*; the first is a Cheerake word, signifying 'a deer'. And through contempt of the Chikkasah, they altered their penal law of adultery. The Muskohge Indians, either through the view of mitigating their law against adultery, that it might be adapted to their patriarchal-like government, or by misunderstanding the Mosaic precept, from length of time and uncertainty of oral tradition, oblige the adulteress, under the penalty of the severest law, not to be free with any man (unless she is inclined to favour her fellow-sufferer,) during the space of four moons after the broken moon in which they suffered for each other, according to the custom of the Maldivians. But her husband exposes himself to *the utmost severity of the marriage law,* if he is known to hold a familiar intercourse with her *after the time of her punishment.*

ARGUMENT XIV.

Many other of the Indian Punishments resemble those of the Jews. Whosoever attentively views the features of the Indian, and his eye, and reflects on his fickle, obstinate and cruel disposition, will naturally think on the Jews. English America feelingly knows the parity of the temper of their neighbouring Indians with that of the Hebrew nation. The Israelites cut off the hands and feet of murderers, 2 Sam. iv. 12., strangled false prophets, and sometimes burned, stoned, or beheaded those malefactors who were condemned by the two courts of judgement. The Indians, either by the defect of tradition, or through a greedy desire of revenge, torture their prisoners and devoted captives with a mixture of all those Jewish capital punishments. They keep the original so close in their eye, as to pour cold water on the sufferers when they are fainting, or overcome by the fiery torture, to refresh and enable them

* When human laws were first made, they commanded that if the husband found the adulterer in the fact, he should kill them both. Thus the laws of Solon and Draco ordained; but the law of the twelve tables softened it.

to undergo longer tortures. The Hebrews gave wine mixt with the juice of myrrh to their tortured criminals, to revive their spirits; and sometimes vinegar, to prevent too great an effusion of blood, lest they should be disappointed in glutting their greedy eyes with their favourite tragedy of blood; which was eminently exemplified in their insulting treatment of Christ on the cross. The Indians, beyond all the rest of mankind, seem in this respect to be actuated with the Jewish spirit. They jeer, taunt, laugh, whoop and rejoice at the inexpressible agonies of those unfortunate persons who are under their butchering hands; which would excite pity and horror in any heart but that of a Jew. When they are far from home, they keep as near to their distinguishing customs as circumstances allow them: not being able formerly to cut off the heads of those they killed in war, for want of proper weapons, nor able to carry them three or four hundred miles without putrefaction, they cut off the skin of their heads with their *flint-stone knives*, as speaking trophies of honour, and which register them among the brave by procuring them war titles. Though now they have plenty of proper weapons, they vary not from this ancient barbarous custom of the American aborigines; which has been too well known by many of our northern colonists, and is yet shamefully so to South Carolina and Georgia barriers, by the hateful name of scalping.

The Indians strictly adhere more than the rest of mankind to that positive, unrepealed law of Moses, "He who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Like the Israelites, their hearts burn violently day and night without intermission, till they shed blood for blood. They transmit from father to son the memory of the loss of their relation, or one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman,—if she was either killed by the enemy or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the fact be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, "without any one to mourn for him," as in the case of suicide, contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead, and which may properly be called the death or burial of a Jewish ass. When they have had success in killing the enemy, they tie firebrands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may be readily seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death. The last were strong and similar emblems with the Hebrews, and the first is analogous to one of their martial customs; for when they arrived at the enemies' territories, they threw a firebrand within their land, as an emblem of the anger of *Ash*, 'the holy fire', for their ill deeds to his peculiarly beloved people. To which custom Obadiah alludes, when he says, (ver. 18.) "they shall kindle in them and devour them; there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, &c.," which the Septuagint translates, "one who carries a firebrand." The conduct of the Israelitish champion Samson, against the Philistines, proceeded from the same war custom, when he took three hundred *shugnalim*, (which is a bold strong metaphor,) signifying *vulpes*, foxes, or sheaves of corn; and tying them tail to tail, or one end to the other in a continued train, he set fire to them, and by that means burned down their standing corn.

In the late Cheerake war, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake and revenge English crying blood; but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood, if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: this alludes to the levitical law, by which he who decoyed another to his end was deemed the occasion of his death, and consequently answerable for it. If an unruly horse belonging to a white man should chance to be tied at a trading-house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house or the person who tied the beast there is responsible for it by their *lex talionis*; which seems to be derived also from the Mosaic precept,—if an ox known by its owner to push with its horn, should kill a person, they were both to die the death. If the Indians have a dislike to a person who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it unless he takes sanctuary. I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader, like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after the lawless bacchanal was

attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design. His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as to gain timely notice of anything that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that, as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or, if he has none there, his friend, stands according to their rigorous law answerable for the fact. But though the then governor of South Carolina was sufficiently informed of this tragedy, and that it was done contrary to the treaty of amity, and that there is no possibility of managing them but by their own notions of virtue, he was passive, and allowed them with impunity to shed this innocent blood; which they ever since have improved, to our shame and sorrow. They have gradually become worse every year, and corrupted other nations by their contagious copy, so as to draw them into the like bloody scenes, with the same contempt as if they had killed so many helpless timorous dunghill fowls, as they despitefully term us.

There never was any set of people who pursued the Mosaic law of retaliation with such fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, "*all was straight*," according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation, though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood than any other people on the whole face of the earth. And when the heart of the revenger of blood in Israel was hot within him, it was a terrible thing for the casual *manslayer* to meet him, Deut. xix. 6. "Lest the avenger of the blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and slay him; whereas he was not worthy of death, in as much as he hated him not in time past." I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars, over broad lakes, rapid rivers and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war; to fatigues, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly contemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged*; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away. This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. It is natural for friends to study each other's mutual happiness, and we should pity the weakness of those who are destitute of our advantages; whose intellectual powers are unimproved, and who are utterly unacquainted with the sciences, as well as every kind of mechanical business, to engage their attention at home. Such persons cannot well live without war; and being destitute of public faith to secure the lives of ambassadors in time of war, they have no sure method to reconcile their differences; consequently, when any casual

* As the Hebrews supposed there was a holiness in Canaan, more than in any other land, so they believed that their bodies buried out of it, would be carried through caverns, or subterraneous passages of the earth, to the holy land, where they shall rise again and dart up to their holy attracting centre.

thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful, till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war titles, which distinguish them among the brave; and these they hold in as high esteem as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph. By how much the deeper any society of people are sunk in ignorance, so much the more they value themselves on their bloody merit. This was long the characteristic of the Hebrew nation, and has been conveyed down to these their supposed red descendants. However, notwithstanding their bloody temper and conduct towards enemies, when their law of blood does not interfere, they observe that Mosaic precept, "He shall be dealt with according as he intended to do to his neighbour, but the innocent and righteous man thou shalt not slay." I must observe also that as the Jewish priests were by no means to shed human blood, and as king David was forbidden by the prophet to build a temple because he was a man of war and had shed blood, so the Indian *Ishtohoollo*, 'holy men', are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay, notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay.

As this branch of the general subject cannot be illustrated but by well-known facts, I shall exemplify it with the late and long-continued conduct of the northern Indians, and those of Cape Florida, whom our navigators have reported to be cannibals. The Muskohge who have been bitter enemies to the Cape Florida Indians, time immemorial, affirm their manners, tempers, and appetites, to be the very same as those of the neighbouring Indian nations. And the Florida captives who were sold in Carolina have told me that the Spaniards of St. Augustine and St. Mark's garrisons, not only hired and paid them for murdering our seamen who were so unfortunate as to be shipwrecked on their dangerous coast, but that they delivered up to the savages those of our people they did not like, to be put to the fiery torture. From their bigoted persecuting spirit, we may conclude the victims to have been those who would not worship their images and crucifixes. The Spaniards no doubt could easily influence this decayed small tribe to such a practice, as they depended upon them for the necessaries of life; and though they could never settle out of their garrisons in West Florida, on account of the jealous temper of the neighbouring unconquered Indians, yet the Cape Floridans were only Spanish mercenaries, shedding blood for their maintenance. A seduced Indian is certainly less faulty than the apostate Christian who instigated him. When an Indian sheds human blood, it does not proceed from wantonness, or the view of doing evil, but solely to put the law of retaliation in force, to return one injury for another; but if he has received no ill, and has no suspicion of the kind, he usually offers no damage to those who fall in his power, but is moved with compassion, in proportion to what they seem to have undergone. Such as they devote to the fire, they flatter with the hope of being redeemed, as long as they can, to prevent the giving them any previous anxiety or grief, which their law of blood does not require.

The French Canadians are highly censurable, and their bloody popish clergy, for debauching our peaceable northern Indians with their infernal catechism,—the first introduction into their religious mysteries. Formerly when they initiated the Indian sucklings into their mixt idolatrous worship, they fastened round their necks a bunch of their favourite red and black beads, with a silver cross hanging down on their breasts, thus engaging them, as they taught, to fight the battles of God. Then they infected the credulous Indians with a firm belief that God once sent his own beloved son to fix the red people in high places of power, over the rest of mankind; that he passed through various countries, to the universal joy of the inhabitants, in order to come to the beloved red people, and place them in a superior station of life to the rest of the American world; but when he was on the point of sailing to America, to execute his divine embassy, he was murdered by the bloody monopolizing English, at the city of London, only to make the red people weigh light. Having thus instructed, and given them the catechism by way of question and answer, and furnished them with two thousand gross of scalping-knives and other murdering articles, the catechumens soon sallied forth, and painted themselves all over with the innocent blood of our fellow-subjects of different stations and ages, and without any distinction of sex, contrary to the standing Indian laws of blood. The British lion at last however triumphed, and forced the French themselves to sue for that friendly intercourse and protection which their former catechism taught the Indians to hate and fly from, as dangerous to their universal happiness.

When I have reasoned with some of the old headmen, against their barbarous custom of killing defenceless

innocent persons, who neither could nor would oppose them in battle, but begged that they might only live to be their slaves, they told me that formerly they never waged war but in revenge of blood; and that in such cases they always *devoted the guilty* to be burnt alive when they were purifying themselves at home, to obtain victory over their enemies. But otherwise they treated the vanquished with the greatest clemency, and adopted them in the room of their relations who had either died a natural death or had before been sufficiently revenged, though killed by the enemy. The Israelites thus often *devoted their captives to death*, without any distinction of age or sex, as when they took Jericho, they saved only merciful Rahab and her family; after they had plundered the Midianites of their riches, they put men, women and children to death, dividing among themselves a few virgins and the plunder; with other instances that might be quoted. The Indian Americans, beyond all the present race of Adam, are actuated by this *bloody war-custom of the Israelites*; they put their captives to various lingering torments, with the same unconcern as the Levite, when he cut up his beloved concubine into eleven portions, and sent them to the eleven tribes, to excite them to revenge the affront the Benjamites had given him. When equal blood has not been shed to quench the crying blood of their relations and give rest to their ghosts, according to their credenda, while they are sanctifying themselves for war, they always allot their captives either to be killed or put to the fiery torture; and they who are *thus devoted*, cannot by any means be saved, though they resembled *an angel in beauty and virtue*. Formerly, the Indians defeated a great body of the French, who at two different times came to invade their country. They put to the fiery torture a considerable number of them, and two in particular, whom they imagined to have carried *the French ark* against them. The English traders solicited, with the most earnest entreaties, in favour of the unfortunate captives; but they averred, that as it was not our business to intercede in behalf of a deceitful enemy who came to shed blood, unless we were resolved to share their deserved fate, so was it entirely out of the reach of goods, though piled as high as the skies, to redeem them, because they were not only the chief support of the French army, in spoiling so many of their warriors by the power of their ugly ark, before they conquered them, but were delivered over to the fire before they entered into battle. When I was on my way to the Chikkasah, at the Okchai, in the year 1745, the conduct of the Muskohge Indians was exactly the same with regard to a Cheerake stripling, whose father was a white man, and mother an half-breed; regardless of the pressing entreaties and very high offers of the English traders, they burned him in their usual manner. This seems to be copied from that law which expressly *forbade the redeeming any devoted persons*, and ordered that they should be *surely* put to death, Lev. xxvii. 29. This precept had evidently a reference to the law of retaliation. Saul, in a superstitious and angry mood, *wanted to have murdered or sacrificed to God his favourite son Jonathan*, because when he was fainting he *tasted some honey* which casually fell in his way, just after he had performed a prodigy of martial feats in behalf of Israel; but the gratitude and reason *of the people* prevented him from perpetrating that horrid murder. If devoting to death was of divine extraction, or if God delighted in human sacrifices, the people would have been criminal for *daring to oppose* the divine law,—which was not the case. Such a law, if taken in an extensive and literal sense, is contrary to all natural reason and religion, and consequently, in a strict sense, could not be enjoined by a benevolent and merciful God, who commands us to do justice and show mercy to the very beasts; not to muzzle the ox while he is treading out the grain, nor to ensnare the bird when performing her parental offices. "Are ye not of more value than many sparrows?"

The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating *their devoted captives*, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims, what form their butcherers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians *devote every one they meet* in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753 to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us that their people to the northward had *devoted the English to death* for the space of six years; but when that time was expired, and not before, they would live in friendship, as formerly. If the English had at that time executed their own law against them, and demanded equal blood from the Cheerake, and stopt all trade with them before they dipt themselves too deep in blood, they would soon have had a firm peace with all the Indian nations. This is the only way of treating them now; for when they have not the fear of offending, they will shed innocent blood, and proceed in the end to lay all restraint aside. The late conduct of the Chikkasah war-council, in condemning two pretended friends to death, who came with a view of shedding blood, shows their knowledge of that equal law of divine appointment to the Jews, "He shall be dealt with exactly as he intended to do to his neighbour."

It ought to be remarked that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old headman, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office), correct several young persons,—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior, and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He *bastinadoed* the young sinner severely, with a thick whip about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button-snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *chehakse kanèha-he*, literally, "you are as one who is wicked and almost lost*." The grey-haired corrector said he treated him in that manner, according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious forefathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely. When the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased. This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said, *che haksinna*, "do not become vicious." And when they wept he said, *che-abela awa*, "I shall not kill you," or "I shall not put you into the state of bleeding *Abéle*†." Like the present Jews, their old men are tenacious of their ancient rites and customs; imagining them to be the sure channel through which all temporal good things flow to them, and by which the opposite evils are averted. No wonder, therefore, that they still retain a multiplicity of Hebrew words, which were repeated often with great reverence in the temple, and adhere to many of their ancient rules and methods of punishment.

ARGUMENT XV.

The Israelites had Cities of Refuge, or places of safety, for those who killed a person unawares and without design, to shelter them from the bloodthirsty relations of the deceased, or the revenger of blood, who always pursued or watched the unfortunate person, like a ravenous wolf; but after the death of the high priest the man-slayer could safely return home, and nobody durst molest him. According to the same particular divine law of mercy, each of these Indian nations have either a house or town of refuge, which is a sure asylum to protect a man-slayer, or the unfortunate captive, if they can once enter into it. The Cheerake, though now exceedingly corrupt, still observe that law so inviolably, as to allow their beloved town the privilege of protecting a wilful murderer; but they seldom allow him to return home afterwards in safety; they will revenge blood for blood, unless in some very particular case when the eldest can redeem. However, if he should accept of the price of blood to wipe away its stains, and dry up the tears of the rest of the nearest kindred of the deceased, it is generally productive of future ills; either when they are drinking spirituous liquors, or dancing their enthusiastic war-dances, a tomohawk is likely to be sunk into the head of some of his relations.

Formerly, when one of the Cheerake murdered an English trader, he immediately ran off for the town of refuge;

* As *chin-kanehah* signifies 'you have lost', and *che-kanehah* 'you are lost', it seems to point at the method the Hebrews used in correcting their criminals in Canaan, and to imply a similarity of manners. The word they use to express 'forgetfulness', looks the very same way, *ish al kanehah*, 'you forget', meaning that *Ish* and *Canaan* are forgotten by *Ale*.

† The Indians use the word *hakse* to convey the idea of a person's being criminal in anything whatsoever. If they mention not the particular crime, they add, *hakset kanehah*, pointing as it were to those who where punished in Canaan. Such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb or blind, are called by no other name than *hakse*. In like manner *kallakse* signifies 'contemptible, unsteady, light, or easily thrown aside',—it is a diminutive of קלל, of the same meaning. And they say such an one is *kallaks'-Ishto*, 'execrated, or accursed to God', because found light in the divine balance. As the American aborigines used no weights, the parity of language here with the Hebrew seems to assure us, they originally derived this method of expression from the Israelites, who took the same idea from the poise of a balance, which divine writ frequently mentions. Job, chap. xxxi., describes justice with a pair of scales, "Let me be weighed in an even balance, that I may know my perfection." And they call weighing, or giving a preference, *tekále*, according to the same figure of speech; and it agrees, both in expression and meaning, with the Chaldean *tekel*, if written with Hebrew characters, as in that extraordinary appearance on the wall of the Babylonish monarch, interpreted by the prophet Daniel. When they prefer one person and would lessen another, they say *eeàpa wehke tekále*, 'this one weighs heavy', and *eeàko kallakse*, or *kall'aks'ooshe tekále*, 'that one weighs light, very light'. When any of their people are killed on any of the hunting paths, they frequently say, *heenna tungga tannip tekále*, 'right on the path he was weighed for the enemy, or the opposite party', for *tannip* is the only word they have to express the words 'enemy' and 'the opposite'; as *ook'heenna tannip*, 'the opposite side of the water path': hence it is probable, they borrowed that notable Assyrian expression while in their supposed captivity, brought it with them to America, and introduced it into their language, to commemorate so surprising an event.

but as soon as he got in view of it, the inhabitants discovered him by the close pursuit of the shrill war-whoo-whoop, and for fear of irritating the English, they instantly answered the war cry, ran to arms, intercepted, and drove him off into Tennàse river, (where he escaped, though mortally wounded,) lest he should have entered the reputed holy ground, and thus it had been stained with the blood of their friend; or he had obtained sanctuary to the danger of the community and the foreign contempt of their sacred altars. This town of refuge, called *Choate*, is situated on a large stream of the Missisippi, five miles above the late unfortunate *Fort-Loudon*, where some years ago a brave Englishman was protected after killing an Indian warrior in defence of his property. The gentleman told me that as his trading-house was near to that town of refuge, he had resolved with himself, after some months' stay in it, to return home; but the head-men assured him that though he was then safe, it would prove fatal if he removed thence; so he continued in his asylum still longer, till the affair was, by time, more obliterated, and he had wiped off all their tears with various presents. In the upper or most western part of the country of the Muskohge, there was an old beloved town, now reduced to a small ruinous village called *Koosah*, which is still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly. It stands on commanding ground, overlooking a bold river, which after running about forty leagues, sweeps close by the late mischievous French garrison *Alebámah* and down to *Mobille-Sound*, two hundred leagues distance, and so into the Gulf of Florida. In almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable towns*, which are called 'old-beloved', 'ancient, holy, or white towns*'; they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge', for it is not in the memory of their oldest people that ever human blood was shed in them, although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere.

ARGUMENT XVI.

Before the Indians go to War, they have many preparatory ceremonies of *purification* and *fasting*, like what is recorded of the Israelites. In the first commencement of a war, a party of the injured tribe turns out first, to revenge the innocent *crying* blood of their own bone and flesh, as they term it. When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times round his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies' bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts; he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and countrymen; that the love of order and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now those hindrances are removed; he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him *and sanctify themselves* for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient *religious law*. By his eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instill into the minds of their youth, a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others and *purify themselves* for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sunset, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which, as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes, after bathing, they drink a decoction made of the said root, and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them even to enter the beloved ground appropriated to the religious duty of being *sanctified for war*;

* White is their fixt emblem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c., as with the Israelites.

much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen,) on the same war design; they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, *with the consecrated things of the ark.* With the Hebrews, the ark of *Berith*, '*the purifier*', was a small wooden chest, of three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height. It contained the golden pot that had manna in it, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the law. The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, and may very properly be called *the red Hebrew ark of the purifier*, imitated. The leader and a beloved waiter carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter', feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war-camp.

The ark, mercy-seat, and cherubim, were the very essence of the levitical law, and often called "*the testimonies of Yohewah.*" The ark of the temple was termed his throne, and David calls it his footstool. In speaking of the Indian places of refuge for the unfortunate, I observed, that if a captive taken by the reputed power of the beloved things of the ark, should be able to make his escape into one of these towns, or even into the winter-house of the archimagus, he is delivered from the fiery torture otherwise inevitable. This, when joined to the rest of the faint images of the Mosaic customs they still retain, seems to point at *the mercy-seat* in the sanctuary. It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them; but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-relics. The former is a strong imitation of *the pedestal* on which the Jewish ark was placed, a stone rising three fingers' breadth above the floor. And when we consider,—in what a surprising manner the Indians copy after the ceremonial law of the Hebrews, and their strict purity in their war-camps; that *Opae*, 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sunrise to sunset, and after a fatiguing day's march and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in order to be purified; that they have also as strong a faith of the power and *holiness* of their ark as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole,—we have strong reason to conclude their origin is Hebrew. From the Jewish ark of the tabernacle and the temple, the ancient heathens derived their arks, their *cistæ* or religious chests, their Teraphim or Dii Lares, and their tabernacles and temples. But their modes and objects of worship *differed very widely* from those of the Americans. The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and *dangerous to be touched*, either by their own sanctified warriors or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account*. It is not to be meddled

* A gentleman who was at the Ohio in the year 1756, assured me he saw a stranger there very importunate to view the inside of the Cheerake ark, which was covered with a drest deer-skin, and placed on a couple of short blocks. An Indian centinel watched it, armed with a hiccory bow and brass-pointed barbed arrows, and he was faithful to his trust; for finding the stranger obtruding *to pollute* the supposed sacred vehicle, he drew an arrow to the head, and would have shot him through the body, had he not suddenly withdrawn. The interpreter, when asked by the gentleman what it contained, told him there was nothing in it but a bundle of conjuring traps. This shows what conjurers our *common interpreters* are, and how much the learned world have really profited by *their* informations. The Indians have an old tradition, that when they left their own *native land*, they brought with them a *sanctified rod*, by order of an oracle, which they fixed every night in the ground; and were to remove from place to place on the continent towards the sun-rising, till *it budded* in one night's time; that they obeyed the sacred mandate, and the miracle took place *after* they arrived to this side of the Missisippi, on the present land they possess. This, they say, was the sole cause of their settling here,—of fighting so firmly for their *reputed holy land* and holy things,—and that they may be buried with their beloved forefathers. I have seen other Indians who pretend to the like miraculous direction, and I think it plainly to refer to Aaron's rod, which was a branch of an almond-tree, and that budded and blossomed in one night.

with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemy touch it in the woods for the very same reason; which is agreeable to the religious opinion and customs of the Hebrews, respecting the sacredness of their ark, witness what befell Uzzah for touching it, though with a religious view, and the Philistines for carrying it away, so that they soon thought proper to return it with presents. The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, in imitation of the Israelites fighting under the divine military banner. If they obtain the victory and get some of the enemies' scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct! of some of *the followers of the beloved ark.* What blushes should this savage virtue raise in the faces of nominal Christians, who ridicule the unerring divine wisdom for the effects of their own imprudent or vicious conduct! May they learn from the rude uncivilized Americans, that vice necessarily brings evil, and virtue happiness!

The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. This religious war custom, especially in so savage a generation, seems to be derived from the Hebrews, who thus sanctified themselves to gain the divine protection, and victory over their common enemies; as in the precept of Moses to the war camp when he ascended mount Sinai; and in Joshua's prohibition to the Israelites*; and in the case of Uriah. The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains. The French Indians are said not to have deflowered any of our young women they captivated, while at war with us; and unless the black tribe, the French Canadian priests, corrupted their traditions, they would think such actions defiling, and what must bring fatal consequences on their own heads. We have an attested narrative of an English prisoner, who made his escape from the Shawanoh Indians, which was printed at Philadelphia, anno 1757, by which we were assured that even that bloodthirsty villain Captain Jacob did not attempt the virtue of his female captives, lest (as he told one of them,) it should offend the Indian's God; though at the same time his pleasures heightened in proportion to the shrieks and groans of our people of different ages and both sexes, while they were under his tortures. Although the Choktah are libidinous, and lose their customs apace, yet I have known them to take several female prisoners without offering the least violence to their virtue, till the time of purgation was expired; then some of them forced their captives, notwithstanding their pressing entreaties and tears. As the aforesaid Shawanoh renegado professed himself so observant of this law of purity, so the other northern nations of Indians, who are free from adulteration by their far-distance from foreigners, do not neglect so great a duty; and it is highly probable, notwithstanding the silence of our writers, that as purity was strictly observed by the Hebrews in the temple, field and wilderness, the religious rites and customs of the northern Indians differ no further from those of the nations near our southern settlements than reason will admit, allowing for their distant situation from Peru and Mexico, whence they seem to have travelled.

When they return home victorious over the enemy, they sing the triumphal song to Yo-He-Wah, *ascribing the victory to him*, according to a religious custom of the Israelites, who were commanded always to attribute their success in war to Jehovah, and not to their swords and arrows. In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Missisippi about 170 leagues below the Illinois,) as my trading-house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view. Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner a-head with the glad tidings, and to order his dark winter-house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the out-standing party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things and of profaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them, by a faithful messenger, to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the

* Joshua commanded the Israelites the night before they marched, to sanctify themselves by washing their clothes, avoiding all impurities, and abstaining from matrimonial intercourse.

scalps on a branch of the evergreen pine*, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo whoop whoop.* When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable YO, for about the space of five seconds, on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred notes, YO, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, a strong emblem of *the eternity* of Him, "who is, was, and is to come," to whom they sung their triumphal song, ascribing the victory over their enemies to *his strong arm*, instead of their own, according to the usage of the Israelites by divine appointment. The duplication of the middle and last syllables of the four-lettered essential name of the Deity, and the change of the key from their established method of invoking YO He Wah, when they are drinking their bitter drink (the *cusseena*,) in their temples, where they always spend a long breath on each of the two first syllables of that awful divine song, seems designed to *prevent a profanation.* The leader's *hetissu*, or 'waiter', placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and *the holy fire* faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length the chieftain bade them sit down, and then inquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before: being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, YO, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions and aspersions of the *emblematical* button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun. During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place a long frosty night, and, except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like. The leader once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixt to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves separately, returned in the same manner, and anointed again according to their usual custom. They joined soon after in a solemn procession, *to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses* of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first; his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then YO, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said, according to the sacred text, "Great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph†." Then they fixed on the top of the house a *twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it*; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their

* As the Indians carry their enemies' scalps on small branches of evergreen pine, and wave the martial trophies on a pine-branch before Yo He Wah, I cannot help thinking that the pine was the emblematical tree so often mentioned in divine writ, by the plural name, *Shittim*; especially as the mountain Cedar, comparatively speaking, is low and does not seem to answer the description of the inspired writers; besides that כפר (*Chepher*), is figuratively applied to the mercy-seat, signifying, literally, a screen, or cover against storms; which was pitched over with the gum of the pine-tree.

† Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evening, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohge.

opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity; only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterwards asked the reason of this; they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*. This seems to be *so plain a copy* of the old Jewish customs, I am satisfied the reader will easily discern the analogy, without any further observations.

I cannot, however, conclude this Argument without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendship. They first smoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *cusseena*, using such invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles' tails, concluding with a dance. The persons visited appoint half a dozen of their most active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the swan-feather cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with swan-down; then, approaching the chief representative of the strangers, who, by way of honour and strong assurance of friendship, is seated on the central white, or holy seat, "the beloved cabbin" (which is about nine feet long and seven feet broad), they wave the eagles' tails backward and forward over his head*. Immediately they begin the solemn song with an awful air; and presently they dance in a bowing posture; then they raise themselves so erect that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles' tails with their right hand toward heaven, sometimes with a slow, at others with a quick motion; at the same time they touch their breast with their small calabash and pebbles fastened to a stick of about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles' tails: during the dance they repeat the usual divine notes, YO, &c. and wave the eagles' tails now and then over the stranger's head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are so surprisingly expert in their supposed religious office, and observe time so exactly, with their particular gestures and notes, that there is not the least discernible discord. If the Hebrews danced this way, (as there is strong presumptive proof,) they had very sweating work, for every joint, artery, and nerve is stretched to the highest pitch of exertion; and this may account for Saul's daughter Michal chiding David for falling in with the common dancers.

The Indians cannot show greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat, invoke YO He Wah, while he is drinking the *cusseena*, and dance before him with the eagles' tails. When two chieftains are renewing or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobille river,) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the Deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to show good will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct. This custom is plainly not derived from the old Scythians, or any other part of the heathen world. Their forms and usages when they made peace, or pledged faith, and contracted friendship with each other, were widely different; but to those of the Jews it hath the nearest resemblance.

ARGUMENT XVII.

The Indian origin and descent may also be in some measure discerned by their taste for, and kind of, Ornaments. The Israelites were fond of wearing beads and other ornaments, even as early as the patriarchal age, and the taste increased to such a degree that it became criminal, and was sharply reprehended by the prophets, particularly Isaiah.

* When they are disaffected, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party against whom they have hostile views, to approach the white seat; as their holy men and holy places are considered firmly bound to keep good faith and give sure refuge. Indeed in the year 1750, after having narrowly escaped with my life from the Cheerake lower towns, I met two worthy gentlemen at the settlement of Ninety-six, who were going to them. I earnestly dissuaded them against pursuing their journey, but without effect: when they arrived at the middle Cheerake towns, the old beloved men and war chieftains invited them and twenty of the traders to go in the evening to their town-house, to sit on their white beloved seat, partake of their feast, and smoke together with kindly hearts, according to their old friendly custom. The gentlemen happily rejected the invitation, and boldly told them they were apprised of their treacherous intentions; they braved a little, to surprise and intimidate the Indians, and then mounted, and directed their course toward the place where a treacherous ambuscade had been laid for them; but they soon silently took another course, and passing through an unsuspected difficult marsh, and almost pathless woods, by the dawn of the morning they reached the Georgia side of Savannah river, which was about 80 miles, where a body of the Muskohge chanced to be preparing for war against the treacherous Cheerake. These protected them from their pursuers, and the gentlemen arrived safe at Augusta, the upper barrier and Indian mart of Georgia.

The Israelitish women wore rich garters about their legs, and, against the rules of modesty, they shortened their under garments, in order to show how their legs and feet were decorated. Isaiah, chap. iii. 18, "The Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments *about their feet*," which loaded them so heavy that they could scarcely walk; and ver. 19, 20, 21, "The chains and the bracelets, the ornaments of the legs, and the ear-rings, the rings and *nose jewels*." In resemblance to these customs, the Indian females continually wear *a beaded string* round their legs, made of buffalo-hair, which is a species of coarse wool; and they reckon it a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labour, and other evils. They wear also a heap of land tortoise-shells, with pebbles or beads in them, fastened to pieces of deer-skins, which they tie to the outside of their legs when they mix with the men in their religious dances. The Indian nations are agreed in the custom of thus adorning themselves with beads of various sizes and colours; sometimes wrought in garters, sashes, necklaces, and in strings round their wrists, and so from the crown of their heads sometimes to the cartilage of the nose. And they doat on them so much as to make them their current money in all payments to this day. Before we supplied them with our European beads they had great quantities of wampum, (the buccinum of the ancients,) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's fore-finger, which they fixed to the crown of their head as a high ornament; so greatly they valued them. Their beads bear a very near resemblance to ivory, which was highly esteemed by the Hebrews. The New England writers assure us that the Naragansat Indians paid to the colony of Massachusetts two hundred fathoms of wampum, only in part of a debt; and at another payment one hundred fathoms: which shows the Indian custom of wearing beads has prevailed far north on this continent, and before the first settling of our colonies. According to the Oriental custom, they wear ear-rings and finger-rings in abundance. Tradition says, they followed the like custom before they became acquainted with the English. The men and women in old times used such coarse diamonds as their own hilly country produced, when each had a bit of stone fastened with a deer's sinew to the tying of their hair, their nose, ears, and maccaseenes; but from the time we supplied them with our European ornaments they have used brass and silver ear-rings, and finger-rings; the young warriors now frequently fasten bell-buttons or pieces of tinkling brass to their maccaseenes, and to the outside of their boots, instead of the old turkey-cock spurs which they formerly used. Both sexes esteem the above things as very great ornaments of dress, and commonly load the parts with each sort, in proportion to their ability of purchasing them: it is a common trading rule with us to judge of the value of an Indian's effects by the weight of his fingers, wrists, ears, crown of his head, boots, and maccaseenes; by the quantity of red paint daubed on his face, and by the shirt about the collar, shoulders, and back, should he have one. Although the same things are commonly alike used or disused by males and females, yet they distinguish their sexes in as exact a manner as any civilized nation. The women bore small holes in the lobe of their ears for their rings, but the young heroes cut a hole round almost the extremity of both their ears, which, till healed, they stretch out with a large tuft of buffalo's wool mixt with bear's oil; then they twist as much small wire round as will keep them extended in that hideous form. This custom however is wearing off apace. They formerly wore *nose-rings*, or jewels, both in the northern and southern regions of America, according to a similar custom of the Jews and easterns; and in some places they still observe it. At present, they hang a piece of battered silver or pewter, or a large bead to the nostril, like the European method of treating swine to prevent them from rooting the earth; this, as well as the rest of their customs, is a true picture and good copy of their supposed early progenitors. I have been among the Indians at a drinking match, when several of their beaus have been humbled as low as death for the great loss of their big ears. Being so widely extended, it is as easy for a person to take hold of, and pull them off, as to remove a couple of small hoops, were they hung within reach; but if the ear, after the pull, stick to their head by one end, when they get sober they pare and sew it together with a needle and deer's sinews, after sweating him in a stove. Thus the disconsolate warrior recovers his former cheerfulness, and hath a lasting caution of not putting his ears a second time in danger with bad company: however, it is not deemed a scandal to lose their ears by any accident, because they became slender and brittle by their virtuous compliance with that favourite custom of their ancestors.

ARGUMENT XVIII.

The Indian manner of *Curing their Sick* is very similar to that of the Jews. They always invoke YO He Wah a considerable space of time before they apply any medicines, let the case require ever so speedy an application: the more desperately ill their patients are, the more earnestly they invoke the Deity on the sad occasion. Like the Hebrews, they firmly believe that diseases and wounds are occasioned by the holy fire, or divine anger, in proportion to some violation of the old beloved speech. The Jews had but small skill in physic: they called a physician "a binder of wounds," for he chiefly poured oil into the wounds and bound them up. They were no great friends to this kind of learning and science, and their Talmud has this proverb, "*The best physicians go to hell.*" King Asa was reproved for having applied to physicians for his disease in his feet. The little use they made of the art of medicine, especially for internal maladies, and their persuasion that distempers were either the immediate effects of God's anger, or *caused by evil spirits*, led them to apply themselves *to the prophets, or to diviners, magicians and enchanters.* Hezekiah's boil was cured by Isaiah; Benhadad king of Syria, and Naaman the Syrian applied to the prophet Elisha; and Ahaziah king of Israel *sent* to consult *Baal-zebub.* The Indians deem the curing their sick or wounded a very religious duty; and it is chiefly performed by their supposed prophets and magi, because they believe they are inspired with a great portion of the divine fire. On these occasions they sing YO YO on a low bass key for two or three minutes very rapidly; in like manner, He He, and Wa Wa. Then they transpose and accent those sacred notes with great vehemence and supplicating fervour, rattling all the while a calabash with small pebble-stones, in imitation of the old Jewish rattles, to make a greater sound, and, as it were, move the Deity to cooperate with their simple means and finish the cure*. When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North American gourds, and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, *contrary* to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven, and mimic his croaking voice: now this bird was an ill omen to the ancient heathens, as *we may see* by the prophet Isaiah; so that common wisdom, or self-love, would not have directed them to such a choice if their traditions had represented it as a bad symbol. But they chose it as an emblem of recovery, probably from its indefatigableness in flying to and fro when sent out of the ark, till he found dry ground to rest on†. They also place a basin of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient; then they invoke the fish, because of its cold element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle (*ooóle*); they solicit him, as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they choose the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is, according to its Indian name, a *cherubinical* emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.—Josephus tells us that Solomon had *a divine power* conferred upon him,

* Formerly an old Nachee warrior who was blind of one eye, and very dim-sighted in the other, having heard of the surprising skill of the European oculists, fancied I could cure him. He frequently importuned me to perform that friendly office, which I as often declined. But he, imagining all my excuses were the effect of modesty and caution, was the more importunate, and would take no denial. I was at last obliged to commence Indian oculist. I had just drank a glass of rum when he came to undergo the operation at the time appointed; he observing my glass, said it was best to defer it till the next day. I told him I drank so on purpose, for as the white people's physic and beloved songs were quite different from what the red people applied and sung, it was usual with our best physicians to drink a little to heighten their spirits and enable them to sing with a strong voice, and likewise to give their patients a little, to make their hearts weigh even within them; he consented, and lay down as if he was dead, according to their usual custom. After a good many wild ceremonies I sung up *sheela na guira*, 'will you drink wine?' Then I drank to my patient, which on my raising him up he accepted: I gave him several drinks of grog, both to divert myself, and purify the obtruding supposed sinner. At last I applied my materia medica, blowing a quill full of fine burnt alum and Roman vitriol into his eye. Just as I was ready to repeat it, he bounded up out of his seemingly dead state, jumped about, and said my songs and physic were not good. When I could be heard I told him the English beloved songs and physic were much stronger than those of the red people, and that when they did not immediately produce such an effect as he found, it was a sure sign they were good for nothing, but as they were taking place he would soon be well. He acquiesced because of the soporific dose I gave him; but ever after he reckoned he had a very narrow chance of having his eye burnt out by *Loak Ishtohoollo*, for drinking *ooka hoome*, 'the bitter waters', and presuming to get cured by an impure accursed nothing, who lied, drank, *ate hog's flesh*, and sung *tarooa ookproo'sto*, 'the devil's tune', or the song of the evil ones.

† The ancients drew bad presages from the situation and croaking of ravens and crows. They looked on that place as unhappy where either of them had croaked in the morning. Hesiod forbids to leave a house unfinished, lest a crow should chance to come and croak when sitting on it. And most of the illiterate peasants in Europe are tinctured with the like superstition, pretending to draw ill omens from its voice.

of driving evil spirits out of possessed persons; that he invented several *incantations* by which diseases were cured, and left behind him such a sure method of exorcising, as the dæmons never returned again; and he assures us the Jews followed the like custom *as late as his own time*, and that *he saw* such a cure performed by one Eleazar. They likewise imagined that the liver of a fish would keep away evil spirits, as one of the apocryphal writers acquaints us*.

In the summer season of the year 1746 I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Missisippi Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe Banger in shape, but far exceeded it in dimensions, for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskilful in acting the part of the lyric, that the *loache*, or prophet, who held the instrument between his feet and alongside of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other: by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds as might have been reasonably expected by a soft ear to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *keetla Ishto Hoolo*, 'a dance to, or before, the *great holy one*'; that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards from the red people, and enabled them to ordain *elderly* men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required. He who danced to it kept his place and posture in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet, by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally till he recovered himself. This surprising custom I have mentioned here because it was usual among the Hebrews *for their prophets to become furious*, and, as it were, beside themselves, when they were about to prophesy. Thus with regard to Saul, it seems that he became furious, and tortured his body by violent gestures; and when Elisha sent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, one said to him, Wherefore cometh *this mad fellow*? The Chaldee paraphrast, on 1 Sam. xviii. 10, concerning Saul's *prophesying*, paraphrases it, *cœpit furire*, "he began to grow mad," &c.

When the East Indian Fakirs are giving out their pretended prophecies, they choose drums and trumpets, that by such confused striking sounds their senses may be lulled asleep, or unsettled, which might otherwise render them incapable of receiving the supposed divine inspiration. And they endeavour to become thus possessed before crowds of people with a furious rage, by many frantic and violent motions of body and changes of posture, till they have raised it to the highest pitch they are capable of, and then fall on the ground almost breathless; when they recover themselves a little, they give out their prophecies, which are deemed oracular. Lactantius and others tell us that the Sibyls were possest of the like fury, and most part of the ancients believed they ought to become furious, the members of the body to shake and the hairs of their head to stand on end before they could be divinely inspired; which seems plainly to show, that though the ancient heathens mimicked a great deal of the Mosaic law, yet theirs had but a faint glance on the Hebrew manner of consulting Yohewah; whereas *the Indian Americans invoke the true God by his favourite essential name*, in a *bowing* posture, on every material occasion, whether civil, martial, or religious, *contrary to the usage* of all the old heathen world.

In the year 1765 an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild, frightful manner from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*,

* They imagined incense also to be a sure means to banish the devil, though asafœtida, or the devil's dung, might have been much better. On Cant. iv. 6. "I will get me to the hill of incense," the Chaldee paraphrast says, that while the house of Israel kept the ark of their holy forefathers, both the morning and mid-day, evil spirits fled away, because the divine glory dwelt in the sanctuary which was built on Mount Moriah; and that all the devils fled when they smelled the effluvia of the fine incense that was there. They likewise believed that herbs and roots had a power to expel dæmons. And Josephus tells us, that the root *bara* immediately drives out the devil. I suppose it had such a physical power against fevers and agues, as the jesuit's bark.

The Church of Rome, in order to have powerful holy things, as well as the Jews, applies salt, spittle, holy-water, and consecrated oil, to expel the devils from the credulous of their own persuasion; and the oil alone is used as a viaticum, on account of its lubricous quality, to make them slippery, and thereby prevent the devil from laying hold, and pulling them down when they ascend upward. They reckon that observance a most religious duty, and an infallible preservative against the legions of evil spirits who watch in the aërial regions; and also necessary to gain celestial admission for believers.

for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa,* in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door, which was then open, stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the Deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, "Are you come, my beloved old friend?" He replied, *Arahre-O.* "I am come in the name of Oea." I told him, I was glad to see that in this mad age he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me, his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west, and from witches and wizards, who go about in dark nights, *in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves,* to spoil people: "The very month before," added he, "*we killed an old witch* for having used destructive charms." Because a child was suddenly taken ill and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman, who was sitting innocent and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomohawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards *ishtabe* and *hoollabe,* 'man-killers', and 'spoilers of things sacred'. My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *tarooa Ishtohoollo-antarooare,* "I have sung the song of the great holy one." The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion, adjuring evil spirits, witches, &c., by the awful *name* of Deity.

ARGUMENT XIX.

The Hebrews have at all times been very careful in the Burial of their Dead: to be deprived of it was considered as one of the greatest of evils. They made it a point of duty to perform the funeral obsequies of their friends, often embalmed the dead bodies of those who were rich, and even buried treasure in the tombs with their dead. Josephus tells us, that in king David's sepulchre, was buried such a prodigious quantity of treasures, that Hyrcanus the Maccabean took three thousand talents out of it, about thirteen hundred years after, to get rid of Antiochus then besieging Jerusalem. And their people of distinction, we are told, followed the like custom of burying gold and silver with the dead. Thus, it was an universal custom with the ancient Peruvians, when the owner died to bury his effects with him, which the avaricious Spaniards perceiving, they robbed these store-houses of the dead of an immense quantity of treasures. The modern Indians bury all their moveable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch that the grave is heir of all. Except the Cheerake, only one instance of deviation from this ancient and general Indian custom occurs to me; which was that of *Malahche,* the late famous chieftain of the *Kowwetah* head war-town of the lower part of the Muskohge country, who bequeathed all he possessed to his real and adopted relations, being sensible they would be much more useful to his living friends than to himself during his *long sleep*: he displayed a genius far superior to the crowd. The Cheerake of late years, by the reiterated persuasion of the traders, have entirely left off the custom of burying effects with the dead body: the nearest of blood inherits them. They, and several other of our Indian nations, used formerly to shoot all the live stock that belonged to the deceased, soon after the interment of the corpse; not according to the Pagan custom of the funeral piles, on which they burned several of the living, that they might accompany and wait on the dead, but from a narrow-hearted avaricious principle, derived from their Hebrew progenitors. Notwithstanding the North American Indians, like the South Americans, inter the whole riches of the deceased with him, and so make his corpse and the grave heirs of all, they never give them the least disturbance: even a bloodthirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum and a sure place of rest to the *sleeping* person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, *he rises again* to inherit his favourite place, unless the covetous or curious hand of some foreigner should break through his sacred bounds. This custom of burying the dead person's treasures with him, has entirely swallowed up their medals, and other monuments of antiquity, without any probability of recovering them*.

* In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tables, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit offering, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the

As the Hebrews carefully buried their dead, so, on any accident, they gathered their bones and laid them in the tombs of their forefathers: thus, all the numerous nations of Indians perform the like friendly office to every deceased person of their respective tribe; insomuch that those who lose their people at war, if they have not corrupted their primitive customs, are so observant of this kindred duty, as to appropriate some time to collect the bones of their relations; which they call *bone gathering*, or "gathering the bones to their kindred," according to the Hebrew idiom*. The Cheerake, by reason of their great intercourse with foreigners, have dropped that friendly office; and as they seem to be more intelligent than the rest of our English American Indians in their religious rites and ceremonial observances, so I believe the fear of *pollution* has likewise contributed to obliterate that ancient kindred duty. However, they separate those of their people who die at home, from others of a different nation; and every particular tribe indeed of each nation bears an intense love to itself, and divides every one of its people from the rest, both while living and after they are dead. When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by the enemy, they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowls of prey: when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and *inter them in a very solemn manner.* They will not associate with us when we are burying any of our people who die in their land; and they are unwilling we should join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the small-pox, even of the confluent sort, I never saw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the English, and chieftain of *Ooeasa*, as formerly described.

The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-skins separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and, as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of service to them in the next state. The chieftain carried *twelve* short sticks tied together in the form of a quadrangle; so that each square consisted of three. The sticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were swan's feathers tied to each corner, and as they called that frame, *tereekpe tobeh*, 'a white circle', and placed it over the door while the women were weeping over the bones, perhaps it was originally designed to represent the holy fire, light, and spirit, who formerly presided over the four principal standards of the twelve tribes of Israel. When any of their people die at home,

sacred arbour; next to him their head warrior carries another; and those warriors who choose it carry the rest after the manner of the high priest: all the others carry white canes with swan-feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of these important monuments of antiquity, and inquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by four of the southern traders, at the most eminent Indian trading-house of all English America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my request he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforesaid tables, but it could not possibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand sacrifice, for fear of *polluting their holy things*, at which time gentlemen of curiosity may see them. *Old Bracket*, an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following description of them:

Old Bracket's account of the *five copper* and *two brass plates* under the beloved cabin in Tuccabatchey-square.



The shape of the five copper plates; one is a foot and half long and seven inches wide, the other four are shorter and narrower.

The largest stamped thus 

The shape of the two brass plates,—about a foot and a half in diameter.

He said, he was told by his forefathers that those plates were given to them by the man we call God; that there had been many more of other shapes, some as long as he could stretch with both his arms, and some had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had instructions given with them, viz. they must only be handled by particular people, and those fasting; and no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they are deposited. He said, none but this town's people had any such plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He said, there were two copper plates under the king's cabin, which had lain there from the first settling of the town.

This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-square, 27th July, 1759, per *Will. Bolsover.*

* With the Hebrews, "to gather," usually signified to die. Gen. xlix. 33. Jacob is said to be gathered to his people. Psal. xxvi. 9. Gather not my soul with sinners. And Numb. xx. 24. Aaron shall be gathered to his people.

they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors for fear of *pollution*; then they place it opposite to the door, on the skins of wild beasts, in a sitting posture, as looking into the door of the winter house, westward, sufficiently supported with all his moveable goods; after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stopping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceased person's family, who goes before the hearse, says each time, *Yàh,* short with a bass voice, and then invokes on a tenor key, *Yo,* which at the same time is likewise sung by all the procession, as long as one breath allows. Again, he strikes up, on a sharp treble key, the feminine note *He,* which in like manner is taken up and continued by the rest: then all of them suddenly strike off the solemn chorus and sacred invocation, by saying, on a low key, *Wàh*; which constitute the divine essential name, *Yohewah.* This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were present, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared patron and friend. It seems as if they buried him in the name of the divine essence, and directed their plaintive religious notes to the author of life and death, in hopes of a *resurrection of the body*; which hope engaged the Hebrews to style their burying-places, "the house of the living." When they celebrated these funeral rites of the above chieftain, they laid the corpse in his tomb, *in a sitting posture* with his face *towards the east,* his head *anointed* with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not streaked with black, because that is a constant emblem of war and death; he was drest in his finest apparel, having his gun and pouch, and trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin full of arrows, along side of him, and every other useful thing he had been possessed of,—that when he rises again, they may serve him in that tract of land which pleased him best before he went to take his long sleep. His tomb was firm and clean inside. They covered it with thick logs, so as to bear several tiers of cypress-bark, and such a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid smell, and be on a level with the rest of the floor. They often sleep over those tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the dusk of the evening and dawn of the day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relations very often; and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and set on such revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood.

The Egyptians either embalmed or buried their dead: other heathen nations imagined that fire purified the body; they burned therefore the bodies of their dead, and put their ashes into small urns, which they religiously kept by them as sacred relics. The Tartars called *Kyrgessi,* near the frozen sea, formerly used to hang their dead relations and friends upon trees, to be eaten by ravenous birds, to purify them. But the Americans seem evidently to have derived their copy from the Israelites, as to the place where they bury their dead, and the method of their funeral ceremonies, as well as the persons with whom they are buried, and *the great expenses* they are at in their burials. The Hebrews buried near the city of Jerusalem, by the brook Kedron; and they frequently hewed their tombs out of rocks, or buried their dead opposite to their doors, implying a silent lesson of friendship, and a pointing caution to live well. They buried all of one family together; to which custom David alludes, when he says, "Gather me not with the wicked;" and Sophronius said, with regard to the like form, "Noli me tangere, hæretice, neque vivum nec mortuum." But they buried strangers apart by themselves, and named the place, *Kebhare galeya,* 'the burying-place of strangers'. And these rude Americans are so strongly partial to the same custom, that they imagine if any of us were buried in the domestic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our spirits would haunt the eaves of their houses at night, and cause several misfortunes to their family. In resemblance to the Hebrew custom of embalming their dead, the Choktah treat the corpse just as the religious Levite did his beloved concubine, who was abused by the Benjamites; for having placed the dead on a high scaffold stockaded round, at the distance of twelve yards from his house, opposite to the door, the whole family convene there at the beginning of the fourth moon after the interment, to lament and feast together: after wailing a while on the mourning benches, which stand on the east side of the quadrangular tomb, they raise and bring out the corpse, and while the feast is getting ready, a person whose office it is, and properly called the *bone-picker,* dissects it, as if it was intended for the shambles in the time of a great famine, with his sharp-pointed bloody knife. He continues busily employed in his reputed sacred office, till he has finished the task, and scraped all the flesh off the bones; which may justly be called the Choktah method of embalming their dead. Then, they carefully place the bones in a kind of small chest, in their natural order, that they may with ease and certainty be some time afterward *reunited,* and proceed to strike up a song of lamentation, with various wailing tunes and notes: afterwards they join as cheerfully in the funeral feast, as if their kinsman was only taking his usual sleep. Having regaled

themselves with a plentiful variety, they go along with those beloved relics of their dead, in solemn procession, lamenting with doleful notes, till they arrive at the bone-house, which stands in a solitary place apart from the town; then they proceed around it, much after the manner of those who performed the obsequies of the Chikkasah chieftain, already described, and there deposit their kinsman's bones to lie alongside of his kindred bones, till in due time they are *revived* by *Ishtohoollo Aba*, that he may repossess his favourite place. Those bone-houses are scaffolds raised on durable pitch-pine forked posts, in the form of a house covered a-top, but open at both ends. I saw three of them in one of their towns, pretty near each other; the place seemed to be unfrequented: each house contained the bones of one tribe separately, with the hieroglyphical figures of the family on each of the old-shaped arks: they reckon it irreligious to mix the bones of a relation with those of a stranger, as bone of bone and flesh of the same flesh should be always joined together; and much less will they thrust the body of their beloved kinsman into the abominable tomb of a hateful enemy. I observed a ladder fixed in the ground opposite to the middle of the broadside of each of those dormitories of the dead, which was made out of a broad board, and stood considerably bent over the sacred repository, with the steps on the inside. On the top was the carved image of a dove, with its wings stretched out, and its head inclining down, as if earnestly viewing or watching over the bones of the dead; and from the top of the ladder to almost the surface of the earth, there hung a chain of grape-vines twisted together in circular links; and the same likewise at their domestic tombs. Now the dove, after the Deluge, became the emblem of *Rowah*, the holy spirit, and in process of time was deified by the heathen world, instead of the divine person it typified: the vine was likewise a symbol of fruitfulness, both in the animal and vegetable world.

To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller, as he passes that way, throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion or manner of the death of the deceased. In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where, according to tradition, some of their distinguished people were either killed or buried, till the bones could be gathered: there they add *Pelion* to *Ossa*, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument and honour to them, and an incentive to great actions. Mercury was a favourite god with the heathens, and had various employments; one of which was to be god of the roads, to direct travellers aright, from which the ancient Romans derived their *Dii Compitales* or *Dei Viales*, which they likewise placed at the meeting of roads, and in the high-ways, and esteemed them the patrons and protectors of travellers. The early heathens placed great heaps of stones at the dividing of the roads, and consecrated those heaps to him by unction*, and other religious ceremonies. And in honour to him, travellers threw a stone to them, and thus exceedingly increased their bulk: this might occasion *Solomon to compare the giving honour to a fool, to throwing a stone into a heap*, as each were alike insensible of the obligation; and to cause the Jewish writers to call this custom a piece of idolatrous worship. But the Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road†. And then they observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honour to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. Upon which account, it seems to be derived from the ancient Jewish custom of *increasing* Absalom's tomb; for the last things are easiest retained, because people repeat them oftenest, and imitate them most.

* They rubbed the principal stone of each of those heaps all over with oil, as a sacrifice of libation; by which means they often became black and slippery; as Arnobius relates of the idols of his time: "Lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum, tanquam inesset vis presens, adulabar."—*Arnob. advers. Gent.*

† Laban and Jacob raised a heap of stones, as a lasting monument of their friendly covenant. And Jacob called the heap *galeed*, "the heap of witness." Gen. xxxi. 47.

Though the Cheerake do not now collect the bones of their dead, yet they continue to raise and multiply heaps of stones, as monuments for their dead; this the English army remembers well, for in the year 1760, having marched about two miles along a woodland path, beyond a hill where they had seen a couple of these reputed tombs, at the war-woman's creek, they received so sharp a defeat by the Cheerake, that another such must have inevitably ruined the whole army.

Many of those heaps are to be seen in all parts of the continent of North America; where stones could not be had, they raised large hillocks or mounds of earth, wherein they carefully deposited the bones of their dead, which were placed either in earthen vessels or in a simple kind of arks, or chests. Although the Mohawk Indians may be reasonably expected to have lost their primitive customs, by reason of their great intercourse with foreigners, yet I was told by a gentleman of distinguished character, that they observe the aforesaid sepulchral custom to this day, insomuch that when they are performing that kindred-duty, they cry out, *Mahoom taguyn kameneh*, "Grandfather, I cover you."

ARGUMENT XX.

The Jewish records tell us, that their women mourned for the loss of their deceased husbands, and were reckoned vile by the civil law, if they married in the space, at least, of ten months after their death. In resemblance to that custom, all the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. But the East India pagans forced the widow to sit on a pile of wood, and hold the body of her husband on her knees, to be consumed together in the flames. The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risk of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss in very intense audible strains. As *Yah ah* signifies weeping, lamenting, mourning, or 'Ah God'; and as the widows and others, in their grief, bewail and cry *Yo He (ta) Wah, Yohetaweh*; *Yohetaha Yohetahe*, the origin is sufficiently clear. For the Hebrews reckoned it so great an evil to die unlamented, like Jehoiakim, Jer. xxii. 18, "who had none to say, Ah, my brother! Ah, my sister! Ah, my Lord! Ah, his glory!" that it is one of the four judgements they pray against, and it is called the burial of an ass. With them, burying signified lamenting, and so the Indian widows direct their mournful cries to the Author of life and death, insert a plural note in the sacred name, and again transpose the latter, through an invariable religious principle, to prevent a profanation. Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband keep a very watchful eye over her conduct in this respect. The place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is entombed in the house under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole*, which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's supposed religious duty: it chills, or sweats, and wastes them so exceedingly; for they are allowed no shade or shelter. This sharp rigid custom excites the women to honour the marriage state, and keeps them obliging to their husbands, by anticipating the visible sharp difficulties which they must undergo for so great a loss. The three or four years monastic life, which she lives after his death, makes it her interest to strive by every means to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever so dull and worthless; if she is able to shed tears on such an occasion, they often proceed from self-love. We can generally distinguish between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured strain. She doth not so much bewail his death, as her own recluse life and hateful state of celibacy; which to many of them is as uneligible as it was to the Hebrew ladies, who preferred death before the unmarried state, and reckoned their virginity a bewailable condition, like the state of the dead.

The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loss of their dead, and if their tears cannot be seen to flow, their shrill voices will be heard to cry, which answers the solemn chorus a great deal better†. However, they are no way churlish of their tears, for I have seen them on the occasion pour them out like fountains of water; but after having thus tired themselves, they might with equal propriety have asked bystanders, in the manner of the native Irish, Ara ci fuar bass, "And who is dead?" They formerly dressed their heads with black moss on those solemn occasions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment they now beat with laurel bushes, the women having their hair disheveled: the first of which customs seems to be derived from the Hebrew custom of wearing sackcloth at their funeral solemnities, and on other occasions, when they afflicted their souls before God, to which divine writ often alludes in describing the blackness of the skies; and the laurel, being an evergreen, is a lively emblem of the eternity of the human soul, and the pleasant state it enters into after death, according to antiquity. They beat it on the ground to express their sharp pungent grief; and, perhaps, to imitate the Hebrew trumpeters for the dead, in order to make as striking a sound as they possibly can on so doleful an occasion. Though the Hebrews had no positive precept that obliged the widow to mourn the death of her husband or to continue her widowhood for any

* The war-pole is a small peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off short: it is fixt in the ground opposite to his door, and all his implements of war are hung on the short boughs of it till they rot.

† Jer. ix. 17, 19. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Consider ye, and call for the mourning women, that they may come; and *send for cunning women*, that they may come.....For a voice of wailing is heard out of Zion, How are we spoiled! we are greatly confounded, because we have forsaken the land, because our dwellings have cast us out.

time, yet the gravity of their tempers, and their scrupulous nicety of the law of purity, introduced the observance of those modest and religious customs, as firmly under the penalty of shame, as if they bore the sanction of law *. In imitation of them, the Indians have copied so exactly, as to compel the widow to act the part of the disconsolate dove, for the irreparable loss of her mate. Very different is the custom of other nations: the Africans, when any of their head men die, kill all their slaves, their friends that were dearest to them, and all their wives whom they loved best, that they may accompany and serve them in the other world, which is a most diabolical Ammonitish sacrifice of human blood. The East India widows may refuse to be burned on their husbands' funeral piles, with impunity, if they become prostitutes, or public women to sing and dance at marriages, or on other occasions of rejoicing. How superior is the virtuous custom of the savage Americans concerning female chastity during the time of their widowhood! The Indian women mourn three moons for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time, they are not to anoint or tie up their hair; neither is the husband of the deceased allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the house, much less to join any company; and in that time of mourning he often lies among the ashes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the house where their female relation is entombed, and stay there till morning, when the nearest surviving old kinswoman crops their fore-locks pretty short. This they call *ehó intàndah*, 'the women have mourned the appointed time'. *Eho* signifies 'a woman', *inta* 'finished by divine appointment', *aà* 'moving' or walking, and *ah*, their note of grief, sorrow, or mourning: the name expresses, and the custom is a visible certificate of, their having mourned the appointed time for their dead. When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sunrise, and thus finish their solemn *Yah-ah*.

ARGUMENT XXI.

The surviving brother, by the Mosaic law, was to raise seed to a deceased brother who left a widow childless, to perpetuate his name and family, and inherit his goods and estate, or be degraded; and, if the issue he begat was a male child, it assumed the name of the deceased. The Indian custom looks the very same way; yet it is in this as in their law of blood, the eldest brother can redeem. Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years, yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station, and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, *anoint* and paint herself in the same manner as the Hebrew widow, who was refused by the surviving brother of her deceased husband, became free to marry whom she pleased. The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brothers-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of that mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *hoobuk wakse*, or *skoobále, hassé kroopha*, 'eunuchus præputio detecto, et pene brevi'; the most degrading of epithets. Similar to the Hebrew ladies, who, on the brother's refusal, loosed his shoe from his foot, and spit in his face, (Deut. xxv. 9.); and, as some of the Rabbies tell us, they made water in his shoe, and threw it with despite in his face, and then readily went to bed to any of his kinsmen, or most distant relations of the same line that she liked best; as Ruth married Boaz. Josephus, to palliate the fact, says she only beat him with the shoe over his face. David probably alludes to this custom, Psalm lx. 8, "Over Edom I will cast out my shoe," or detraction. Either by corruption, or misunderstanding that family-kissing custom of the Hebrews, the corrupt Cheerake marry both mother and daughter at once; though, unless in this instance, they and all the other savage nations observe the degrees of consanguinity in a stricter manner than the Hebrews, or even the Christian world. The Cheerake do not marry their first or second cousins; and it is very observable, that the whole tribe reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage and any other affair in social life. This seems to evince that they copied from the stable and tender friendship between Jonathan and David; especially as the Hebrews had legal, or adopted, as well as natural brothers.

* Theodosius tells us, Lib. 1. *Legum de secundis Nuptiis*, that women were infamous by the civil law, who married a second time before a year, or at least ten months were expired.

ARGUMENT XXII.

When the Israelites gave names to their children or others, they chose such appellatives as suited best with their circumstances and the times. This custom was as early as the Patriarchal age; for we find Abram was changed into Abraham; Sarai into Sarah, Jacob into Israel; and afterwards Oshea, Joshua, Solomon, Jedidiah, &c. &c. This custom is a standing rule with the Indians, and I never observed the least deviation from it. They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child they will call *choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower'. The father and mother of the former are called *choollingge*, and *choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *pakahlingge*, and *pakahlishke*; for *ingge* signifies the father, and *ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, "the one that is dead," to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned. This was of divine appointment, to comfort the barren, and was analogous to the kindred method of counting with the Hebrews: instead of surnames, they used in their genealogies the name of the father, and prefixed *ben*, 'a son', to the person's name. And thus the Greeks in early times. No nation used surnames, except the Romans after their league and union with the Sabines. And they did not introduce that custom with the least view of distinguishing their families, but as a politic seal to their strong compact of friendship; for as the Romans prefixed Sabine names to their own, the Sabines took Roman names in like manner. A specimen of the Indian war-names, will illustrate this argument with more clearness.

They crown a warrior who has killed a distinguished enemy, with the name, *Yanasabe*, 'the buffalo-killer'; *yanasa* is a buffalo, compounded of *Yah*, the divine essence, and *asa*, 'there, or here is', as formerly mentioned; and *abe* is their constant war-period, signifying, by their rhetorical figure, 'one who kills another'. It signifies also to murder a person, or beat him severely. This proper name signifies, the prosperous killer, or destroyer of the buffalo or strong man; it cannot possibly be derived from אבה (*abeh*), which signifies good-will, brotherly love, or tender affection; but from אבל (*abele*), grief, sorrow, or mourning, as an effect of that hostile act. *Anoah*, with the Indians, is the name of a rambling person, or one of unsettled residence, and *anoah ookproo*, is literally a bad rambling person, 'a renegadoe': likewise *anoah ookproo'shto* makes it a superlative, on account of the abbreviation of *Ishto*, one of the divine names which they subjoin. In like manner, *Noabe* is the war-name of a person who kills a rambling enemy, or one detached as a scout, spy, or the like. It consists of the patriarchal name, *Noah*, and *abe*, 'to kill', according to the Hebrew original, of which it is a contraction, to make it smoother, and to indulge a rapidity of expression. There is so strong an agreement between this compounded proper name, and two ancient Hebrew proper names, that it displays the greatest affinity between the warfaring red and white Hebrews; especially as it so clearly alludes to the divine history of the first homicide, and the words are adapted to their proper significations.

Because the Choktah did not till lately trim their hair, the other tribes, through contempt of their custom, called them *Pas' Pharáàh*, 'long hair', and they, in return, gave them the contemptuous name, *Skoobálè'shtó*, 'very naked, or bare heads', compounded of *skooba*, *ale*, and *Ishto*: the same word, or *waksishto*, with *hasseh* prefixed, expresses the *penem præputio detecto*; which shows they lately retained a glimmering, though confused notion, of the law of circumcision, and the prohibition of not polling their hair. They call a crow, *pharah*; and *pas'pharáàbe* is the proper name of a warrior who killed an enemy wearing long hair. It is a triple compound from *pásèh*, 'the hair of one's head', *pharaah* 'long', and *abe*, 'killing', which they crowd together. They likewise say, their tongue is not *pharakto*, 'forked', thereby alluding probably to the formerly hateful name of the Egyptian kings, Pharaoh.

When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded, drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons; so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of several circumstances, as of the time and place where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the slain. The following is a specimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, 'a killer of the enemy'; he who kills a person carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuska*;

the first word signifies a kettle, and the last a warrior. *Minggáshtàbe* signifies 'one who killed a very great chieftain', compounded of *mingo, ash,* and *abe*. *Pae-Máshtàbe* is one in the way of war-gradation, or below the highest in rank, *pae* signifying 'far off'. *Tisshu Mashtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain's waiter carrying the beloved ark. *Shulashummashtabe,* the name of the late Choktah great war-leader, our firm friend *Red-shoes,* is compounded of *shulass*', 'Maccascenes', or deer-skin shoes, *humma* 'red', *ash* 'the divine fire'. *T* is inserted for the sake of a bold sound, or to express the multiplicity of the exploits he performed in killing the enemy. In treating of their language, I observed, they end their proper names with a vowel, and contract their war-titles, to give more smoothness and a rapidity of expression. *Etehk* is the general name they give to any female creature; but by adding their constant war-period to it, it signifies 'weary', as *chetehkabe,* 'you are weary': to make it a superlative, they say *chetehkabe-o,* or *chetehkabeshto*. The Cheerake call a dull stalking fellow, *Sooreh,* 'the turkey-buzzard', and one of an ill temper, *Kana Cheesteche,* 'the wasp', or a person resembling the dangerous Canaan rabbit, being compounded of the abbreviated name of *Canaan,* and *cheesto* 'a rabbit', which the Israelites were not to meddle with. One of our chief traders, who was very loquacious, they called *Sekakee,* 'the grass-hopper', derived from *sekako,* 'to make haste'. To one of a hoarse voice, they gave the name, *Kanoona,* 'the bull-frog'. The Katahba Indians call their chief old interpreter, on account of his obscene language, *Emate-Atikke,* 'the smock-interpreter'. The '*raven*' is one of the Cheerake favourite war-names. Carolina and Georgia remember *Quorinnah,* 'the raven', of *Huwhase-town*; he was one of the most daring warriors of the whole nation, and by far the most intelligent; and this name, or war-appellative, admirably suited his well-known character. Though with *all* the Indian nations the raven is deemed an *impure* bird, yet they have a kind of sacred regard to it, whether from the traditional knowledge of Noah's employing it while he was in the ark, or from that bird having fed Elijah in the wilderness, (as some suppose,) cannot be determined; however, with our supposed red Hebrews the name points out an indefatigable, keen, successful warrior.

ARGUMENT XXIII.

Although other resemblances of the Indian rites and customs to those of the Hebrews might be pointed out, not to seem tedious, I proceed to the last argument of the origin of the Indian Americans, which shall be from their own traditions, from the accounts of our English writers, and from the testimonies which the Spanish writers have given, concerning the primitive inhabitants of Peru and Mexico.

The Indian tradition says, that their forefathers in very remote ages came from a far distant country, where all the people were of one colour; and that in process of time they moved eastward to their present settlements. So that what some of our writers have asserted is not just, who say the Indians affirm, that there were originally three different tribes in those countries, when the supreme chieftain, to encourage swift running, proposed a proportionable reward of distinction to each, as they excelled in speed in passing a certain distant river; as, that the first should be polished white, the second red, and the third black; which took place accordingly after the race was over. This story sprung from the innovating superstitious ignorance of the popish priests to the south-west of us. Our own Indian tradition is literal, and not allegorical, and ought to be received; because people who have been long separated from the rest of mankind must know their own traditions the best, and could not be deceived in so material and frequently repeated an event. Though they have been disjoined through different interests, time immemorial, yet (the rambling tribes of northern Indians excepted,) they aver that they came over the Missisippi from the westward, before they arrived at their present settlements. This we see verified by the western old towns they have left behind them; and by the situation of their old beloved towns, or places of refuge, lying about a west course from each different nation. Such places in Judea were chiefly built in the most remote parts of the country; and the Indians deem those only as beloved towns where they first settled. This tradition is corroborated by a current report of the old Chikkasah Indians to our traders, "that about forty years since, there came from Mexico some of the old Chikkasah nation, (the Chichemicas, according to the Spanish accounts,) in quest of their brethren, as far north as the Aquahpah nation, about 130 miles above the Nachee old towns, on the south side of the Missisippi; but through French policy, they were either killed or sent back, so as to prevent their opening a brotherly intercourse, as they had proposed." And it is worthy of notice, that the Muskohge cave, out of which one of their politicians persuaded them their ancestors formerly ascended to their present terrestrial abode, lies in

the Nanne Hamgeh old town, inhabited by the Missisippi Nachee Indians, which is one of the most western parts of their old-inhabited country.

I hope I shall be excused in reciting their ancient oral tradition from father to son to the present time. They say, that one of their cunning old religious men, finding that religion did not always thrive best, resolved with himself to impose on his friends' credulity, and alter in some respects their old tradition; he accordingly pretended to have held for a long time a continual intercourse with their subterranean progenitors, in a cave above 600 miles to the westward of Charlestown in South Carolina, adjoining to the old Chikkasah trading path; this people were then possest of everything convenient for human life, and he promised them fully to supply their wants, in a constant manner, without sweating in the field; the most troublesome of all things to manly brisk warriors. He insisted, that all who were desirous of so natural and beneficial a correspondence, should contribute large presents, to be delivered on the embassy, to their brethren, terræ filii, to clear the old chain of friendship from the rust it had contracted through the fault of cankering time. He accordingly received presents from most of the people, to deliver them to their beloved subterranean kindred; but it seems, they shut up the mouth of the cave, and detained him there in order to be purified. The old waste towns of the Chikkasah lie to the west and south-west, from where they have lived since the time we first opened a trade with them; on which course they formerly went to war over the Missisippi, because they knew it best, and had disputes with the natives of those parts, when they first came from thence. Wisdom directed them then to connive at some injuries, on account of their itinerant camp of women and children; for their tradition says, it consisted of ten thousand men, besides women and children, when they came from the west, and passed over the Missisippi. The fine breed of running wood horses they brought with them, were the present Mexican or Spanish barbs. They also aver, that their ancestors cut off and despoiled the greatest part of a caravan loaded with gold and silver; but the carriage of it proved so troublesome to them, that they threw it into a river where it could not benefit the enemy. If we join together these circumstances, it utterly destroys the fine Peruvian and Mexican temples of the sun, &c., which the Spaniards have lavishly painted from their own fruitful imaginations, to show their own capacity of writing, though at the expense of truth; and to amuse the gazing distant world, and lessen our surprise at the sea of reputed heathenish blood, which their avaricious tempers, and flaming superstitious zeal, prompted them to spill.

If any English reader have patience to search the extraordinary volumes of the Spanish writers, or even those of His Catholic Majesty's chief historiographer, he will not only find a wild portrait, but a striking resemblance and unity of the civil and martial customs, the religious rites and traditions, of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and the North Americans, according to the manner of their moresque paintings; likewise, the very national name of the primitive Chikkasah, which they style Chichemicas, and whom they repute to have been the first inhabitants of Mexico. However, I lay little stress upon Spanish testimonies, for time and ocular proof have convinced us of the laboured falsehood of almost all their historical narrations concerning every curious thing relative to South America. They were so divested of those principles inherent to honest inquirers after truth, that they have recorded themselves to be a tribe of prejudiced bigots, striving to aggrandize the Mahometan valour of about nine hundred spurious Catholic Christians, under the patronage of their favourite saint, as persons by whom Heaven designed to extirpate those two great nominal empires of pretended cannibals. They found it convenient to blacken the natives with ill names, and report them to their demi-god the mufti of Rome, as sacrificing every day a prodigious multitude of human victims to numerous idol-gods. The learned world is already fully acquainted with the falsehood of their histories; reason and later discoveries condemn them. Many years have elapsed since I first entered into Indian life, besides a good acquaintance with several southern Indians, who were conversant with the Mexican Indian rites and customs; and it is incontrovertible, that the Spanish monks and jesuits, in describing the language, religion, and customs of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, were both unwilling and incapable to perform so arduous an undertaking with justice and truth. They did not converse with the natives as friends, but despised, hated, and murdered them, for the sake of their gold and silver; and to excuse their own ignorance, and most shocking, cool, premeditated murders, they artfully described them as an abominable swarm of idolatrous cannibals offering human sacrifices to their various false deities, and eating of the unnatural victims. Nevertheless, from their own partial accounts, we can trace a near agreement between the civil and martial customs, the religious worship, traditions, dress, ornaments, and other particulars of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and those of the present North American Indians.

Acosta tells us, that though the Mexicans have no proper name for God, yet they allow a supreme omnipotence and providence: his capacity was not sufficient to discover the former; however, the latter agrees with the present religious opinion of the English-American Indians, of an universal divine wisdom and government. The want of a friendly intercourse between our northern and southern Indians, has in length of time occasioned some of the former a little to corrupt or alter the name of the self-existing creator and preserver of the universe, as they repeat it in their religious invocations, YO He a Ah. But with what show of truth, consistent with the above concession, can Acosta describe the Mexicans as offering human sacrifices also to devils, and greedily feasting on the victims? We are told also that the Nauatalcas believe they dwelt in another region before they settled in Mexico; that they wandered eighty years in search of it, through a strict obedience to their gods, who ordered them to go in quest of new lands, that had such particular signs; that they punctually obeyed the divine mandate, and by that means found out and settled the fertile country of Mexico. This account corresponds with the Chikkasah tradition of settling in their present supposed holy land, and seems to have been derived from a compound tradition of *Aaron's rod*, and the *light* or divine presence with the Israelites in the wilderness, when they marched. And probably the Mexican number of years was originally *forty*, instead of *eighty*. Lopez de Gomara tells us, that the Mexicans were so devout as to offer to the sun and earth a small quantity of every kind of meat and drink, before any of themselves tasted it; and that they sacrificed part of their corn, fruits, &c., in like manner; otherwise, they were deemed haters of, and contemned by, their gods. Is not this a confused Spanish picture of the Jewish daily sacrifice, and first-fruit-offering, as formerly observed? and which, as we have seen, are now offered up by the northern Indians, to the bountiful giver, the supreme holy spirit of fire, whom they invoke in that most sacred and awful song, YO He Wah, and loudly ascribe to him *Hallelu-Yah*, for his continued goodness to them. The Spanish writers say, that when Cortes approached Mexico, Montezuma shut himself up, and continued for the space of eight days in prayers and fasting; but to blacken him, and excuse their own diabolical butcheries, they assert he offered human sacrifices at the same time to abominable and frightful idols. But the sacrifices with more justice may be attributed to the Spaniards than to the Mexicans, as their narratives also are a sacrifice of truth itself. Montezuma and his people's fastings, prayers, &c. were doubtless the same with those of the northern Indians, who on particular occasions, by separate fastings, ablutions, purgations, &c., seek to sanctify themselves, and so avert the ill effects of the divine anger, and regain the favour of the deity. They write, that the Mexicans offered to one of their gods, a sacrifice compounded of some of all the seeds of their country, grinded fine, and mixed with the blood of children and of sacrificed virgins; that they plucked out the hearts of those victims, and offered them as first-fruits to the idol; and that the warriors imagined the least relic of the sacrifice would preserve them from danger. They soon afterwards tell us of a temple of a quadrangular form, called *Teucalli*, 'God's house', and *Chacalmua*, 'a minister of holy things', who belonged to it. They likewise speak of "the hearth of God, the continual fire of God, the holy ark," &c. If we cut off the jesuitical paintings of the unnatural sacrifice, the rest is consonant to what hath been observed concerning the North American Indians. And it is very obvious, the North and South American Indians are alike of vindictive tempers, putting most of their invading enemies that fall into their power to the fiery torture. The Spaniards, looking upon themselves as divine ambassadors, under the imperial signature of the Holy Lord of Rome, were excessively enraged against the simple native South Americans, because they tortured forty of their captivated people by reprisal, devoting them to the fire, and ate their hearts, according to the universal war-custom of our northern Indians, on the like occasion. The Spanish terror and hatred on this account, their pride, religious bigotry, and an utter ignorance of the Indian dialects, rites and customs, excited them thus to delineate the Mexicans; and equally hard names and unjust charges, the bloody members of their diabolical Inquisition used to bestow on those pretended heretics whom they gave over to be tortured and burnt by the secular power. But it is worthy of notice, the Spanish writers acknowledge that the Mexicans brought their human sacrifices from the opposite sea; and did not offer up any of their own people; so that this was but the same as our North American Indians still practise, *when they devote their captives to death; which is ushered in with ablutions and other methods of sanctifying themselves*, as have been particularly described; and they perform the solemnity with singing the sacred triumphal song, with beating of the drum, dances, and various sorts of rejoicings, through gratitude to the beneficent and divine author of success against their common enemy. By the description of the Portuguese writers, the Indian-Brazilian method of war, and of torturing their devoted captives, very nearly resembles the customs of our Indians.

Acosta, according to his usual ignorance of the Indian customs, says, that some in Mexico understood one another by whistling, on which he attempts to be witty, but notwithstanding the great contempt and surprise of the Spaniards at those Indians who whistled as they went, this whistle was no other than the war-whoop or a very loud and shrill shout, denoting death, or good or bad news, or bringing in captives from war. The same writer says they had three kinds of knighthood, with which they honoured the best soldiers; the chief of which was the red ribbon; the next the lion or tiger knight; and the meanest was the grey knight. He might with as much truth have added the turkey-buzzard knight, the sun-blind bat knight, and the night-owl knight. His account of the various gradations of the Indian war-titles, shows the unskillfulness of that voluminous writer, even in the first principles of his Indian subject, and how far we ought to rely on his marvellous works. The accounts the Spaniards formerly gave us of Florida and its inhabitants, are written in the same romantic strain with those of Mexico. Ramusius tells us that Alvaro Nunes and his company reported the Apalahchee Indians to be such a gigantic people, as to carry bows, thick as a man's arm, and of eleven or twelve spans long, shooting with proportional force and direction. It seems they lived then a sober and temperate life, for Morgues says, one of their kings was three hundred years old; though Laudon reckons him only two hundred and fifty; and Morgues assures us, he saw this young Indian Methusalah's father, who was fifty years older than his son, and that each of them was likely, by the common course of nature, to live thirty or forty years longer, although they had seen their fifth generation. Since that time they have so exceedingly degenerated in height of body, largeness of defensive arms, and antediluvian longevity, that I am afraid these early and extraordinary writers would scarcely know the descendants of those Apalahche Anakim, if they now saw them. They are at present the same as their dwarfish red neighbours; sic transit gloria mundi.

Nicholaus Challusius paints Florida full of winged serpents; he affirms he saw one there, and that the old natives were very careful to get its head, on account of some supposed superstition. Ferdinando Soto tells us, that when he entered Florida he found a Spaniard (J. Ortez,) whom the natives had captivated during the space of twelve years; consequently he must have gained in that time sufficient skill in their dialect to give a true interpretation and account, and he assures us, that Ucita, the lord of the place, made that fellow "temple-keeper" to prevent the night-wolves from carrying away the dead corpse; that the natives worshiped the devil and sacrificed to him the life and blood of most of their captives; who spoke with them face to face, and ordered them to bring those offerings to quench his burning thirst. And we are told by Benzo, that when Soto died, the good-natured Cacique ordered two likely young Indians to be killed according to custom, to wait on him where he was gone. But the Christian Spaniards denied his death, and assured them he was the son of God, and therefore could not die. If we except the last sentence, which bears a just analogy to the presumption and arrogance of the popish priests and historians, time and opportunity have fully convinced us, that all the rest is calumny and falsehood. It must be confessed, however, that none, even of the Spanish monks and friars, have gone so deep in the marvellous, as our own sagacious David Ingram: he assures us, "that he not only heard of very surprising animals in these parts of the world, but saw elephants, horses, and strange wild animals twice as big as our species of horses, formed like a grey-hound in their hinder parts; he saw likewise bulls with ears like hounds; and another surprising species of quadrupeds bigger than bears, without head or neck, but nature had fixed their eyes and mouths more securely in their breasts." At the end of his monstrous ideal productions, he justly introduces the devil in the rear, sometimes assuming the likeness of a dog; at other times the shape of a calf, &c. Although this legendary writer has transcended the bounds of truth, yet where he is not emulous of outdoing the jesuitical romances, it would require a good knowledge of America to confute him in many particulars: this shows how little the learned world can rely on American narrators; and that the origin of the Indian Americans is yet to be traced in a quite different path to what any of those hyperbolical or wild conjectural writers have prescribed. The Spaniards have given us many fine polished Indian orations, but they were certainly fabricated at Madrid; the Indians have no such ideas, or methods of speech, as they pretend to have copied from a faithful interpretation on the spot: however, they have religiously supported those monkish dreams, and which are the chief basis of their Mexican and Peruvian treaties. According to them, the Mexican arms was an eagle on a tunal or stone, with a bird in his talons, which may look at the armorial ensign of Dan. And they say, the Mexicans worshiped *Vitzliputzli*, who promised them a land exceedingly plenty in riches and all other good things; on which account they set off in quest of the divine promise, four of their priests carrying their idol in a coffer of reeds, to whom he communicated his oracles, giving them laws at the same time, teaching them the ceremonies and sacrifices they should observe; and directed them

when to march, and when to stay in camp, &c. So much might have been collected from them by signs and other expressive indications; for we are *well assured,* that the remote uncorrupted part of the Mexicans still retain the same notions as our northern Indians, with regard to their arriving at, and settling in, their respective countries, living under a theocratic government, and having the *divine war-ark* as a most sacred seal of success to the beloved people against their treacherous enemies, if they strictly observe the *law of purity,* while they accompany it. This alone, without any reflection on the rest, is a good glass to show us, that the South and North American Indians are twin-born brothers; though the Spanish clergy, by their dark but fruitful inventions, have set them at a prodigious variance.

Acosta tells us, that the Peruvians held a very extraordinary feast called *Ytu,* which they prepared themselves for, by fasting two days, not accompanying with their wives, nor eating salt-meat or garlic, nor drinking chica during that period; that they assembled all together in one place, and did not allow any stranger or beast to approach them; that they had clothes and ornaments which they wore only at that great festival; that they went silently and sedately in procession, with their heads veiled, and drums beating, and thus continued one day and night; but the next day they danced and feasted; and for two days successively, their prayers and praises were heard. This is another strong picture of the rites of the Indian North Americans, during the time of their great festival, to atone for sin; and with a little amendment, would exhibit a surprising analogy of sundry essential rites and customs of the Northern and South American Indians, which equally glance at the Mosaic system. Lerius tells us, that he was present at the triennial feast of the Caribbians, where a multitude of men, women and children were assembled; that they soon divided themselves into three orders, apart from each other, the women and children being strictly ordered to stay within, and to attend diligently to the singing; that the men sung in one house *He, He, He,* while the others, in their separate houses, answered by a repetition of the same notes; that having thus continued a quarter of an hour, they all danced in three different rings, each with rattles, &c. And the natives of Sir Francis Drake's New Albion were desirous of crowning him *Hio,* or *Ohio,* a name well known in North America, and hath an evident relation to the great beloved name. Had the former been endued with a proper capacity, and given a suitable attention to the Indian general law of purity, he would probably have described them singing *Yo He Wah, Hallelu-Yah,* &c., after the present manner of our North American red natives; and as giving proper names to persons and things from a religious principle, to express the relation they bore to the sacred four-lettered name. These writers report also, that the Mexicans sacrificed to the idol *Tlaloc,* 'their god of water', to give them seasonable rains for their crops; and they tell us, that the high priest was anointed with holy oil, and dressed with pontifical ornaments peculiar to himself, when he officiated in his sacred function; that he was sworn to maintain their religion, rights and liberties, according to their ancient law; and to cause the sun to shine, and all their vegetables to be properly refreshed with gentle showers. If we throw down the "monkish idol god of water," we here find a strong parity of religious customs and ceremonies, between the pretended prophets and high priests of the present northern Indians and the ancient Mexicans.

Acosta tells us, that the Peruvians acknowledged a supreme God, and author of all things, whom they called *Viracocha,* and worshiped as the chief of all the gods, and honoured when they looked at the heavens or any of the celestial orbs; that for want of a proper name for that divine spirit of the universe, they, after the Mexican manner, described him by his attributes, as *Pachacamac,* 'the Creator of heaven and earth'. But, though he hath described them possessed of these strong ideas of God, and to have dedicated a sacred house to the great first cause, bearing his divine prolific name, yet the Spanish priesthood have at the same time painted them as worshiping the devil in the very same temple. Here and there a truth may be found in their writings; but, if we except the well-designed performance of Don Antonio de Ulloa, one duodecimo volume would have contained all the accounts of any curious importance, which the Spaniards have exhibited to the learned world, concerning the genuine rites and customs of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, ever since the seizure of those countries, and the horrid murders committed on the inhabitants. But among all the Spanish friars, *Hieronimo Roman* was the greatest champion in hyperbolical writing. He has produced three volumes concerning the Indian American rites and ceremonies; he stretches very far in his second part of the commonwealths of the world; but when he gets to Peru and Mexico, the distance of those remote regions enables him to exceed himself: beyond all dispute, the other writers of his black fraternity are only younger brethren, when compared to him, in the marvellous. His is the chief of all the Spanish romances of Peru and Mexico. He says, the Indian natives, from Florida to Panama, had little

religion or policy; and yet he affirms a few pages after, that they believed in one true, immortal and invisible God, reigning in Heaven, called *Yocahuuagnamaorocoti*; and is so kind as to allow them images, priests and popes, their high priests being called *papa* in that language. The origin of images among them is accounted for in a dialogue he gives us between a shaking tree and one of the Indian priests: after a great deal of discourse, the tree ordered the priest to cut it down, and taught him how to make images thereof, and erect a temple. The tree was obeyed, and every year their votaries solemnized the dedication. The good man has laboured very hard for the images, and ought to have suitable applause for so useful an invention, as it shows the universal opinion of mankind, concerning idols and images. With regard to that long conjectural divine name, by which they expressed the one true God, there is not the least room to doubt, that the South Americans had the divine name *Yohewah* in as great purity as those of the North, especially as they were at the fountain head; adding to it occasionally some other strong compound words. He says also, that the metropolis of Cholola had as many temples as there were days in the year, and that one of them was the most famous in the world, the basis of the spire being as broad as a man could shoot with a cross bow, and the spire itself three miles high. The temples which the holy man speaks of, seem to have been only the dwelling-houses of strangers, who incorporated with the natives, differing a little in their form of structure, according to the usual custom of our northern Indians; and his religious principles not allowing him to go near the reputed shambles of the devil, much less to enter the supposed territories of hell, he has done pretty well by them, in allowing them golden suns and moons, vestry-keepers, &c. The badness of his optic instruments, if joined with the supposed dimness of his sight, may plead in excuse for the spiral altitude, which he fixes at 15,480 feet; for from what we know of the northern Indians, we ought to strike off the three first figures of its height, and the remaining 80 is very likely to have been the just height of the spire, alias the red-painted, great, *war-pole*. The same writer tells us that the Peruvian pontifical office belonged to the eldest son of the king, or some chief lord of the country; and that it devolved by succession. But he anoints him after a very solemn manner with an ointment which he carefully mixes with the blood of circumcised infants. This priest of war dealing so much in blood himself, without doubt suspected them of the like; though at the same time no Indian priest will either shed or touch human blood; but that they formerly circumcised may with great probability be allowed to the holy man. The temples of Peru were built on high grounds, or tops of hills, he says, and were surrounded with four circular mounds of earth the one rising gradually above the other, from the outermost circle; and that the temple stood in the centre of the inclosed ground, built in a quadrangular form, having altars, &c. He has officiously obtruded the sun into it, perhaps because he thought it dark within. He describes another religious house, on the eastern part of that great inclosure, facing the rising sun, to which they ascended by six steps, where, in the hollow of a thick wall, lay the image of the sun, &c. This thick wall having an hollow part within it, was no other than their sanctum sanctorum, conformably to what I observed concerning the pretended holiest place of the Muskohge Indians. Any one who is well acquainted with the language, rites and customs of the North American Indians, can see with a glance when these monkish writers stumble on a truth, or ramble at large.

Acosta says that the Mexicans observed their chief feast in the month of May, and that the nuns two days before mixed a sufficient quantity of beets with honey, and made an image of it. He trims up the idol very genteelly, and places it on an azure-coloured chair, every way becoming the scarlet-coloured pope. He soon after introduces flutes, drums, cornets and trumpets, to celebrate the feast of *Eupania Vitzliputzli*, as he thinks proper to term it: on account of the nuns, he gives them *pania*, 'feminine bread', instead of the masculine, *panis*, which he makes his nuns to distribute at this love-feast to the young men, in large pieces resembling great bones. When they receive them, they religiously lay them down at the feast of the idol, and call them the flesh and bones of the god *Vitzliputzli*. Then he brings in the priests veiled, with garlands on their heads, and chains of flowers about their necks, each of them strictly observing their place: if the inquisitive reader should desire to know how he discovered those garlands and flowery chains, (especially as their heads were covered, and they are secret in their religious ceremonies,) I must inform him, that Acosta wrought a kind of cotton or woollen cloth for them, much finer than silk, through which he might have easily seen them; besides, such a religious dress gave him a better opportunity of hanging a cross, and a string of beads afterwards round their necks. Next to those religious men, he ushers in a fine company of gods and goddesses, in imagery, dressed like the others, the people paying them divine worship; this without doubt, is intended to support the popish Saint-Worship. Then he makes them sing and dance round the paste, and use several other ceremonies. And when the eyes are tired with viewing those wild circlings, he solemnly

blesses and consecrates those morsels of paste, and thus makes them the real flesh and bones of the idol, which the people honour as gods. When he has ended his feast of transubstantiation, he sets his sacrificers to work, and orders them to kill and sacrifice more men than at any other festival, as he thinks proper to make this a greater carnival than any of the rest. When he comes to finish his bloody sacrifices, he orders the young men and women into two rows, directly facing each other, to dance and sing by the drums, in praise of the feast and the god; and he sets the oldest and the greatest men to answer the song, and dance around them in a great circle. This, with a little alteration, resembles the custom of the northern Indians. He says that all the inhabitants of the city and country came to this great feast,—that it was deemed sacrilegious in any person to eat of the honeyed paste, on this great festival-day, or to drink water till the afternoon, and that they earnestly advised those who had the use of reason to abstain from water till the afternoon, and carefully concealed it from the children during the time of this ceremony. But at the end of the feast, he makes the priests and ancients of the temple to break the image of paste and consecrated rolls into many pieces, and give them to the people by the way of sacrament, according to the strictest rules of order, from the greatest and eldest, to the youngest and least, men, women and children; and he says they received it with bitter tears, great reverence, and a very awful fear, with other strong signs of devotion, saying at the same time, "they did eat the flesh and bones of their God." He adds, that they who had sick people at home, demanded a piece of the said paste, and carried and gave it to them, with the most profound reverence and awful adoration; that all who partook of this propitiating sacrifice were obliged to give a part of the seed of maiz, of which the idol was made; and then at the end of the solemnity, a priest of high authority preached to the people on their laws and ceremonies with a commanding voice and expressive gestures; and thus dismissed the assembly. Well may Acosta blame the devil in the manner he does, for introducing among the Mexicans so near a resemblance of the popish superstitions and idolatry. But whether shall we blame or pity this writer, for obscuring the truth with a confused heap of falsehoods? The above is however a curious Spanish picture of the Mexican passover, or annual expiation of sins, and of their second passover in favour of their sick people, and of paying their tithes, according to similar customs of our North American Indians. We are now sufficiently informed of the rites and customs of the remote and uncorrupt South Americans, by the Missisippi Indians, who have a communication with them both in peace and war.

Ribault Laudon, describing the yearly festival of the Floridans, says, that the day before it began, the women sweeped out a great circuit of ground, where it was observed with solemnity; that when the main body of the people entered the holy ground, they all placed themselves in good order, stood up painted, and decked in their best apparel, when three *Iawas*, or priests, with different paintings and gestures followed them, playing on musical instruments, and singing with a solemn voice, the others answering them; that when they made three circles in this manner, the men ran off to the woods, and the women staid weeping behind, cutting their arms with muscle-shells, and throwing the blood towards the sun; and that when the men returned, the three days' feast was finished. This is another confused Spanish draught of the Floridan passover, or feast of love; and of their universal method of bleeding themselves after much exercise, which, according to the Spanish plan, they offered up to the sun. From these different writers, it is plain that where the Indians have not been corrupted by foreigners, their customs and religious worship are nearly alike; and also that every different tribe or nation of Indians, uses suchlike divine proper name and awful sounds as *Yah-Wah, Hetovah,* &c., being transpositions of the divine essential name as our northern Indians often repeat in their religious dances. As the sound of *Yah-wah* jarred in Laudon's ear, he called it *Java,* in resemblance to the Syriac and Greek method of expressing the *tetra-grammaton,* from which Galatinus imposed it upon us, calling it *Jehowah,* instead of *Yohewah.*

The Spanish writers tell us, that the Mexicans had a feast, and month, which they called *Hueitozolti,* when the maiz was ripe; every man at that time bringing an handful to be offered at the temple, with a kind of drink called *utuli,* made out of the same grain. But they soon deck up an idol with roses, garlands, and flowers, and describe them as offering to it sweet gums, &c. Then they speedily dress a woman with the apparel of either the god or goddess of salt, which must be to season the human sacrifices, as they depicture them according to their own dispositions. But they soon change the scene, and bring in the god of gain, in a rich temple dedicated to him, where the merchants apart sacrifice vast numbers of purchased captives. It often chagrines an inquisitive and impartial reader to trace the contradictions and chimerical inventions of those aspiring bigoted writers, who speak of what they did not understand, only by signs and a few chance words. The discerning reader can easily perceive

them from what hath been already said, and must know that this Spanish mountain in labour is only the Indian first-fruit offering, according to the usage of our North American Indians. It is to be lamented that writers will not keep to matters of fact: some of our own historians have described the Mohawks as cannibals, and continually hunting after man's flesh; with equal truth Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and others report that in Britain there were formerly *anthropophagi*, 'man-eaters'. Garcillasso de La Vega, another Spanish romancer, says, that the Peruvian shepherds worshiped the star called Lyra, as they imagined it preserved their flocks; but he ought first to have supplied them with flocks, for they had none except a kind of wild sheep, that kept in the mountains, and which are of so fetid a smell, that no creature is fond to approach them. The same aspiring fictitious writer tells us, the Peruvians worshiped the Creator of the world, whom he is pleased to call *Viracocha Pachuyacha ha hic*: any person who is in the least acquainted with the rapid flowing manner of the Indian American dialects, will conclude from the wild termination that the former is not the Peruvian divine name. Next to this great Creator of the universe, he affirms they worshiped the sun; and next to the solar orb, they deified and worshiped thunder, believing it proceeded from a man in heaven, who had power over the rain, hail and thunder, and everything in the aerial regions; and that they offered up sacrifices to it, but none to the universal Creator. To prefer the effect to the acknowledged prime cause, is contrary to the common reason of mankind, who adore that object which they esteem either the most beneficent or the most powerful.

Monsieur Le Page Du Pratz tells us, he lived seven years among the Nachee Indians, about one hundred leagues up the Missisippi from New Orleans; and in order to emulate the Spanish romances of the Indians, in his performance, he affirms their women are double-breasted, which he particularly describes; and then following the Spanish copy he assures us, the highest rank of their nobles is called suns, and that they only attend the sacred and eternal fire; which he doubtless mentioned merely to introduce his convex lens, by which he tells us with a great air of confidence, he gained much esteem among them, as by the gift of it he enabled them to continue their holy fire, if it should casually be near extinguished. According to him, the Chikkasah tongue was the court language of the Missisippi Indians, and that it had not the letter *R*. The very reverse of which is the truth; for the French and all their red savages were at constant war with them, because of their firm connexion with the English, and hated their national name; and as to the language, they could not converse with them, as their dialects are so different from each other. I recited a long string of his well-known stories to a body of gentlemen well skilled in the languages, rites and customs of our East and West Florida Indians, and they agreed that the Koran did not differ more widely from the divine oracles, than the accounts of this writer from the genuine customs of the Indian Americans.

The Spanish artists have furnished the savage war-chieftain, or their emperor Montezuma, with very spacious and beautiful palaces, one of which they raised on pillars of fine jasper, and another wrought with exquisite skill out of marble, jasper, and other valuable stones, with veins glistering like rubies: they have finished the roof with equal skill, composed of carved and painted cypress, cedar, and pine-trees, without any kind of nails. They should have furnished some of the chambers with suitable pavilions and beds of state; but the bedding and furniture in our northern Indian huts is the same with what they were pleased to describe in the wonderful Mexican palaces. In this they have not done justice to the grand red monarch, whom they raised up (with his 1000 women, or 3000 according to some,) only to magnify the Spanish power by overthrowing him. Montezuma, in an oration to his people at the arrival of the Spaniards, is said by Malvendar to have persuaded his people to yield to the power of His Catholic Majesty's arms, for their own forefathers were strangers in that land, and brought there long before that period in a fleet. The emperor, who they pretend bore such universal arbitrary sway, is raised by their pens from the usual rank of a war-chieftain, to his imperial greatness: but despotic power is death to their ears, as it is destructive of their darling liberty and reputed theocratic government; they have no name for a subject, but say "the people." In order to carry on the self-flattering war-romance, they began the epocha of that great fictitious empire, in the time of the ambitious and formidiable Montezuma, that their handful of heaven-favoured popish saints might have the more honour in destroying it: had they described it of a long continuance, they foresaw that the world would detect the fallacy, as soon as they learned the language of the pretended empire: correspondent to which, our own great emperor Powhatan of Virginia was soon dethroned. We are sufficiently informed by the rambling Missisippi Indians, that *Motehshuma* is a common high war-name of the South American leaders; and which the fate he is said to receive strongly corroborates. Our Indians urge with a great deal of vehemence, that as every one is promoted only by public virtue, and has his equals in civil and martial affairs, those Spanish books that have

mentioned red emperors, and great empires in America, ought to be burnt in some of the remaining old years accursed fire. And this Indian fixed opinion seems to be sufficiently confirmed by the situation of Mexico, as it is only about 315 miles from south to north, and narrower than 200 miles along the northern coast, and lies between Tlascala and Mechoacan, to the west of the former, and east of the latter, whence the Mexicans were continually harassed by those lurking swift-footed savages, who could secure their retreat home in the space of two or three days. When we consider the vicinity of those two inimical states to the pretended puissant empire of Mexico, which might have easily crushed them to pieces with her formidable armies, in order to secure the lives of the subjects and credit of the state, we may safely venture to affirm, from the long train of circumstances already exhibited, that the Spanish Peruvian and Mexican empires are without the least foundation in nature; and that the Spaniards defeated the tribe of Mexico (properly called *Mechiko*) &c. chiefly by the help of their red allies.

In their descriptions of South America and its native inhabitants, they treat largely of heaven, hell, and purgatory; lions, salamanders, maids of honour, maids of penance, and their abbesses; men whipping themselves with cords; idols, mattins, monastic vows, cloisters of young men, with a prodigious group of other popish inventions; and we must not forget to do justice to those industrious and sagacious observers who discovered two golgothas, or towers made of human skulls, plaistered with lime. Acosta tells us that Andrew de Topia assured him, he and Gonsola de Vimbria reckoned one hundred and thirty-six thousand human skulls in them. The temple dedicated to the air is likewise worthy of being mentioned, as they assert in the strongest manner, that five thousand priests served constantly in it, and obliged every one who entered to bring some human sacrifice; that the walls of it were an inch thick, and the floor a foot deep with black, dry, clotted blood. If connected herewith, we reflect, that beside this bloodthirsty god of the air, the Spaniards have represented them as worshiping a multitude of idol gods and goddesses, (no less than two thousand according to Lopez de Gomara,) and sacrificing to them chiefly human victims; and that the friars are reported by a Spanish bishop of Mexico, in his letters of the year 1532, to have broken down twenty thousand idols, and desolated five hundred idol temples, where the natives sacrificed every year more than twenty thousand hearts of boys and girls; and that if the noblemen were burnt to ashes, they killed their cooks, butlers, chaplains and dwarfs *, and had a plenty of targets, maces and ensigns hurled into their funeral piles: this terrible slaughter points out to us clearly from their own accounts, that these authors either gave the world a continued chain of falsehoods, or those sacrifices and human massacres they boastingly tell us of, would have, long before they came, utterly depopulated Peru and Mexico.

I shall now quote a little of their less romantic description, to confirm the account I have given concerning the genuine rites and customs of our North American Indians. The ornaments of the Indians of South and North America were formerly and still are alike, without the least difference, except in value. Those superficial writers agree that the men and women of Peru and Mexico wore golden ear-rings and bracelets around their necks and wrists; that the men wore rings of the same metal in their nose, marked their bodies with various figures, painted their faces red, and the women their cheeks, which seems to have been a very early and general custom. They tell us, that the coronation of the Indian kings, and instalment of their nobles, was solemnized with comedies, banquets, lights, &c., and that no plebeians were allowed to serve before their kings; they must be knights or noblemen. All those sounding high titles are only a confused picture of the general method of the Indians in crowning their warriors, performing their war-dances, and esteeming those fellows as old women who never attended the reputed holy ark with success for the beloved brethren. Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us, that some of the South American natives cut the lobes of their ears, and for a considerable time fastened small weights to them, in order to lengthen them; that others cut holes in their upper and under lips; through the cartilage of the nose, their chins, and jaws, and either hung or thrust through them such things as they most fancied, which also agrees with the ancient customs of our Northern Indians. Emanuel de Moraes and Acosta affirm that the Brasilians marry in their own family or tribe. And Jo. de Laet. says, they call their uncles and aunts, "fathers and mothers," which is a custom of the Hebrews, and of all our North American Indians; and he assures us they mourn very much for their dead; and that their clothes are like those of the early Jews. Ulloa assures us that the South American Indians have no other method of weaving carpets, quilts, and other stuffs, but to count the threads one by one, when they are passing the woof; that they spin cotton and linen, as their chief manufacture, and paint their cloth with the

* With regard to Indian dwarfs, I never heard of, or saw any in the northern nations, but one in Ishtatoe, a northern town of the middle part of the Cheerake country, and he was a great beloved man.

images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, trees, flowers, &c., and that each of those webs was adapted to one certain use, without being cut, and that their patience was equal to so arduous a task. According to this description, there is not the least disparity between the ancient North American method of manufacturing, and that of the South Americans. Acosta writes, that the clothes of the South American Indians are shaped like those of the ancient Jews, being a square little cloak, and a little coat; and the Rev. Mr. Thorowgood, anno 1650, observes, that this is a proof of some weight in showing their original descent; especially to such who pay a deference to Seneca's parallel arguments of the Spaniards having settled Italy; for the old mode of dress is universally alike among the Indian Americans. Laet, in his description of America, and Escarbotus, assure us, they often heard the South American Indians to repeat the sacred word *Halleluiah*, which made them admire how they first attained it. And Malvenda says, that the natives of St. Michael had tombstones, which the Spaniards digged up, with several ancient Hebrew characters upon them, as, "Why is God gone away?" and "He is dead, God knows." Had his curiosity induced him to transcribe the epitaph, it would have given more satisfaction; for, as they yet repeat the divine essential name, *Yo he* (*ta*) *Wah*, so as not to profane it, when they mourn for their dead, it is probable they could write or engrave it, after the like manner, when they first arrived on this main continent.

We are told that the South American Indians have a firm hope of the resurrection of their bodies at a certain period of time; and that on this account they bury their most valuable treasures with their dead, as well as the most useful conveniencies for future domestic life, such as their bows and arrows; and when they saw the Spaniards digging up their graves for gold and silver, they requested them to forbear scattering the bones of their dead in that manner, lest it should prevent their being raised and united again*. Monsieur de Poutrincourt says, that when the Canada Indians saluted him, they said *Ho Ho Ho*; but as we are well assured they express *Yo He a Ah* in the time of their festivals and other rejoicings, we have reason to conclude he made a very material mistake in setting down the Indian solemn blessing or invocation. He likewise tells us, that the Indian women will not marry on the graves of their husbands, i. e. "soon after their decease," but wait a long time before they even think of a second husband; that if the husband was killed, they would neither enter into a second marriage nor eat flesh till his blood had been revenged; and that after child-bearing they observe the Mosaic law of purification, shutting up themselves from their husbands for the space of forty days. Peter Martyr writes, that the Indian widow married the brother of her deceased husband, according to the Mosaic law; and he says, the Indians worship that God who created the sun, moon, and all invisible things, and who gives them everything that is good. He affirms, the Indian priests had chambers in the temple, according to the custom of the Israelites, by divine appointment, as 1 Chron. ix. 26, 27; and that there were certain places in it which none but their priests could enter, i. e. "the holiest." And Key says also, they have in some parts of America an exact form of king, priest and prophet, as was formerly in Canaan. Robert Williams, the first Englishman in New England who is said to have learned the Indian language in order to convert the natives, believed them to be Jews; and he assures us, that their tradition records that their ancestors came from the south-west, and that they return there at death; that their women separate themselves from the rest of the people at certain periods; and that their language bore some affinity to the Hebrew. Baron Lahontan writes, that the Indian women of Canada purify themselves after travail—thirty days for a male child, and forty for a female; that during the said time, they live apart from their husband; that the unmarried brother of the deceased husband marries the widow six months after his decease; and that the outstanding parties for war address the great spirit every day till they set off, with sacrifices, songs and feasting. We are also told, that the men in Mexico sat down, and the women stood, when they made water, which is an universal custom among our North American Indians. Their primitive modesty, and indulgence to their women, seem to have introduced this singular custom, after the manner of the ancient Mauritanians, on account of their scantiness of clothing, as I formerly observed. Lerius tells us, that the Indians of Brazil wash themselves ten times a day; and that the husbands have no matrimonial intercourse with their wives till their children are either weaned or grown pretty hardy; which is similar to the custom of these northern Indians, and that of the Israelites, as Hos. i. 8. He says, if a Peruvian child was weaned before its time, it was called *ainsco*, 'a bastard'; and that if a Brazilian wounds another, he is wounded in the same part of the body with equal punishment; limb for limb, or life for life, according to the Mosaic law; which, within our own memory, these Indian nations observed so eagerly, that if a boy shooting at birds, accidentally wounded another, though out of sight, with his arrow ever so slightly,

* Vid. Ceuto ad Solin. Benz. and Hist. Peruv.

he, or any of his family, wounded him after the very same manner; which is a very striking analogy with the Jewish retaliation. He likewise tells us, that their sachems, or emperors, were the heads of their church; and according to Laet, Descript. America, the Peruvians had one temple consecrated to the Creator of the world; besides four other religious places, in resemblance of the Jewish synagogues. And Malvenda says, the American idols were mitred, as Aaron was: he likewise affirms, as doth Acosta, that the natives observed a year of jubilee, according to the usage of the Israelites. Benzo says, that the men and women incline very much to dancing; and the women often by themselves, according to the manner of the Hebrew nation; as in 1 Sam. xxi. 11; especially after gaining a victory over the enemy, as in Judg. xi. 34. xxi. 21, 23. and 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7. Acosta tells us, that though adultery is deemed by them a capital crime, yet they at the same time set little value by virginity, and it seems to have been a bewailable condition in Judea. He likewise says, they wash their new-born infants, in resemblance of the Mosaic law; as Ezek. xvi. 9. And the Spaniards say, that the priests of Mexico were anointed from head to foot; that they constantly wore their hair, till they were superannuated; and that the husband did not lie with his wife for two years after she was delivered. Our northern Indians imitate the first custom; though in the second they resemble that of the heathen by polling or trimming their hair; and with regard to the third, they always sleep apart from their wives for the greater part of a year after delivery.

By the Spanish authorities, the Peruvians and Mexicans were polygamists, but they had one principal wife to whom they were married with certain solemnities; and murder, adultery, theft and incest were punished with death. But there was an exception in some places with regard to incestuous intercourses; which is entirely consonant to the usage of the northern Indians. For as to incest, the Cheerake marry both mother and daughter, or two sisters; but they all observe the prohibited laws of consanguinity in the strictest manner. They tell us, that when the priests offered sacrifice, they abstained from women and strong drink, and fasted several days before any great festival; that all of them buried their dead in their houses, or in high places; that when they were forced to bury in any of the Spanish churchyards, they frequently stole the corpse, and interred it either in one of their own houses or in the mountains; and that Juan de la Torre took five hundred thousand pezoes out of one tomb. Here is a long train of Israelitish customs; and if we include the whole, they exhibit a very strong analogy between all the essential traditions, rites, customs, &c., of the South and North American Indians; though the Spaniards mix an innumerable heap of absurd chimeras and romantic dreams with the plain material truths I have extracted. I lately perused the first volume of the History of North America, from the discovery thereof by Sylvanus Americanus, printed in New Jersey, anno 1761, from, I believe, the Philadelphia monthly paper, and was not a little surprised to find, in such a useful collection, the conjectural though perhaps well-intended accounts of the first adventurers and settlers in North America, concerning the natives; and which are laid as the only basis for inquisitive writers to trace their origin, instead of later and more substantial observations. Though several of those early writers were undoubtedly sagacious, learned and candid, yet under the circumstances in which they wrote, it was impossible for them to convey to us any true knowledge of the Indians, more than what they gained by their senses, which must be superficial and liable to many errors. Their conjectural accounts ought to have been long since examined by some of that learned body, or they should not have given a sanction to them. However, they are less faulty than the Spanish accounts.

I presume enough hath been said to point out the similarity between the rites and customs of the native American Indians and those of the Israelites; and that the Indian system is derived from the moral, ceremonial and judicial laws of the Hebrews, though now but a faint copy of the divine original. Their religious rites, martial customs, dress, music, dances and domestic forms of life, seem clearly to evince also, that they came to America in early times, before sects had sprung up among the Jews, which was soon after their prophets ceased, and before arts and sciences had arrived to any perfection; otherwise, it is likely they would have retained some knowledge of them, at least where they first settled, it being in a favourable climate, and consequently they were in a more compact body than on this northern part of the American continent. The South American natives wanted nothing that could render life easy and agreeable; and they had nothing superfluous except gold and silver. When we consider the simplicity of the people, and the skill they had in collecting a prodigious quantity of treasures, it seems as if they gained that skill from their countrymen, and the Tyrians, who in the reign of Solomon exceedingly enriched themselves in a few voyages. The conjecture that the aborigines wandered here from captivity, by the north-east parts of Asia, over Kamschatska, to have their liberty and religion, is not so improbable as that of their being driven by

stress of weather into the bay of Mexico from the east. Though a single argument of the general subject may prove but little, disjoined from the rest, yet, according to the true laws of history and the best rules for tracing antiquities, the conclusion is to be drawn from clear corresponding circumstances united: the force of one branch of the subject ought to be connected with the others, and then judge by the whole. Such readers as may dissent from my opinion of the Indian American origin and descent, ought to inform us how the natives came here, and by what means they formed the long chain of rites, customs, &c., so similar to the usage of the Hebrew nation, and in general dissimilar to the modes, &c., of the Pagan world.

Ancient writers do not agree upon any certain place where the Ophir of Solomon lay; it must certainly be a great distance from Joppa, for it was a three years' voyage. After the death of Solomon, both the Israelites and Tyrians seem to have utterly discontinued their trading voyages to that part of the world. Eusebius and Eupolemus say, that David sent to Urphe, an island in the Red Sea, and brought much gold into Judea; and Ortelius reckons this to have been Ophir; though, agreeably to the opinion of the greater part of the modern literati, he also conjectures Cephala, or Sophala, to have been the Ophir of Solomon. Junius imagines it was in Aurea Chersonesus; Tremellius and Niger are of the same opinion. But Vatablus reckons it was Hispaniola, discovered and named so by Columbus; yet Postellus, Phil. Mornay, Arias Montanus, and Goropius, are of opinion that Peru is the ancient Ophir; so widely different are their conjectures. Ancient history is quite silent concerning America; which indicates that it has been time immemorial rent asunder from the African continent, according to Plato's Timæus. The north-east parts of Asia also were undiscovered till of late. Many geographers have stretched Asia and America so far as to join them together; and others have divided those two quarters of the globe at a great distance from each other. But the Russians, after several dangerous attempts, have clearly convinced the world, that they are now divided, and yet have a near communication together by a narrow strait in which several islands are situated; through which there is an easy passage from the north-east of Asia to the north-west of America by the way of Kamschatska; which probably joined to the north-west point of America. By this passage, supposing the main continents were separated, it was very practicable for the inhabitants to go to this extensive new world; and afterwards to have proceeded in quest of suitable climates, according to the law of nature, that directs every creature to such climes as are most convenient and agreeable.

Having endeavoured to ascertain the origin and descent of the North American Indians, and produced a variety of arguments that incline my own opinion in favour of their being of Jewish extraction, which at the same time furnish the public with a more complete Indian System of religious rites, civil and martial customs, language, &c. &c., than hath ever been exhibited, neither disfigured by fable nor prejudice, I shall proceed to give a general historical description of those Indian nations among whom I have chiefly resided.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
TO
ADAIR'S HISTORY OF THE NORTH-AMERICAN INDIANS.

Note 1, page 286, line 45.

THE following illustrations of Adair's History of the North-American Indians are chiefly extracted from the inedited works of French and Spanish authors, and afford the most satisfactory proof of Adair's veracity in the minutest particulars. A general idea of the accuracy of his statements may likewse be formed from the perusal of the following Letter, addressed by Dr. Beatty to the Rev. John Erskine, and inserted by the former in his Journal of a Two Months' Tour amongst the Indian Tribes bordering on Pennsylvania. The result of Dr. Beatty's observations amongst the more northern Indian tribes agreeing so exactly with those of Adair amongst the southern tribes of the two Carolinas and Georgia, gives a character of authenticity to his history which no one hereafter will venture to dispute.

"With this you will receive the journal I promised to send to you of a mission to the Indians living about four hundred and

fifty miles west of Philadelphia; previous to which you will see some account of our frontier inhabitants, that, perhaps, may not be disagreeable after so desolating a war. However, this you can pass by if you please, with such other things therein as you will find foreign to the principal object in view, and only taken notice of for our own satisfaction or amusement. As the conversion of these poor benighted heathens has been long, I am persuaded, a matter which you earnestly desired and prayed to God for, so any prospect of it must afford you proportional satisfaction, and be still a further encouragement to pray and hope that the time to favour them is not far off, when those heathens shall be given to the Son of God for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth, even of America, for his possession. May God fulfill his promises and our joys! I have before hinted to you, that since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, I had taken pains to search into the usages and customs of the Indians, in order to see what ground there was for supposing them to be part of the Ten Tribes; *and I must own, to my no small surprise, that a number of their customs appear so much to resemble those of the Jews, that it is a great question with me, whether we can expect to find among the Ten Tribes* (*wherever they are*) *at this day, all things considered, more of the footsteps of their ancestors than among the different Indian Tribes.* The conduct of the Indian women, in certain circumstances, seems to be in a manner perfectly agreeable to the law of Moses. A young woman, at the first appearance of the catamenia, immediately separates from others, makes up a hut for herself, at some distance from the town or house she lived in, and remains there during the whole of her disorder, that is, seven days. The person who brings her victuals is very careful not to touch her; and so cautious is she herself of touching her own food with her hands, that she makes use of a sharpened stick, instead of a fork, with which to take up her venison, and a small ladle or spoon for other food. When the seven days are ended, she bathes herself in water, (usually in some neighbouring brook or river,) washes all her clothes, and cleanses the vessels she made use of during her menses. Such as are made of wood she scalds and cleanses with lye made of wood ashes, and such as are made of earth or iron she purifies by putting them into the fire: she then returns to her father's house or the family she left, and is, after this, looked upon fit for marriage, and not before. A woman, when delivered of a child, is separated likewise for a time. I have been at a place in New Jersey more than once, called, in the Indian language, *Crosweek-sung*, that is, the house of separation, which took its name, no doubt, from its being a noted place for that purpose. Near this was formerly an Indian town. The Indians observe the feast of first-fruits; and, before they make use of any of their corn or fruits of the ground, *twelve* of their old men meet, when a deer and some of the new corn are provided; the venison is divided into *twelve* parts, according to the number of the men; and the corn, beaten in a mortar, prepared for use by boiling, or baking it into cakes under the ashes, is divided into the same number of parts with the venison; then these men (if I forget not) hold up the venison and corn, and pray, as they term it, with their faces *to the east*, acknowledging, I suppose, the goodness and bounty of heaven to them; and, perhaps, in this prayer seek to God in some manner for a blessing on their first-fruits. The venison and corn prepared are then eaten by those present; after this they make use of their corn and other fruits of the earth freely. Another public feast they have in the evening, which *looks somewhat like the Passover*, when a great quantity of venison is provided, with other things, dressed in their usual way, and proportions thereof distributed to all the guests, of which they eat freely that evening; but that which is left is thrown into the fire and burned, as *none of it must remain* till the sun rise the next day, nor must *a bone of the venison be broken.* Once in the year some of the tribes of Indians choose from among themselves *twelve* men, who provide *twelve* deer, and each of them cuts a small pole, from which they strip the bark, and make a tent, by sticking one end of the poles to the ground, bending the tops over one another, and covering the tent with their blankets. Then the twelve men choose each of them a stone, which they make hot in the fire, and place them together, I suppose, in some form of an altar, within the tent, and *burn the fat of the inwards* of the deer thereon. At the time they are offering, the twelve men in the tent cry to the Indians without, We pray, or praise! who answer, We hear! Then the men in the tent cry 'Ho—ah!' very loud and long, which appear to be somewhat like in sound to Hallelujah. After *the fat* is thus offered, some tribes burn *tobacco, cut fine*, upon the same stones. Some nations or tribes choose only ten men, who provide ten deer, ten poles, and ten stones, &c. Their customs of consulting their *Pow-waas* (a kind of prophets, who pretend to have converse with spirits,) upon any extraordinary occasions, either of great or uncommon sickness or mortality, &c., seems to be in imitation of the Jews of old inquiring of the prophet. There is one tribe of Indians, called *Nanticooks*, that, on their removal from their old to new habitations, carry the bones of their ancestors and deceased relations with them. I am well assured that some of the Indians *will not eat the hollow of the thigh* of the deer, but cut off that part and throw it away. It is a great fashion with them to wear bracelets of wampum (a kind of bead, made of a black sea shell, which they have instead of money,) on their arms, and I have frequently seen a bead hanging to the bridge of their nose; and almost all wear a kind of mock jewels in their ears, composed of such things as they like: they make great use of bears' oil, with which they *anoint* their heads and bodies. *They have an avenger of blood among them, who is the man nearest related to the murdered, who pursues the homicide, and takes his life wherever he finds him.* No people in the world, perhaps, have a higher sense of liberty than the Indians, and, consequently, are more jealous of it, many of them preferring death to either captivity or slavery. They have a great disposition for war, and are far from being destitute of courage, however they may be looked upon by some to be dastardly, because their manner of fighting in the woods and maxims of war are so different from ours, and indeed most other nations; yet, whoever truly considers their situation and circumstances, must own their art of war is best calculated for them. Britain now, as well as America, knows by experience that they are far from being contemptible enemies, when one hundred of them have courage enough to attack, and, perhaps, are a match for a thousand British troops in the wilderness, unacquainted with their manner of fighting. None among them are of much account or admitted to their war-dances that have not been at war; and according to their behaviour and warlike exploits they are esteemed and promoted in their way. The testimonies they give of their bravery are the scalps and prisoners of their enemies, which they bring home. Were not the Jews of old remarkable for their courage and high sense of liberty? And was it not customary, *in the days of Saul and David,* to bring home testimonies of the number

they had slain in battle, *not very dissimilar from the scalps* of the Indians. A Christian Indian informed me, that an old uncle of his, who died about forty years since, related to him several customs and traditions of the Indians in former times, and, among others, *that circumcision was practised long ago by them*; but that their young men at length making a *mock* of it, brought it into disrepute, and so it came to be disused. The same person likewise told me, that the Indians had a tradition *that once the water overflowed all the land and drowned all the people then living, except a few who made a great canoe, (which is a kind of boat, made of a large tree hollowed out, and commonly used by them,) and were saved in it.* Another tradition he heard was, that a long time ago the people went to build a high place to reach up a great way, and that *while they were building it they lost their language and could not understand one another,* that while one, perhaps, called for a stick, another brought him a stone, &c., and that from that time they (the Indians) began to speak different languages. There seems to be a tradition among some of the Indians respecting *the Bible,* and *the way* how they came into America. A sober intelligent Indian inquired of an English trader, when in one of the Indian towns, whether the English had not a book (meaning the Bible) among them; and being informed that they had, the Indian told the Englishman, *that that book was once, or long ago, theirs*; and that so long as they kept it and acted according to it their God was kind to them and they prospered; but that the white people (which is a general name they call other nations by that are white,) *at length* bought it of the Indians, whereby they learned a great many things and prospered, while the Indians, on the other hand, began to decline from the time they sold it; and that their God, being very angry with them for parting with this book, left them, and then other nations began *to use them very ill,* so that they were exposed to many hardships, and suffered many things at their hands; but, however, that *their God at length taking pity on them,* brought or directed them to this country of America; that, on their way to it, *they came to a great water*; that one of the Indians who went before them tried the depth of it with a long pole or reed which he had in his hand, and found it too deep for them to wade. Upon their being nonplused, and not knowing what way to get over it, *their God made a bridge over the water in one night,* by which they passed over safe, and that next morning, after they were all over, God took away the bridge. The same Indian represented the future state of good and bad men, to the trader, in this manner: that all the Indians, who were good, when they died, went in one or two days to a fine pleasant place, where there was prepared everything that was *good to eat and drink* and to give sweet repose or rest, and that when they awaked from sleep they found another different course, consisting of a great variety of things most pleasant and agreeable to the taste, and that in this pleasurable manner they spent their beings; but that such as were bad, i. e. did bad things, when they died, went in one or two days to a very bad place, which he represented as the most disagreeable, the very reverse of the other, where they were as miserable as the others were happy, having *nothing to eat or drink,* though very hungry, without any enjoyment of rest by sleep. In these and other particulars, dear Sir, I believe you will observe, with me, a strong resemblance between the ancient Jews and Indians, to which I might have added some peculiarities of less note, but I am unwilling to tire your patience. Permit me only to add, that all the customs and traditions above are not to be found among every tribe of Indians; nor, perhaps, is the same usage or custom observed by every Indian of the same tribe."

Note 2, page 293, line 48.

The manners of the Taobayaces (a civilized Indian tribe dwelling on the shores of the Rio Colorado, or Red River,) are so strikingly analogous to those of the Indian nations whose history has been written by Adair, that no one can entertain a doubt of the fidelity of his description. The belief of the Taobayaces in the existence of a God, and in his government of the universe—their invocation of his name—their offerings to him of their first-fruits, and the first beast killed in the chase—together with their belief in the immortality of the soul, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, are all separately and distinctly noticed by Don Jose Cortes in the following passage of the Third Part of his inedited 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de la Nueva España':

"De las naciones que vulgarmente llaman del Norte, la de los Taobayaces es la mas civilizada: estan domiciliados en dos pueblos situados en las orillas del Rio Colorado de Nachitochez, el uno en frente del otro y como 170 leguas al N.E. de los Tauacanas: dichos dos pueblos tendran de 170 á 180 casas, y cada una con correspondiente numero de separaciones; el de habitantes es de cerca de 2000, el de los hombres de armas ó de guerra pasa de 600: su vestuario se compone de camisas, botas y calzados, todo de pieles; y de las mismas hacen sus esteras, escudos, equipages de caballos, y tiendas de campaña. Para abastecerse de granos y otros frutos toman providencias muy eficaces, y cuidan de su conservacion, guardando cada cabeza de familia en su casa 20 á 30 fanegas de maiz en sacas de cueros de toro, que hacen con este fin, é igualmente hacen prevencion de frijol y calabazas, que conservan para todo el año con mucha curiosidad; y ademas de estos acopios que les asegura su subsistencia con un genero de comodidad que no disfrutan las otras naciones salvages, cosechan melones, sandias y tabaco con la mayor abundancia. A las inmediaciones de los referidos lugares hay muchos ojos y pereñes manantiales de aqua potable, que sobra para regar y fertilizar los dilatados prados en que hacen sus sementeras; la del Rio es salobre; pero su cercania les proporciona con la mayor comodidad la pesca de esquisitos y gustosos pescados, y con la misma matan los sibolos, y demas especies que cazan, sin mas cuidado que dejarlos llegar á beber. A la ventajosa situacion que ocupa esta nacion, se le agrega tener á la mano quanta leña y madera necesita de un monte llamado el Grande, que desde la derecha de los Tuacanas sigue muy inmediato á los Taobayaces, sin que barranco ni quiebra alguna disminuya el admirable golpe de vista que causa la espesura de sus frondosos alamos, fresnos, olmos y nogales, continuado por mas de ochenta leguas de largo y de una á dos de ancho. Finalmente, para que nada les falte, tienen en medio del rio un banco de excellente sal, que aunque extraigan quanta quieran, se buelve á cubrir con la mayor prontitud el socabon de donde la sacan. *La creencia de los Taobayaces está fundada en reconocer á un Criador, que reside en el cielo, desde donde lo dirije todo: le ofrecen las primicias de sus frutos y de la caza;* le invocan para el suceso de sus empresas, y

observan una infinidad de ritos muy supersticiosos. De este sistema religionario, que es mas racional que el que se advierte en las demas naciones de Indios, dimanan costumbres mas arregladas, como son la observancia de la fee prometida, *veneracion á los ancianos*, humanidad con los enfermos, y generosidad con los extrangeros. *Viven persuadidos de la realidad de una vida eterna, donde seran remunerados los buenos, cuya primer clase se compone de los guerreros, y los malos castigados a vivir para siempre entre zarzas y penazcos rodeados de tigres y animales ponzoñosos;* pero en medio de estas buenas calidades con que se distinguen, tienen otras muy malas: son crueles con sus cautivos; tienen ayuntamientos nefandos y otras abominables inclinaciones. Su gobierno está fundado en una democrasia mas regular que la de los Tancaqües: sus costumbres y exercicios son la caza y la guerra, que constantemente sostienen con dos, ó tres naciones, y en ella se hacen famosos, llegando á ser capitanes por sus bizarras acciones, y sin que tenga parte otro respeto aunque hijos del mas acreditado, y á esto se agrega, que á la vanidad de sus hazañas les lisonjea la segura felicidad de la otra vida. La suerte de las mugeres es la misma que en las demas naciones de Indios: curten, cozen, y pintan las pieles: cercan las labores, cuidan los sembrados; recogen las semillas; cortan y acarrean la leña, hacen de comer, crian los hijos; y no para su continuo desvelo en quanto mira al descanso y satisfaccion de sus maridos."

Note 3, page 305, line 4.

"To shake hands with the old beloved speech" appears so singular a phrase, and is of such frequent occurrence in the speeches of the Indians, that it cannot be doubted that it is allied to their national traditions and primitive customs. The strict meaning of this Indian form of speech is simply to conform to the old national usages, and to act agreeably to the traditions of their ancestors; and when it is recollected that the Hebrew language was that in which Moses promulgated the laws of God to the Jews and the Deity communicated with him on Mount Sinai, its indirect allusion to the law of Moses will be obvious. It is further extremely deserving of remark that the Jews were accustomed in ancient times to ratify solemn treaties of peace by the act of shaking hands with their enemies. This custom is particularly mentioned in the twelfth verse of the twelfth chapter of the second book of Maccabees, where Judas Maccabeus is declared in the following terms to have concluded a peace with the Arabian Nomades: "Whereupon there was a very sore battle; but Judas's side, by the help of God, got the victory, so that the Nomades of Arabia being overcome besought Judas for peace, promising both to give him cattle and to pleasure him otherwise. Then Judas, thinking indeed that they would be profitable in many things, granted them peace; *whereupon they shook hands*, and so they departed to their tents." It is again mentioned in the twenty-second verse of the thirteenth chapter of the same book of Maccabees as a sign of the ratification of a truce concluded between the Jewish garrison of Bethsura and king Antiochus Eupator, who, with a great army, had invaded Judea, and was striving to get possession of Jerusalem. "The king treated with them in Bethsura the second time, *gave his hand, took theirs*, departed, fought with Judas, was overcome." Allusion to the same usage occurs likewise in the earlier books of the Old Testament.

Note 4, page 306, line 31.

The following character of the Apache Indians is taken from Don Jose Cortes' 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España.' We insert it here because it shows how accurately Adair has portrayed the character of the more eastern tribes.

"De nada hace vanidad el Apache sino de ser valiente, y llega su entusiasmo en esta parte á tal punto, que se tiene á menos el hombre de quien no se sabe que haya hecho alguna hazaña en la guerra, ú otra accion de valor que le acredite; siendo costumbre entre las mas de las parcialidades, y principalmente en la Mimbreña y Gileña, anteponer el nombre de 'Tasquie' al que se ha dado á conocer por su arrojo y bizarria, cuya significacion es la de la citada voz."

"El idioma que hablan todas las naciones del nombre Apache es uno mismo; solo varia alguna en el acento, y en una, ú otra voz provincial, sin que esta diferencia influya cosa alguna para que dejen de entender reciprocamente, aunque los terrenos en que hayan nacido sean muy distantes. La pronunciacion de esta lingua es muy violenta; pero no és tan dificil como indica su primera impresion, y acostumbrado el oido se halla cierta cadencia en sus palabras: se advierte que es escasa de expresiones y voces; y esto origina una repeticion molesta que hace la conversacion sumamente difusa, y acompañada de ademanes; llamando mas la atencion el golpeo, que á un tiempo concurre en la lengua y garganta, cuyo esfuerzo aumentan para hacerse mas inteligibles. Es digno de observar en estas naciones un temperamento muy bilioso, que les influye un caracter astuto, desconfiado, atrevido, sobervio, y zeloso de su libre independencia. Su estatura varia en cada parcialidad, siendo los mas bien apersonados aquellos que nacen y habitan terrenos mas septentrionales: todos son de color moreno; pero guarda la diferencia de ser mas claros los naturales de las indicadas situaciones mas al norte: son de buena disposicion y muy sueltos, de ojos vivos, cabello largo, ninguna barba, cutis muy suave, y pintada la astucia y la sagacidad en su semblante. Son tan agiles y ligeros, que disputan el aguante á los caballos, llevandoles ventaja en los terrenos fragosos y montuosos, cuya natural disposicion tienen muy exercitada con el continuo movimiento en que viven, trasladando sus rancherias de uno á otro punto con el fin de proporcionar nueva caza, y los frutos indispensables para su subsistencia; trayendoles tambien en la misma actividad la vigilancia y cuidado con que miran por su salud, lo qual les estimula á mudar sus situaciones con mucha freqüencia para respirar nuevos aires, y para que se purifique el lugar que evacuaron. Llega á tal extremo el zelo por la conservacion de sus rancherias, que no tan solamente las mudan del lugar que ocupan *siempre que muere uno*, sino que abandonan á los enfermos de gravedad, quando juzgan que pueden infestarse."

Note 5, page 307, line 50.

The irrational dread which the Mexicans and Peruvians entertained of eclipses of the sun and the appearance of comets, which latter phænomena, Tanner informs us, the Ojibbeway Indians named in their dialect "Wa-ween-e-zis-e-mah-guk Ish-koo-da", i. e. *fire that has hair*, would seem to have proceeded from an expectation they entertained that the end of the world was rapidly

approaching, and would be ushered in by such signs, preserving, perhaps, a traditional recollection of the prediction of Joel, "The *sun* shall be turned into *darkness* and the moon into blood before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." That it was the firm belief of the Jews that a day of total darkness, *caused by an eclipse of the sun*, would precede the end of the world, is evident, as well from the prophecy of Joel as from other passages of Scripture; and this leads us to observe that some of the ceremonies which the Mexicans celebrated at the commencement of their year of jubilee,—which occurred once in fifty-two years, when they watched with anxiety the appearance of the stars in a certain place of the heavens, and on their becoming visible, joyfully exclaimed that the world would continue *another age*, and that the light of the sun would not then be extinguished,—would appear to have been derived from the Jews. That the Peruvians agreed with the Mexicans in believing that the end of the world would be preceded by an eclipse of the sun and a day of darkness, when the stars would cease to give their light and the moon to shine, and the powers of heaven would be shaken, the general confusion being considerably heightened by the tzitzimis, or spirits of darkness, descending on earth in a visible form to destroy the fair work of creation, is obscurely hinted at by Gomara in the following passage of the 68th page of his 'Historia de las Indias,' who assigns that as a reason for the Peruvians uttering loud cries when they beheld an eclipse of the sun: "Tambien creen la fin del mundo: empero que precedera primero grandissima seca, y se perderan el sol y luna que adoran. Y por aquesto dan grandes alaridos y lloran quando ay eclipses, mayormente del sol, temiendo que se van á perder, el y ellos y todo el mundo." "They likewise believe in the end of the world, but that first there will be a great drought, and that the sun and the moon, which they adore, will disappear. This is the reason why they utter loud cries and lamentations when eclipses occur, especially of the sun, fearing that both it, themselves, and the whole world are going to be destroyed." That the like belief and the same superstitious fear of the end of the world and of eclipses should have been widely diffused through the province of Guatemala is not so surprising, when we recollect that the national traditions recorded that the Tultecas, who first established their empire in that province of New Spain, where they founded many great cities, the ruins of which still remain, were of Jewish origin. Las Casas has accordingly noticed the opinions of the ancient inhabitants of Guatemala on this and some other curious subjects in the following passage of the two hundred and thirty-fifth chapter of his inedited 'Historia Apologetica', for a copy of which very valuable work, and many other original manuscripts relating to the history and antiquities of America, we are indebted to the gracious liberality of His late Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh, who did not choose that Spain should possess scientific treasures which it could be the desire of a monarch to withhold from the rest of Europe. The above-mentioned distinguished prelate thus records the ancient traditions of Guatemala: "Tenian opinion y aun *creencia* que avia en la otra vida infierno, y que avia tormentos en él: llamavanle el lugar de los muertos, y con razon cada provincia en su lenguage, y en el de Guatimala, *Chixibalba*, en el de Mexico, *Myctla*. Decian ser alli atormentados los hombres, y que eran comidos de muchos generos de animales ó de sabandijas, que padecian fuego y grandes calores, y bebian podre, y que avia desto muy mucho. Affirmavan que avia *boca de infierno*, y que estaba en un pueblo de la Verapaz llamado Coban, y que la avia tapado aquel diablo llamado Exbalanquen, que arriba en el capitulo deximos aver intro ducido sacrificar hombres." —"Creian que avia espiritus ó angeles buenos y malos, *aunque no por los nombres que nosotros los tenemos*. Esto davan á entender por esta manera, que quando instruian los hijos les decian que mirasen como vivian, que consultasen al que los guiaba, y que hiciesen lo que les aconsejaba, y que no diesen credito al que los seguia, porque era el pecado ó desdicha, ó mal acontecimiento. Y quando algun infortunio les acaecia, como irseles la muger, ó el marido á ella, ó despeñarseles algun hijo, ó quemarsele la casa ú otra adversidad grave, decian que habian encontrado el pecado. Avia entre ellos noticia del diluvio, y de la fin del mundo, y llamanle '*Butic*', que es nombre que significa *diluvio de muchas aguas*, y quiere decir *juicio*. Y asi creen *que está por venir otro Butic, que es otro diluvio y juicio, no de agua sino de fuego: el qual dicen que ha de ser al fin del mundo, en el qual han derretir todas las criaturas*, en especial las que sirven al hombre, como son las piedras donde muelen su mahiz ó trigo, las ollas, los cantaros, dando á entender que se han de volver contra el hombre, *y que se eclipsara la luna y el sol, diciendo que seran comidos, que es su manera de hablar*, porque quando hay eclipse, dicen que es comida la luna ó el sol. *Finalmente tienen que el mundo ha de aver fin, y que las animas son immortales;* pero de premio y de pena no tractan sino alli acaban." From the concluding sentence of this passage we are obliged to assume either that Las Casas was ignorant of some of the religious tenets of the Indians of Guatemala, or that their creed differed essentially from that of the Mexicans, who firmly believed in a future state of rewards and punishments; or, lastly, that he was unwilling to concede that the Indians could have coincided with Christians in such an essential article of their religion, and yet have profaned the divine altars with the unceasing immolation of human victims, whose flesh, shocking to relate, they considered holy food, and accordingly devoured at their religious banquets. Let the reader who can scarcely credit such contradictions only recur to the history of the Jews in the Old Testament, and peruse some chapters of the prophetical books, and *nil admirari* will serve him in future as a safe and unerring rule of criticism. We shall close the observations contained in this note with the following extract from the 133rd chapter of Antonio Tello's inedited History of the Provinces of Xalisco and New Mexico, where the fear which the Indians of the province of Tiguex likewise entertained of eclipses is thus incidentally recorded, and it fully confirms what Adair says of the Indians of the Mississippi being equally superstitious about them: "En los casamientos hay costumbre que quando un mozo dá en servir á alguna moza, *vá con ella á acarrear agua*, y guardandola y acompañandola, *carga el cantaro*, y si son para en uno los casan los deudos, y *no tiene ningun Indio mas de una muger*: vieron los Españoles estando en esta tierra que haviendo muerto un Indio armaron una gran balsa de leña, y que pusieron el cuerpo muerto encima de ella cubierto con sola una mantilla, y que luego vinieron todos los del pueblo, hombres y mugeres, cada uno trajó de la comida que ellos usan como pinole, calabazas, frixoles, atole, maiz tostado, y todo lo pusieron sobre la balsa de leña; estando todo muy bien concertado pegaron fuego á la balsa por todas partes, con que cuerpo y comida quedaba hecho ceniza, y al tiempo de pegar fuego alzaron todos una gran voz: no se vieron en todos estos caminos y partes templos, *ni idolos algunos*. Entiendese que adoraban al sol y á la luna, porque

una noche que eclipsó la luna, alzaron todos mucha griteria. En los valles de Corazones, Sonora y por aquellas partes y caminos se hallaron mozos en trage de mugeres, alcoholados los ojos, y un Español asió uno de ellos, diciendo lo havia de quemar, y riñó á las mugeres porque no lo azotaban, pero ellas no hicieron nada, antes rogaron por el. En Tzibola, ni en Tiguex, no se vió ni se halló cosa alguna de las que se han dicho." We shall observe on this latter passage, that it corroborates in several essential particulars the testimony of Adair in other parts of his work, especially his assertion in the thirteenth argument, that the *Muskohge Indians formerly reckoned it adultery if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head and drank of it;* since if they, in commemoration of Rebekah going to the well and drawing a pitcher of water for the servant of Abraham, by whom she was affianced to Isaac, agreeably to the terms of his adjuration of the Deity in the fourteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis, had instituted a marriage ceremony similar to that in use amongst the Indians of Tiguex, a man taking a pitcher of water from a married woman's head and drinking of it, might seem an attempt to seduce her from the path of virtue, and her acquiescence, the laws and usages of the country being well known to both parties, have been considered legal evidence of her guilt. The terms of the adjuration above alluded to are the following, and they might have suggested a form of marriage to the Indians of Tiguex, and likewise to the Muskohges: "And he said, O Lord God of my master Abraham, I pray thee send me good speed this day, and show kindness unto my master Abraham. Behold, I stand here by the well of water, and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water. And let it come to pass that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink, and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also, let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac, and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master." It deserves to be remarked, that amongst some other Indian tribes the marriage ceremony was performed by putting a pair of ear-rings in the ears of the bride, which would likewise seem to allude to the marriage of Isaac with Rebekah.

Note 6, page 314, line 1.

The language of signs, which Adair describes as having been carried to such systematic perfection amongst the Indians of the Mississippi as to enable them "intelligibly to converse together and contract engagements without any interpreter," is mentioned by various Spanish authors, and first, in order of time, by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, in the following passage of his inedited letter to Charles the Fifth, descriptive of his journey to Cibola: "Y aunque, como á Vuestra Magestad escribi, por ser relacion de Indios, *y mas por señas,* no les di credito hasta que por mis ojos lo viese; pareciendome la relacion muy grande, y que importaba al servicio de Vuestra Majestad que se viese, me determiné con la gente que aqui tengo de irla á ver." Pedro de Castañeda, who, twenty years afterwards, composed his 'Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola,' a copy of which authentic narrative is still preserved in the Spanish archives, makes the following more express mention of the Indian language of signs, in the seventh chapter of the second part of that treatise: "Estas gentes que los llaman Querechos y Teyas dan relacion de grandes poblados y segun lo que de estas gentes se vió y de otros que ellos daban noticia que habia por otras partes, ella es harto mas gente que no la de los poblados, mas dispuesta, y mayores hombres de guerra, y mas temidos. Andan como Alarabes con sus tiendas y harrias de perros aparejados con lomillos y enjalmas y cincha: cuando se les tuerce la carga ahuyan llamando quien los aderece: comen esta gente la carne cruda y beben la sangre: *no comen carne humana*: es gente amorosa y no cruel: tienen fiel amistad: *son muy entendidos por señas*: secan la carne á el sol cortandola delgada como una hoja, y seca la muelen como harina para guardar y hacer mazamorras para comer, que con un puño que hechan en una olla se hinche porque crece mucho, guisanlo con manteca que siempre procuran traer: cuando matan la vaca vacian una gran tripa y hinchenla de sangre y hechanla á el cuello para beber cuando tienen sed." We may here remark that the Journey to Cibola was composed by Pedro de Castañeda about the year 1560, but a much later Spanish historian, Juan Morfi, unequivocally corroborates the testimony of Adair in the following passage of the second book of his inedited 'Memorias para la Historia de Texas': "Todas estas naciones tienen particularidades, en que se distinguen unas de otras: 1ª. En el idioma, que es en todas diverso. 2ª. En el acento, unas hablan de un tono languido y lastimoso como mendigos, otros de un aire altivo y dominante, y algunos naturalmente y sin afectacion: *pero todos convienen en una especie de idioma mudo, que son las señas, en que son diestrissimos, y se estan dias enteros en conversacion, explicando y entendiendose perfectamente sus pensamientos, sin necesitar la palabra.* 3ª. En las raias con que se pintan; pues unas naciones las hacen de un modo, y otras de otro. 4ª. En el corte del cabello, unas naciones tienen cerquillo como los frayles; otros se rapan toda la cabeza dejando en la coronilla una trenza del largo natural á la Tartara, que cuidan y estiman mucho; otros nada le cortan. Ultimamente en las orejas y narices; porque algunas se agujeran las ternillas de aquellas, otras la de estas, y otras ambas." To the foregoing testimonies of Castañeda and Morfi may be added that of Dr. Boudinot, who thus describes, in his 'Star in the West,' the facility with which two Indians belonging to far distant nations can converse together by means of signs: "It is worthy of remembrance that two Indians, who belong to far distant nations, without the knowledge of each other's language except from the general idiom, will intelligibly converse together and contract engagements without any interpreter, in such a surprising manner as is scarcely credible. *In like manner we read of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob travelling from country to country, from Chaldea into Palestine, when inhabited by various differing nations, thence into Egypt and back again, making engagements and treating with citizens wherever they went. But we never read of any difficulty of being understood or their using an interpreter.*" It would appear from the concluding sentence of this paragraph that Dr. Boudinot imagined that the Jews might have instituted a language of signs amongst the Indians for the purposes of trade and friendly communication with their various tribes; and we certainly read in Montecinio's 'Relation,' inserted in the 286th page of the sixth volume of this work, that the Jews of Carthagena *made use of a language of signs,* and conversed with Montecinio by means of an interpreter. Mention having been made in a preceding passage of this note of its being customary with the Indians to distinguish their several tribes by the different mode of cutting and wearing their hair, we may here observe that Morfi, in enumerating the several Indian

fashions, has omitted to notice the custom of wearing a bandage or fillet round the head, which was very general amongst the Indians, extending even from the confines of Peru and the kingdom of New Granada to Canada, and which induced some Spanish authors to suppose that this bandage was neither more nor less than *the ancient phylactery* which God commanded the Jews to wear throughout their generations, and which, with the law of fringes on garments and battlements on houses, probably passed with the first Hebrew colonies to the New World. That such a custom existed amongst the Mozcas, or Indians of Bogota, will appear by reference to the note subjoined to the 518th page of the sixth volume of this work, and Gomara mentions it in the following passage of the sixty-eighth page of his 'Historia de las Indias,' in the chapter entitled, "Calidades y Costumbres del Cuzco": "Los ombres andan en cabello, *mas vendanse las cabeças*: visten camisas de lana y pañicos. Las mugeres traen sotanas sin mangas, *que faxan mucho con cintas largas*, y mantellinas sobre los ombros prendidas con gordos alfileres de plata ó cobre, que tienen las cabeças anchas y agudas, con que cortan muchas cosas." "The men wear their hair long, *with a bandage round the head*; they clothe themselves in woollen vests and smallclothes; the women wear petticoats without sleeves, which they tighten at the waist with broad *girdles*, and small mantles over the shoulders, fastened with thick silver or copper pins, with broad and sharp heads, with which they cut many things."

Note 7, page 314, line 8.

The assertion of Adair that all the Indians, particularly the Muskohge, have a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, in the manner of the ancient Jews, is fully corroborated in the following passage of an inedited letter of M. de Buisson, descriptive of a temple of the Natchez, who were a powerful Indian tribe dwelling on the banks of the Mississippi: "Je parle souvent des Tonicas et des Taensas et de ceux qui sont sur le bord du Misissipi en descendant à la mer, car dans la profondeur des terres les sauvages y sont en grand nombre: ils ont des temples assez beaux, dont les murailles sont de nattes. Celuy de Taensas a des murailles epaisses de sept à huit pieds à cause de la grande quantité de nattes, qui sont les unes sur les autres: ils ont pour une de leurs divinités Autamque. *J'ai peu voir le serpent: ils n'oseroient rien accepter ou s'approprier d'un peu considerable sans l'avoir auparavant porté à leur temple.* Lorsqu'ils recoivent quelque chose, c'est avec une espèce de veneration qu'ils se tournent vers ce temple. Ils ne paroissent pas dereglés dans leurs mœurs à cause des grandes chaleurs. Les hommes y sont nuds et les filles et femmes n'y sont guere bien couvertes, et même les petites filles jusqu'à l'age de douze ans y vont toutes nües. Ils sont si doux et ont tant de deference por ce que nous leur disons, que je me persuade lors que je scaurai un peu la langue, qu'il ne me sera pas bien difficile de reformer cet abus, qui parmi eux ne leur fait aucune impression, y etant accoutumés des l'enfance. Ils ont encore un autre abus: lorsque leurs chefs sont morts, selon qu'il a été plus estimé, plus aussi il a des personnes qui d'elles mêmes s'offrent à mourir avec luy; et l'année dernière que le chef de Taensas mourut, il eut douze personnes qui s'offrirent à mourir, et à qui on cassa la tête. Il n'y a jamais d'hiver chez eux; ils n'y connoissent point la neige, qu'ils n'ont jamais veüe; l'herbe y est toujours.

"Le 21 nous arrivames aux Taensas, il y a une lieue par terre et deux par eau: ils sont sur la bord d'un lac à trois lieues de Misissipi. Ce sont des gens fort humains et dociles; il n'y avoit pas long temps que leur chef etoit mort quand nous y arrivames. C'est leur coutume de faire mourir . . . . pour ce sujet ils nous dirent qu'ils en avoient tués 13 à la mort de celuy qui etoit mort le dernier: ils mettent pour cet effet d'une racine bruler dans le feu, et quand elle est consumée, ils le tuent à coups de casse tête. Les Natchez qui sont à 12 lieues plus bas en font mourir trente à la mort de leur chef: il faut avouer qu'ils sont bien sots de se fair tuer ainsi; c'est cependant ce qu'ils estiment à grande estime et generosité: ils ont un temple bien grand, il y a trois collones qui sont bien faites des serpens et d'autres semblables superstitions. Le temple est enclos d'une cloture faite en façon d'une muraille; *elle est presque garnie de têtes de morts: ils ne nous vouloient pas nous laisser entrer dedans*, dijant que ceux qui y entroient mouroient. Nous y entrames moitié par force, moitié de bonne volonté." From the allusion in the foregoing passage to the religious rites of the Natchez, and to its being customary with that tribe to adorn their temples with figures of serpents, and to hang up the skulls of their enemies before their portals, it would appear that some of their rites bore much resemblance to those of the Mexicans. That the Jews occasionally exhibited as trophies the heads of their enemies before the temple is evident from the thirty-third verse of the fifteenth chapter of the second book of Maccabees and from other passages of Scripture; and that they likewise *scalped* their enemies we are warranted in inferring from the following passage of the seventh chapter of the second book of Maccabees, *retaliation* being strictly enjoined by Moses to the Jews: "So when the first was dead after this manner, they brought the second to make him a mocking stock, and when they had *pulled off the skin of his head* with the hair, they asked him, Wilt thou eat before thou be punished throughout every member of thy body?" It is impossible to peruse the second book of Maccabees without feeling thoroughly convinced that the manners of the Jews at that comparatively late period of their history bore a strong resemblance to those of the Indians, both in their mode of carrying on war and their savage treatment of the prisoners who fell into their hands, whom it is evident, from the thirty-third verse of the eighth chapter of the second book of Maccabees, they sometimes, like the Indians, devoted to the fiery torture. So plain an historical fact stands in no need of farfetched and remote proofs, since why is Callisthenes, in the passage cited, said to have been burned at the feast which the Jews celebrated for their victory, unless he had been *reserved*, in the Indian fashion, for that particular occasion: "Furthermore, at such time as they kept the feast for the victory in their country, they burnt Callisthenes, that had set fire upon the holy gates, who had fled into a little house, and so he received a reward meet for his wickedness." Other burnings of prisoners and other inhuman massacres committed by the Jews are recorded in the thirty-sixth verse of the tenth chapter and the sixteenth verse of the twelfth chapter of the same book of Maccabees and almost in a tone of triumph by the Jewish historian. If such conduct admits extenuation, it is true, that some apology may be offered for them by saying that Antiochus was a cruel prince, who did everything in his power to root out Judaism from his dominions; but why, it may at the same time be demanded, was Antiochus such a cruel enemy of the Jews? It was not, surely, because he believed their religion to be true, or that the profession of it would conduce to the interests of his subjects.

Note 8, page 316, line 23.

Adair's account of the Indians putting to death their prophets who either prophesied falsely of rain, or failed to realize their promises of it to the people, receives strong corroboration from the following passage of Don Jose Cortes' inedited 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España'; and the custom itself was strictly in accordance with the Mosaic ordinance, which required that a false prophet should atone for his presumption by being put to death. The ingenious test which Moses devised for distinguishing a false from a true prophet forms a supplementary clause to the following law of the eighteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, and is well worthy of attention: "The prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die; and if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath *not* spoken? when a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, *if* the thing *follow not*, nor come to pass, THAT is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him."

"Con estas ideas, que siguen de padre á hijo, se embeben en supersticiosos juicios, y es comun el que atribuyan á algun Indio declamador, adusto y misterioso, la gracia de adivinar; y el elegido recibe la buena fee de sus consagrantes, llenandose en si mismo de mas poder que el que los otros le suponen, se vee colocado en un concepto que le distingue, y que le produce utilidad: exerce su oficio dando salidas ambiguas á las consultas que le hacen; y á fuerza de esta practica llega el mismo á persuadirse mas y mas; y en los otros se aviva la creencia de su predilecto oraculo. Es anexo á su exercicio el de la medicina; y con la aplicacion de ciertas hierbas acompañan muchas ceremonias y cantos tristes, siendo este el metodo comun que observan en sus curaciones; pero tambien quando tienen la disgracia de que alguno de los Indios de mas suposicion, ó de los mas bien emparentados se les muere, se levanta y corre la voz de que la muerte no ha sido natural, sino que fue hechizado, y entonces aseguran al divino poco antes tan venerado, y él, por no disminuir la creencia de su gracia y habilidad, dice y confiesa, que es cierto hechizó al enfermo para quitarle la vida, y seguidamente figura é inventa el modo como lo hizo, que nunca pasa de haberle comunicado su saliva, inficionando la sangre, ú otro medio invisible y despreciable, con cuya declaracion basta para que le aten á un arbol, y que quede levantado de la tierra lo suficiente á que una hoguera que encienden debajo, lo queme lentamente; pero sin estos contratiempos consiguen siempre sus adivinos un grado muy elevado de estimacion, son solicitados de tierras y rancherias distantes, y muy bien pagados para que oficien sus dos explicados ministerios."

Note 9, page 317, line 12.

The following account of a mode of divination practised by the Tultecas, which is extremely analogous to that designated in Scripture, inquiring of the Lord by Urim and Thummim, is taken from the fifth chapter of the fifteenth book of the first part of Juan de Fuente's inedited History of Guatemala. We may here remark that it was at a later period of his life, and after he had obtained access to the public archives, that he discovered that a colony of Jews had, ages before the arrival of the Spaniards in the New World, established a flourishing monarchy in that portion of the American continent. "Corre por medio de esta situacion de la parte del norte á la del sur una zanja de estado y medio de hondo, y sus pretiles se levantan de cal y piedra por mas de medio estado de alto, y este foso hacia division de la gran poblacion dejando la habitacion de los principales y nobles á la parte oriental, y la de los plebeyos ó maceguales (como ellos dicen) á la parte del occidente. Corren de mas de la calle mayor y principal que vá desde la puerta de la ciudad á la plaza mayor del adoratorio que está junto al palacio otras calles de oriente á poniente norte sur, saliendo todas como ramas de la calle mayor, con muchas viviendas continuadas que forman las calles, con las habitaciones bien ordenadas y repartidas, mostrando haberse edificado y erijido con mucha arte y esmero grande de policia y gran poder de los Señores Tultecas de aquellos tiempos, que dominaban y regian como propio señorio esta parte de Cachiquel. De la referida zanja sale una calle bien ancha y desenfadada, junto á la calle real ó mayor, que entra de la puerta al templo, y va esta hacia el oeste, cuya longitud casi es de un quarto de legua, y va á parar á un cerrillo predominante á la poblacion que tiene en la cumbre y eminencia que hace parte de llanura un edificio redondo á la manera de un brocal de pozo, que se levanta en torno cosa de un estado perfecto. Admirase tambien todo su pavimento betunado del mismo genero de la poblacion: levanta en medio de un xocalo ó peana lustrosa como un vidrio, y que no se rastrea ni conoce que materia sea, bien que el deseo de investigarlo exita. Este brocal era tribunal ó consistorio de estos Indios Cachiqueles, donde no solo se daba audiencia publica, pero se ejecutaban las sentencias de aquellos jueces, los quales sentados á la redonda del pretil oian en justicia en lo civil y criminal; pero despues de haberse pronunciado la sentencia, que alli era como en vista, restaba otra diligencia para su confirmacion ó revocacion, que era salir de alli tres mensajeros de aquellos mismos jueces, que eran como diputados, y estos se encaminaban á una barranca profunda que está hacia la parte del norte del palacio, donde en lugar muy decente y adornado estaba en una como hermita ó adoratorio un oraculo del demonio, *que era una piedra negra y trasparente como el vidrio, pero de mejor y mas preciosa materia que la piedra chay, en cuya diafanidad les representaba el demonioá los diputados la resolucion que se devia tomar; y si era confirmando la sentencia, luego se ejecutaba alli en aquel tribunal sobre aquella peana, donde tambien se le habia dado tormento al reo, y si en contrario se representaba ó no se figuraba en lo diafano de la piedra alguna cosa, quedaba libre, y este oraculo era tambien consultado en todos los movimientos militares que se ofrecian, executandose ó no la guerra segun el aspecto ó representacion del oraculo, de que hoy dan razon Españoles y Indios; pero como en aquellos tiempos primitivos de nuestras fundaciones llegasen estas noticias al reverendo obispo Don Francisco Marroguin de clara memoria, mandó cortarla curiosamente á esquadra, la consagró y aplicó para ara, que hoy sirve en el altar mayor del Convento de San Francisco de Tecpangoatemala, y es presea de singular hermosura y valor. Tiene de largo esta piedra media vara cumplida.*" Reference to the 107th page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, will show that the people of Guatemala had a tradition that their kings were

descended from the Jews; it would not, therefore, be surprising if those princes of Hebrew descent should have revived, not only the laws of Moses amongst the Indians, but the ancient mode of inquiring of the Lord by Urim and Thummim, to which even the proper name Tezcatlipoca, which signifies 'he who appeared in the smoke of the mirror', may bear some allusion. We may further observe in reference to the phrase "Ahzib Kiche", which occurs in the course of the above-mentioned note, that *Achzib* would appear from the fourteenth verse of the first chapter of Micah, to have been the name of some powerful Jewish families in the days of that prophet, although its real signification in Hebrew is 'a lie': "Therefore shalt thou give presents to More-sheth-gath: the houses of Achzib shall be a lie to the kings of Israel." Having assigned another and a preferable etymology to the proper name Tezcatlipoca in the 249th page of the sixth volume of this work, we shall here observe in support of the latter derivation, that the Mexicans called the festival of Toxcatl, which they celebrated, in the third month of their calendar, in honour of Tezcatlipoca, by the other name of "Tepopuchihuiliztli", or 'the festival of *the smoking mountain*', which would seem to refer to Mount Sinai. Another epithet of the same supreme being, the scriptural application of which we have omitted to explain in the 174th page of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, was *Titlacaoa*, which signifies, according to Torquemada, 'We are thy servants,' and might probably have originated in the Levites' confession of faith, in the thirty-sixth verse of the ninth chapter of Nehemiah: "Behold, *we are servants this day*; and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold, *we are servants in it.*"

Note 10, page 320, line 15.

The following account of the Chikasah and some other Indian tribes is taken from the inedited letters of M. de Buisson, a French missionary, who visited the Mississippi soon after the foundation of the state of Louisiana, nearly at the close of the seventeenth century; it is inserted here because it throws some light on the manners of the Indians described by Adair, at a period when their intercourse with Europeans had scarcely commenced: "Le 24 nous cabanames de bonne heure à fin que nos gens se preparassent à la grande feste de noël: nous fimes une petite chapelle; nous chantames une grande messe de minuit, ou nos gens et tous nos François firent leurs devotions. Le jour de noël se passa à dire nos messes, que nos gens entendirent toutes, et l'apres midy nous chantames les vespres. Nous fumes fort etonnés de voir la terre trembler sur une heure apres midy, et quoyque ce tremblement ne dura pas, il fut assez fort pour que tous s'en aperçussent facilement. Le lendemain nous partimes un peu tarde parceque nous fumes obligés d'attendre un petit sauvage que M. de Fonty avoit, et qui le jour precedent etant allé dans le bois pour y chercher des fruits s'etoit egaré: nous crumes qu'il pouvoit avoir été pris par quelques guerriers Chikachas, ce qui nous obligea de veiller et de faire garde toute la nuit, mais nous fumes bien rejouis quand le lendemain nous le vimes revenir: nous partimes et nous allames coucher proche du lieu où étoient autrefois le Kappa, une nation des Akanscas. Le jour de Saint Jean, apres avoir fait environ cinq lieues, nous vimes des canots de bois, et un sauvage sur le bord de l'eau: comme nous étions proche et que nous avions peur qu'en nous voyant il prise la fuite, un de nos hommes *prit le calumet* et chanta: il fut entendu du village qui etoit tout proche; une partie s'enfuit, les autres aporterent le calumet et vinrent nous recevoir sur le bord de l'eau. Ils nous frotoient en nous abordant, et en suite se frotoient eux-mêmes, marque d'estime parmi les sauvages. Ils nous prirent sur les epaules, et nous porterent dans la cabane d'un chef. Il y avoit une cote de terre grasse à monter, celuy qui me portoit succomboit sous le fardeau. J'avois peur qu'il ne me laissat tomber, de sorte que je descendis malgre luy et montai la cote, mais aussytot que je fus monté, il fallut absolument que je me mis sur son dos pour me porter jusques à la cabane. Quelque temps apres, ils nous vinrent chanter le calumet pour nous, et le lendemain au soir ils nous porterent dans une autre cabane, où nous ayant fait asseoir M. de Fonty et nous aussy sur des peaux d'ours, et quatre chefs ayant pris chacun un calumet qu'ils avoient mis devant nous, les autres se mirent à chanter en frappant sur des especes de tambours faits de pots de terre, sur les quels ils mettent une peau; ils tiennent à leurs mains une gourde où il y a dedans des grains qui font du bruit, et leurs chants s'accordants au son de ses tambours et au son de ses gourdes, cela fait une musique qui n'est pas des plus agreables, pendant qu'un sauvage qui etoit derriere nous bercoit: nous fumes bientot degoutés de cette ceremonie, qu'ils font á tous les etrangers qu'ils considerent, et qu'il faut soufrir si on ne veut passer pour avoir le *cœur malfait* et quelques mauvais desseins: nous mimes de nos gens à nôtre place apres y avoir un peu demeurés, ils eurent le plaisir d'etre bercés toute la nuit. Le lendemain ils nous firent present d'un petit esclave et de quelques peaux, que nous payames par un autre present de couteaux et autres choses qu'ils estiment beaucoup. Nous etions bien consolés de nous voir dans les lieux de nos missions, mais nous eumes une sensible affliccion en voyant cette nation des Akanscas autrefois si nombreuse entierement detruite et par la guerre et par la maladie: il n'y avoit pas encore un moi qu'ils etoient gueris de la picote, qui en avoit emporté la plus grand partie; on ne voyoit dans ce village que fosses; ils etoient la deux ensemble, et nous jugions qu'il n'y avoit pas cent hombres: tous les enfans etoient morts et une grande partie des femmes. Les sauvages paroissent d'un tres bon naturel; nous etions à tout moment appellés en festin: ils ont une fidelité extraordinaire; ils transporterent tout ce que nous avions dans une cabane, et cela y demeura deux jours sans qu'on y prit, et pour nous mêmes il n'y eut rien de perdu; un de nos gens ayant oublié son couteau dans une cabane, un sauvage le vint aussytot rapporter. La poligamie n'est pas commune parmi eux: nous vimes pourtant dans le village de Kappa un de ces malheureux qui s'habillant des leur jeunesse en fille, servent au plus honteux de vices, mais cet infame n'etoit point de leur nation; il etoit Illinois, parmi lesquels cela est tout commun. Les sauvages ont abondament bled, fèves et noicilles pour la chasse: etant accablés de maladie et craignant continuellement leurs ennemis, nous n'en vimes point dans leur village: ils se cabanent comme les Hurons, se servant de grands pots de terre au lieu de chaudières, et de cruches fort bien faites pour mettre leur eau. Je n'ay point vu encore de sauvages si bien faits: ils sont tous nuds, excepté quand ils sortent ils prennent une peau de bœuf sur eux: les femmes et les filles y sont comme aux Illinois à demi nües; elles ont une peau qui leur pend depuis la ceinture et leur va jusqu'aux genoux; quelques-unes ont une petite peau de chevreuil en bendolliere. Nous demeurames dans ce village deux

jours et demi, et apres y avoir planté une croix, que nous leur dimes être le signe de nôtre union, nous partimes le trentième de Noviembre pour aller à leur autre village, qui est eloigné de celuy la environ de neuf lieues. Ce nous fut une peine tres sensible de nous separer de M. de Fonty, qui ne put venir avec nous pour quelques raisons; il auroit bien souhaité nous accompagner dans les autres nations où nous allions, mais les affaires le rapelloient aux Illinois: c'est l'homme qui connoit le mieux ce pays; il a été deux fois à la mer, il a été deux fois dans la profondeur des terres jusqu'aux nations les plus eloignées: il est aimé et craint partout. Si l'on faisoit la decouverte de ces pays, je ne pense pas qu'on la peut mieux confier à un homme plus experimenté que luy. Je ne doute pas, Monseigneur, que votre grandeur ne se fasse un plaisir de reconnoitre les obligations que nous luy avons. Nous couchames à l'embouchure de la riviere des Akanscas, qui est belle, eloignée d'environ 250 lieues de celle des Illinois. Le lendemain nous arrivames de bonne heure au village, les sauvages vinrent au devant de nous avec le calumet; ils nous conduisirent au village avec les mêmes ceremonies qu'au premier: nous y passames deux jours; ce village me paroit un peu plus nombreux que le premier; il y avoit plus d'enfans. Nous leur dimes que nous allions plus bas chez leurs voisins et amis, qu'ils nous verroient souvent, qu'ils feroient bien de s'assembler tous ensemble, qu'ils pouroient facilement resister à leurs ennemis. Ils s'accorderent à tout, et nous promirent de tacher à faire venir avec eux les Ozagas, qui etoient sortis de la riviere des Misouris et etoient dans le haut de leur riviere. Nous partimes le 2 de Janvier et fumes cabanés à l'embouchure de la riviere, où les François qui s'en retournoient ne nous voulurent donner qu'un jour pour ecrire. Je croyois avoir plus de temps pour le faire, esperant remonter des Akanscas aux Illinois, mais comme nous allons bien plus bas, j'ai peur que les lettres que nous escrivons dans la suite ne soient pas tenues cette année, les occasions etant parties avant que nous arrivions aux Illinois. C'est pourquoi je prie votre grandeur de m'escuser si celle ci est un peu mal digerée."

Note 11, page 321, line 30.

The great respect which the Indians felt for their prophets and beloved old women, who had many duties to perform at their religious festivals, was quite in accordance with the manners of the ancient Jews, who did not believe that the spirit of divination, whether proceeding from God or evil spirits, fell exclusively to the share of men. We accordingly read, in the fourteenth verse of the sixth chapter of the book of Nehemiah, of the prophetess Noadiah, who stirred up strife amongst the Jews who returned from Babylon; and, in an earlier book of the Old Testament, of the prophetess Huldah, who flourished in the reign of Josiah king of Judah. The high reputeof the latter prophetess makes it only more to be regretted that time should have preserved none of her prophetical writings, whilst the extraordinary veneration in which she was held by her countrymen, who regarded her in the light of an oracle of God, is apparent from what took place when the copy of the law was found in the temple by the high priest Hilkiah, on which occasion both the king and his counsellors unanimously resolved to send to her to know the will of God, who, promptly yielding to their entreaties, pronounced a malediction in the name of the Lord against Jerusalem and its sinful inhabitants. The fact of the whole Jewish nation sending to inquire of the prophetess Huldah concerning the words of the book of the law is thus recorded in the twenty-second chapter of the second book of Kings, where it deserves to be remarked, that a college for religious women, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians considered a necessary appendage to their temples, is also incidentally mentioned:

"And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord. And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said, Thy servants have gathered the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of them that do the work, that have the oversight of the house of the Lord. And Shaphan the scribe showed the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Michaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asahiah a servant of the king's, saying, Go ye, *inquire of the Lord for me*, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the Lord that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is written concerning us. *So* Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asahiah, *went unto Huldah the prophetess*, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (*now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the college;*) and they communed with her. And she said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Tell the man that sent you to me, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read: because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the works of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and shall not be quenched. But to the king of Judah which sent you to inquire of the Lord, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, as touching the words which thou hast heard; Because thine heart was tender, and thou hast humbled thyself before the Lord, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I also have heard thee, saith the Lord. Behold therefore, I will *gather thee* unto thy fathers, and thou shalt *be gathered* into thy grave in peace; and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. And they brought the king word again."

Note 12, page 321, line 39.

The Indian invocation either of all or some of the syllables of *Jehovah*, or *Yohewah*, in their festivals and religious dances, is so a remarkable fact that it will be satisfactory to find that it does not rest on the single testimony of Adair, but is confirmed by the accounts of writers of other nations, both French and Spanish, and particularly by the original religious songs of the Indians,

which the learned editor of Major Long's 'Expedition to the Rocky Mountains' has inserted in the 'Narrative of Tanner's Captivity among the Indians,' a work lately published at New York, many of the stanzas of which terminate with the syllables Yah-we-he-ya, Whe-he-ya, Hah-he-whe-ya, evidently invocations of the Great Spirit, and clearly enunciative of the Divine name. Don Jose Cortes likewise, describing in his inedited Memoirs the manners and customs of the Apache Indians, who inhabit with other tribes the vast and almost unexplored territory lying between the Gulf of California and the Mississippi, thus notices this frequent recurrence of the syllable Ho in the songs which they used in their religious dances: "En una rancheria sola ó en la junta de otras son sus favoritas diversiones los bayles: no tienen mas musica que sus voces, y una olla, ó calabacino, que cubren con una piel muy tirante, y se toca con un palo, á cuyo compas y el de las voces con que acompañan hombres y mugeres, saltando todos á un tiempo, formados en diferentes ruedas, y colocados los de uno y otro sexo simetricamente. Despues de empezada la danza se repete con freqüencia un intermedio, entrando en el circulo dos ó tres de los mas expeditos y agiles, que executan una especie de bayle Inglés de mucha violencia, y de muy dificultosas contorsiones. Si el bayle se ha preparado para salir á una funcion de guerra, ó en celebridad de alguna accion feliz se concluye con las armas en la mano: se mezclan alaridos y tiros, y sin perder la cadencia del Hó, Hó, publican las hazañas que han hecho, ó que intentan executar. Tambien hay bayles que disponen los adivinos quando han de exercer su ministerio: los actores se cubren la cabeza con una especie de mascara de gamuza, que suelen adornar con pinturas, y principia la danza en la forma que se ha dicho." To the foregoing testimony of Cortes we may add that of Marc Lescarbot in the following passage of the fifth chapter of the sixth book of his 'Histoire de la Nouvelle France,' from which it would appear that the Indians of Canada made as frequent use of the syllables of the Divine name in their religious songs and dances as the more southern tribes of East and West Florida, and there must undoubtedly have been a reason for this agreement amongst savage tribes in a purely arbitrary religious rite: "Cela fait, il se met à chanter quelque chose (à mon avis) à la louange du diable, qui leur a indiqué de la chasse: et les autres sauvages qui sont là repondent, faisans quelque accord de musique entre eux. Puis ilz dansent à leur mode, comme nous dirons ci-après, avec chansons que je n'entend point, ni ceux des nôtres qui entendoient le mieux leur langue. Mais un jour m'allant promener en noz prairies le long de la riviere, je m'approchay de la cabanne de Membertou, et mis sur mes tablettes une parcelle de ce que j'entendis, qui y est encore écrit en ces termes, 'Haloet ho ho he hé ha ha haloet ho ho hé,' ce qu'ilz repeterent par plusieurs fois. Le chant est sur mes dites tablettes en ces notes, Re fa sol sol re sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa. Une chanson finie ilz firent tous une grande exclamation, disans 'Hé é é é.' Puis recommencerent une autre chanson, disans: Egrigna hau egrigna hé he hu hu ho ho ho egrigna hau hau hau. Le chant de ceci étoit, Fa fa fa sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa fa re fa fa sol sol fa. Ayans fait l'exclamation accoutumée, ils en commencerent une autre, qui chantoit: Tameja alleluya tameja douveni hau hau hé hé. Le chant en étoit, Sol sol sol fa fa re re re fa fa sol fa sol fa fa re re. J'écoutay attentivement ce mot *alleluya* repeté par plusieurs fois, et ne sceu jamais comprendre autre chose. Ce qui me fait penser que ces chansons sont à la louange du diable, si toutefois ce mot signifie envers eux ce qu'il signifie en Hebreu, qui est 'louez le Seigneur.' Toutes les autres nations de ce païs là en font de méme: mais personne n'a particularisé leurs chansons sinon Jean de Leri, lequel dit que les Bresiliens en leurs sabats font aussi de bons accords. Et se trouvant un jour en telle féte, il rapporte qu'ilz disoient Hé hé hé hé hé hé hé hé hé hé, avec cette note, Fa fa sol fa fa sol sol sol sol sol. Et cela fait, s'écrioient d'une façon et hurlement epouvantable l'espace d'un quart d'heure, et sautoient les femmes en l'air avec violence jusques à en ecumer par la bouche. Puis recommencerent la musique, disans: Heu heuraure heura heuraure heura heura ouech. La note est, Fa mi re sol sol sol fa mi re mi re mi ut re. Cet auteur dit qu'en cette chanson ils avoient regretté leurs peres decedez, lesquels étoient si vaillans, et toutefois qu'ilz s'étoient consolés en ce qu'aprés leur mort ilz s'asseuroient de les aller trouver derriere les hautes montagnes, ou ilz danseroient et se rejouiroient avec eux. Semblablement qu'à toute outrance ils avoient menacé les Ouetacas leurs ennemis d'étre bientot pris et mangez par eux, ainsi que leur avoient promis leurs Caraibes: et qu'ils avoient aussi *fait mention du deluge*, dont nous avons parlé au chapitre precedent. Je laisse à ceux qui écrivent de la demonomanie à philosopher là dessus. Mais il faut dire de plus que tandis que noz sauvages chantent ainsi, il y en a d'autres qui ne font autre chose que dire Hé, ou Hei, (comme une homme qui fend du bois,) avec un mouvement de bras: et dansent en rond sans se tenir l'un l'autre, ni bouger d'une place, frappans des piez contre terre, qui est la forme de leurs danses, semblables à celles que le dit de Leri rapporte de ceux du Bresil, qui sont à plus de quinze cens lieuës de là. Apres quoy les nôtres font un feu, et sautent par dessus comme les anciens Cananeens, Hammonites, et quelquefois les Israëlites; mais ilz ne sont si detestables, car ilz ne sacrifient point leurs enfans au diable par le feu."

It deserves to be remarked that the Brazilians, whose manners, notwithstanding the distance of their respective territories, bore a strong resemblance to those of the North American Indians, are declared by the Portuguese writer, Emanuel de Moraës, a fragment of whose inedited history of Brazil has been preserved by Laet in his Notes to Grotius's treatise De Origine Gentium Americanarum, to have presented an exact counterpart of the manners of the Jews, except in their not practising the rite of circumcision; and, like the Mexicans, they had a tradition of the children of Israel passing through the Red Sea, and the vain attempt of Pharaoh to stay the fugitives. There would be nothing, therefore, surprising in their invoking, like the northern tribes of Indians, the Divine name in their solemn dances. We shall proceed to quote the words of Emanuel de Moraës in his history of Brazil above alluded to: "Ego vero libenter credo Americanos oriundos non ab uno populo, nec unâ in parte, sed a Carthaginensibus et ab Judæis, idque temporis longo tractu diversis in locis. A Carthaginensibus, quia proditum est novas invenisse et remotissimas regiones omni amœnitate et fertilitate insignes: sed quia cunctos inflammarat felicissimi soli nuntium, legibus cautum ne quis illuc iterum navigaret, ne Carthago bellorum tumultibus afflicta desereretur: cumque hanc ob causam cessaret navigatio, cessavit et contractus, et gens illa facta est agrestis, divisaque in varias familias, huc illucque discurrens, sine aliquo communi principe varias regiones occupavit, et unaquæque propria sibi finxit vocabula. A Judæis verò, quia Brasilienses Judaicos mores *exceptâ circumcisione* induerunt. Primò Judæis non licebat quascunque sibi jungere uxores, sed ex certâ et determinatâ tribu, ut habetur capite ultimo Numerorum, v. 7, et deinceps, ubi hæc leguntur: 'Omnes enim viri uxores ducent de

tribu et cognatione suâ, et cunctæ fœminæ de eâdem tribu maritos accipient, ut hæreditas permaneat in familiis, nec sibi misceantur tribus.' Brasilianis quoque fuit solemne antequam ad castra Christi transirent, consanguineas suas ducere, sororum filias primum, harum defectu alias. Secundò, Judæi patris nomine condecorabant non tantum parentes suos, sed eorum quoque fratres et reliquos ascendentes ad multas generationes: sic angelus Josephum interpellavit dicens, 'Joseph, fili David, noli timere;' non quod David Josephi esset pater, a quo longissimâ serie distabat, sed quia ex majoribus ejus erat. Ita Brasiliani more Judaico vocant patres suos quoque patruos, et amitas similiter matres. Tertiò, Judæi lachrimas magni faciebant, integro mense suorum funera flentes, ut videre est in obitu Moysis, de quo dicitur Deuteron. cap. xxxiv. ver. 8.: 'Fleveruntque eum filii Israel in campestribus Moab triginta diebus.' Et l. 1. Mach. legimus de inclyto illo Machabæo, 'Et planxerunt eum omnis Israel planctu magno:' alios in re clarissimâ facio missos. Brasiliani quoque lachrimas maximi faciunt, easque habent in potestate: suos integro mense ad minimum plorant, sine ullâ intermissione aliquando, ita ut contingat multis in fletu perire: Et quod mirandum est, carorum adventu circumdatis collo brachiis, ut sæpissime vidimus, cum effusâ comploratione excipiunt. Quartò, Judæi dum eorum res vigebat, *longis vestimentis delectabantur*; sic Jacob dilecto suo Josepho tunicam fecerat talarem: eâdem utebantur tempore Christi domini nostri Scribæ et Pharisæi, evangelio id attestante. Quinimò, et consuetudo pictorum obtinuit jam Judæorum effigies vestimentis ad pedes usque demissis nobis proponere. Majores suos in hoc quoque Brasilii imitantur egregiè; *longa vestis cordi illis est*, et fœminæ omnes quæ vestitum jam portare didicerunt, unâ talari tantum tunicâ utuntur: et si senem Brasilium rogaveris, quo vestimentorum genere maxime capiatur? statim respondebit, pallio longo. His et aliis rationibus permoti hanc sententiam sumus amplexi, eandemque tenent *multi* viri docti *in Brasiliâ degentes*, quamvis nonnulli repugnent *arundineis* innixi fundamentis. *Ipsorumque Americanorum* multi ab antiquissimâ traditione edocti *majores suos agnoscunt Judæos*, illos divinitus e mari servatos fuisse affirmantes. Nec nos multum movet eorum sententia, qui non de Mari Rubro hæc intelligunt, sed ad memoriam universalis diluvii referunt, cujus apud illas nationes vestigia reperiuntur, quamvis obscura et admodum confusa: quia *illæ distinguunt diluvium a Mari Rubro*, asserentes majores suos fastigia arborum ascendisse altissimarum, et ibi Noemici diluvii evasisse periculum, quod non divinitus factum dicunt, sicuti de Mari Rubro affirmant."

Note 13, page 322, line 39.

The apparent indifference of the Indians to their near relatives, of which Adair gives a striking instance in his eighth Argument, would appear to have originated in the extreme distrust entertained by members of the same tribe of each other, which naturally would have led them to display a studied carelessness of manner in their mutual intercourse, which, growing into a habit, might, in the estimation of Europeans, be considered an indication of a total want of natural affection, where great real love between members of the same family might exist. The extreme fortitude with which the Indians on many occasions suffer intense bodily suffering, betraying no visible emotion in their countenances, and in many instances evincing the greatest indifference in their manner, might in the same way be adduced as a proof of their insensibility to pain; but their courage in war, their eagerness to avenge the blood of their relations and friends, their solemn mournings for the dead, and their respect for their tombs, all lead to the conclusion that the Indians are as capable of sentiments of affection towards each other as any other race of mankind. The surprising distrust manifested by the Apache Indians towards each other, originating, it is to be presumed, in the Indian mode of life, which is predatory and erratic in the highest extreme, is noticed by Don Jose Cortes in the following passage of the concluding section of the Second Part of his 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España': "Finalmente, en quantas marchas emprenden, sean reunidos ó separados, obra y se manifiesta la indecible desconfianza que los caracteriza; y aunque encuentren à sus parientes guardan las mayores precauciones, que son mas ó menos segun el tiempo que ha pasado sin haverse visto; *y no se aproximarán á un hermano sin las armas en la mano*: siempre estan en cautela contra un atendado, ó siempre prontos á cometerle. *Jamas se saludan ni se despiden*, y la accion mas urbana de su sociedad consiste en mirarse y considerarse un rato reciprocamente antes de tomar la palabra para qualquier asunto."

Note 14, page 334, line 28.

The following passage of the two hundred and twenty-eighth chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas, which treats of the funeral rites of the kings of Mechuacan, strongly corroborates what Adair says of the Indians resembling the Jews in their extreme fear of contracting pollution from the touch of a dead body: "Luego todos los que avian tocado al rey muerto ó á los otros muertos se iban á bañar, porque no se les pegase alguna enfermedad, los quales lavados volvian todos los señores y otra mucha gente al patio del rey muerto." "Afterwards all who had touched the deceased king or any of the other dead bodies went to bathe themselves, that no infirmity might befall them; and having bathed, all the lords, accompanied by a great crowd of people, returned to the court of the deceased king." It deserves to be remarked that the other dead bodies mentioned with that of the king were those of the persons who were sacrificed at his funeral in order to serve him as attendants in the other world.

Note 15, page 336, line 8.

Adair's account of the funeral rites of the Choktah Indians, and their extreme fear of contracting *pollution* from the dead, (the probable cause of their inhumanity towards the dying,) is singularly confirmed by Don Jose Cortes, in the following passage of the Second Part of his inedited 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España,' who thus describes the funeral rites of an Apache chieftain, of which he himself was eye-witness in the year 1797: "Quando acontece la muerte natural ó violenta del Apache, bien sea padre de familia, muger, hijo, ó pariente, manifiestan entonces los mas allegados su sentimiento, cortandose el pelo, y dando otras varias muestras de dolor: se matan los caballos del difunto, y *toda su ropa y muebles se depositan en una hoguera*, á donde uno ú otro lleva tambien parte de su equipage para dar á conocer el mayor pesar que ha tomado. El viudo suele

contenerse en parte de estos estremos por las otras mugeres, que acometidas de los zelos le indican que estimaba mas á la muerta que á las presentes; y por estos principios naturales le persuaden, le disminuyen su angustia, y le repiten con mucha frecuencia un testo, que traducido quiere decir: '*Los muertos nunca se nombran.*' Por lo general el cadaver es conducido á un barranco ó sepultura hecha á mano, alli lo arrojan, lo cubren con piedras, gritan con desconcertadas voces, *y miran aquel parage con perpetuo horror*; y el mismo conservan á aquel en donde falleció, del qual levantan inmediatamente su rancheria, sin que jamas la vuelvan á situar en el, ni en sus inmediaciones. En el mes de Octubre y parte de Noviembre del año pasado de 1797, estube con comision en el presidio de Janos, que es el mas avanzado en la parte de frontera que cubre á la Nueva Bizcaya, en donde se hallan establecidas varias rancherias de Indios Apaches, á quienes se ha dado la paz: vivi aquellos dias trasportado á la observacion de unos hombres que tanta materia me daban para discurrir sobre sus barbaras costumbres, genero de vida, y *entusiasmos*; y haviendo presenciado la muerte y funeral de un Indio con mayores circunstancias y demostraciones de dolor que las que comunmente usan, referire el caso como propio de este lugar. Un Indio que al parecer seria de 30 á 35 años, padeció una enfermedad que por su graduacion y sintomas conocieron los asistentes que era mortal, y ya á lo ultimo de su postracion, ó considerandole cercano á la muerte, le sacaron de su jacal, le tendieron sobre muchas matas de alamo, y le cubrieron con otras tantas, dejandole solamente los ojos descubiertos. Todos los de su rancheria concurrieron trayendo sus flechas, y las pusieron rodeando el cuerpo del moribundo, y lo mismo hicieron con las lanzas, clavandolas en la tierra no lejos del objeto de su sentimiento. En este estado apareció una muger, que despues supe era suegra al espirante, trahia en la mano un leño encendido, fijando la vista en los ojos de su yerno; *y luego que advirtió cerró uno de ellos, se dió por acabada la vida del gentil, y prendió fuego á la leña que le servia de cama y le cubria.* Otras mugeres que tambien estaban prevenidas de leños encendidos, dieron fuego al mismo tiempo á quantos jacales habia en aquella rancheria, menos al del muerto, que lo llevaron *para que ardiera juntamente con él,* como asimismo su armamento, silla de montar, el pelo de su muger, enaguas y demas gamuzas con que se vestia. Dejaron pasar el tiempo necesario paraque las llamas hiciesen todo el estrago, y los huesos que hallaron entre las cenizas fueron á ser enterrados á un pequeño y oculto cerro, distante como dos millas del punto en que se representó la horrorosa escena, y en aquel mismo instante se mudaron á otra situacion desde no viesen la anterior: *mataron seguidamente tres cavallos,* que eran los ultimos bienes que quedaban del difunto, *y al dia siguiente se tiraron boca abajo en el arenal del rio, en cuya disposicion se mantuvieron sin comer ni hablar hasta el tercer dia, en que todos se levantaron alegres como estaban antes del funesto suceso.* Quise indagar la causa de estas raras demostraciones de que no habia noticia, pero no hubo quien supiese dar la menor idea de ellas, y á los mas ancianos y acostumbrados à tratar con los Indios causaron tanta admiracion como al que los hubiera empezado á conocer en el espectaculo de la barbara funcion de su funeral."

To the foregoing testimony of Don Jose Cortes it may be satisfactory to add that of Dr. Boudinot, whose account, in the 183rd page of his 'Star in the West,' of the manner in which the Indians on some occasions manifest their grief for the death of their near relations, deserves to be compared with the following description of a solemn Jewish mourning, in the twelfth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of Maccabees: "So when they had all done this together, and besought the merciful Lord with weeping and fasting, *and lying flat upon the ground three days long,* Judas, having exhorted them, commanded they should be in a readiness." The account of Dr. Boudinot is as follows: "A very worthy clergyman, with whom the writer was *well acquainted,* and who had long preached to the Indians, informed him that many years ago, having preached in the morning to a considerable number of them, in the recess between the morning and afternoon services news was suddenly brought that the son of an Indian woman, one of the congregation then present, had fallen into a mill-dam, and was drowned. Immediately the disconsolate mother retired to some distance in deep distress, and sat down on the ground. Her female friends soon followed her, and placed themselves in like manner around her in a circle, at a small distance. They continued a considerable time in profound and melancholy silence, except now and then uttering a deep groan. All at once, the mother, *putting her hand on her mouth,* fell with her face flat on the ground, *her hand continuing on her mouth.* This was followed in like manner by all the rest, when all cried out with the most melancholy and dismal yellings and groanings. *Thus they continued, with their hands on their mouths, and their mouths in the dust, a considerable time.* The men also *retired to a distance* from them, and went through the same ceremony, making the most dismal groanings and yellings. Need any reader be reminded of the Jewish customs on occasions of deep humiliation? as in Job xxi. 5. 'Mark me, and be astonished, and lay your hand on your mouth;' xxix. 9. 'The princes refrained talking, and laid their hands on their mouths;' xl. 4. 'Behold, I am vile, what shall I answer thee? I will lay my hand on my mouth.' Micah vii. 16. 'The nations shall see and be confounded, they shall lay their hands on their mouths.' Lament. iii. 9. '*He putteth his mouth in the dust,* if so be there may be hope.' Prov. xxx. 32. 'If thou hast thought evil, lay thine hand upon thy mouth.'" Having already observed, in the 39th and 88th pages of the Notes forming the Appendix to the present volume, that it was a Hebrew custom to lay the hand on the mouth as a mark of reverence and awe, and that it was usual with the Jews to lie flat upon the ground when suffering extreme affliction, we may here refer to the seventeenth page of the same Notes for some other ceremonies of Jewish mourning; amongst which may be mentioned the women mourning *apart* from the men, in the manner related by Dr. Boudinot, whose testimony is further confirmed by that of Louis Hennepin, in the following passage of the thirty-ninth chapter of the 'Continuation of his Discovery of Several Countries in America': "A savage woman being at the point of departure, she cried, I will not be baptized, for the savages who die Christians are burnt in the country of souls by the Europeans; and certain savages said one day that we baptized them to make them slaves in the other world. I have been asked by others, if there was good game for hunting in that country whither I would have their dying infants to go after being baptized; and when I made answer that they live there without eating or drinking, because they are fully satiated with the contemplation of the Great Master of life, We will not go thither, said they, because we must not eat; and when I have added that there would be no occasion for food there, they clapt their hands to their mouths, *as a sign of admiration,* and said, Thou art a great liar; is there anything can

live without eating?" Reserving for another occasion some arguments in proof of the belief of the Indians in the resurrection of the body,—in conjunction, however, with the absurd expectation of a future state of *terrestrial* felicity,—being founded in Hebrew traditions, and the promises held out to the Jews in the Old Testament of the restoration of their forefathers to the land of Canaan, the foundation of the city of New Jerusalem, and the reunion of their several tribes under King David, we may here observe, in reference to an Indian custom noticed by Adair in the 358th page of the present volume, that the twelve short sticks tied together in the form of a quadrangle, which Adair says it was customary for the Indians to carry before them when celebrating the obsequies of any of their tribe who had been killed in war would seem to have been typical of the final reunion of the twelve tribes of Israel, and to refer to the language of Ezekiel in the following passage of the thirty-seventh chapter of his Prophecies, which chapter is very remarkable from its scene being laid in a valley filled with the bones of the whole house of Israel, over which Ezekiel is commanded by God to prophesy and to declare to the Jews the final *resurrection* of Israel and their *return to the land of Canaan*: "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Moreover, thou son of man, *take thee one stick*, and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions: then *take another stick*, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel his companions: *and join them one to another into one stick*; and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them *one stick*, and they shall be one in mine hand. And the sticks whereon thou writest shall be in thine hand before their eyes. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, *and bring them into their own land*: and I will make them *one nation* in the land upon the mountains of Israel; and *one king* shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more *two* nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms *any more* at all: neither shall they defile themselves any more with their idols, nor with their detestable things, nor with any of their transgressions: but I will save them out of all their dwelling-places, wherein they have sinned, and will cleanse them: so shall they be my people, and I will be their God. And *David my servant shall be king over them*, and they all shall have one shepherd: they shall also walk in my judgements, and observe my statutes, and do them. And they shall *dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt; and they shall dwell therein, even they, and their children, and their children's children* FOR EVER: *and my servant David shall be their prince for ever*. Moreover, I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them: and I will place them, and *multiply them*, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My tabernacle also shall be with them: yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And *the heathen* shall know that I the Lord do sanctify Israel, WHEN my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for evermore."

In reasoning on the probability of the Indians being descended from the Jews, from a striking resemblance in their mourning ceremonies and funeral rites, the reflection naturally presents itself to the mind, that as all mankind are subject to the same feelings of grief for the loss of those dear to them, so the mode of expressing those feelings is amongst all nations nearly the same, except where *custom* has produced a change. When, therefore, we find that the Indians and Jews differed from all other nations in their manner of mourning for the dead, and agreed with each other in many arbitrary rites, such as in burning a portion of their household goods, in anointing their bodies with oil, in burning them amidst the loud lamentations of women hired as mourners, in celebrating funeral feasts, in depositing great wealth in their tombs, in mourning for a stated period of time after their decease, in gathering their bones to those of their fathers, and, lastly, in employing the same personal demonstrations of grief, such as falling flat upon their faces on the ground, and lying in that position sometimes for three days, placing their hands upon their mouths, humiliating themselves in the dust, blackening their faces with ashes of charcoal, lying in ashes, uttering the ejaculation, Ah, brother! and amongst other Indian tribes, rending the garments, cutting the flesh, and shaving off the hair, both which latter customs, though strictly forbidden to the Jews in the nineteenth and twenty-first chapters of Leviticus and in the first verse of the fourteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, were commonly practised by their posterity from the age of Moses to that of the Babylonian captivity, as is evident from the denunciation of the prophet Micah in the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of his Prophecies: "Make thee bald, and poll thee for thy delicate children; *enlarge thy baldness as the eagle*; for they are gone into captivity from thee"; and further appears from the allusion to the cutting of the flesh as an act of religious austerity in the following passage of the thirteenth chapter of Zechariah: "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness. And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered: and also I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land. And it shall come to pass, that when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live; for thou *speakest lies* in the name of the Lord: and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he hath prophesied: neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive: but he shall say, I am no prophet, I am an husbandman; for man taught me to keep cattle from my youth. And one shall say unto him, What are *these wounds* in thine hands? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded *in the house of my friends*." It is hence evident that the Jewish prophets were accustomed to draw blood from their hands and various parts of their bodies in the manner represented in the Mexican paintings; or, to use a phrase familiar to the Spanish historians of the sixteenth century, sacrificed themselves after the same idolatrous fashion to Jehovah as the Mexican priests did to Tezcatlipoca, since the question put to the prophet in the passage of Scripture here referred to was of a *captious* nature, and intended to draw him into a confession that *he was a prophet*, by leaving him no other means of accounting

for the wounds which were visible in his hands. We may remark, in concluding this note, that the Indian custom of burying their chieftains with their warlike habiliments is noticed by Ezekiel in the following passage of the thirty-second chapter of his Prophecies: "And they shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are *gone down to hell with their weapons of war*: and *they have laid their swords under their heads*, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living." It is impossible on reading the above-mentioned chapter of Ezekiel, and comparing the tone of the prophet's lamentation for Pharaoh and the kings who are there represented as descending with him to the regions of the dead, with the lamentation of the Mexican high priest, in the fifth chapter of the sixth book of Sahagun's History of New Spain, for the deceased Mexican kings, who had gone down *to hell* with their weapons of war,—to refrain from thinking that the sentiments of the Jews and the Mexicans respecting the *place* which their deceased kings and warriors, who had been "mighty in the land of the living", but who "had gone down to the pit", occupied in Hades, nearly agreed with each other. We may here remark that the generality of the Jewish kings are declared in Scripture to have been so extremely wicked, that it is unreasonable to suppose that their most loyal subjects, their living contemporaries, or their warmest panegyrists amongst the rabbis of later ages would have assigned to *them* a place in heaven; but it does furnish matter for serious reflection that there is not the most obscure hint in any of the books of the Old Testament that the virtue of king David, the piety of Hezekiah, or the religious zeal of Josiah met with the reward of *celestial* felicity. Tacitus, indeed, remarks, in the fifth book of his History, which contains a curious account of the religious rites and usages of the Jews, that they believed that *the souls of those who died in war or under the infliction of punishment were immortal*; but he does not state that, *like the Mexicans*, they imagined that the souls of warriors *went to the house of the sun*, and there enjoyed heavenly felicity. The following are the words of the great Roman historian: "Hi ritus quoquo modo inducti, antiquitate defenduntur: cætera instituta sinistra fœdâ pravitate valuere. Nam pessimus quisque spretis religionibus patriis, tributa et stipes illuc gerebant; unde auctæ Judæorum res. Et quia apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios *hostile odium*, separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, projectissima ad libidinem gens alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil illicitum: circumcidere genitalia instituere, ut diversitate noscantur; transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant: nec quicquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres, vilia habere. Augendæ tamen multitudini consulitur. Nam et necare quenquam ex agnatis, nefas: animasque *prælio aut suppliciis peremptorum* æternas putant. Hinc generandi amor et *moriendi contemtus*. Corpora condere, quam cremare, e more Ægyptio: eademque cura, et *de infernis persuasio*: cœlestium contra. Ægyptii pleraque animalia effigiesque compositas venerantur; Judæi mente solâ unumque numen intelligunt."

Note 16, page 337, line 18.

The diseases to which the Indians of the northern provinces of New Spain are chiefly subject are stated by Morfi to be the following: "Los males que con mas frequencia padecen y destruien gran numero de todas edades y sexos, son las viruelas, sarampion, fievres, y bubas ó nanaguates, que los ponen horribles y asquerosos; en una palabra, todas aquellas enfermedades que tienen su origen de algun vicio en la masa sanguinaria, y que acaso les provienen del exceso con que los mas se dan á los licores fuertes, y todos á la manteca de oso, bebiendola como si fuese agua, por estar como el azeite siempre liquida, y á que especialmente se atribuien las desinterias de sangre que los acaban." It will immediately be perceived that consumption is not included in this list of diseases; and Adair remarks, in the 314th page of his 'Account of the Choktah Nation,' that he never knew but one instance of an Indian dying of consumption, which, in the case alluded to, he attributes to the violent exercise of running a whole day under the burning rays of the sun, without being allowed by the enemy to take any rest, when his blood was in an overheated and excited state.

Note 17, p. 338, line 22.

Adair's account of the aversion which the southern tribes of the North American Indians entertained for the flesh of swine receives some corroboration, not only from the fact of their calling the opossum by the same name as the hog, but from the following passage of Cotton Mather's Life of the celebrated North American Missionary John Eliot, who has thus recorded the dislike of the more *northern* tribes of New England to that animal: "I confess there was one, I cannot call it so much guess, as wish wherein he was willing a little to indulge himself, and that was, that our Indians are the posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised that they shall yet be saved by the deliverer coming to turn away ungodliness from them. He saw the Indians using many parables in their discourses, much given to anointing of their heads, much delighted in dancing, especially after victories, computing their time by nights and months, giving dowries for wives, and causing their women to dwell by themselves at certain seasons for secret causes, and accustoming themselves to grievous mournings and yellings for the dead, all which were usual things among the Israelites. *They have, too, a great unkindness for our swine*; but I suppose that is because our hogs devour the clams, which are a dainty with them. He also saw some learned men looking for the lost Israelites among the Indians in America, and counting that they had thorough good reasons for doing so. And a few small arguments, or indeed, but conjectures, meeting with a favourable disposition in the hearer will carry some conviction with them, especially if a report of a *Menasseh Ben Israel* be to back them. He saw likewise the judgements threatened unto the Israelites of old strongly fulfilled upon our Indians, particularly that, '*Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons*,' which is done with exquisite cruelties upon the prisoners that they take from one another in their battles. Moreover, it is a prophecy in Deuteronomy, xxviii. 68.: 'The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again: and there shall ye be sold unto your enemies, and no man shall buy you.' This did our Eliot imagine accomplished when the captives taken by us in our late wars upon them were sent to be sold in the coasts lying not very remote.

from Egypt, on the Mediterranean sea, and scarce any chapmen would offer to take them off. Being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the Indians found Israelites, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less beloved for their supposed fathers' sake, and the fatigues of his travels went on the more cheerfully, or at least the more hopefully, because of such possibilities."

Note 18, page 338, line 34.

The origin of cannibalism amongst the Indians of the New World, the extent to which it prevailed, and even the reality of its existence in America, have furnished writers who had not the means of arriving at any certain conclusion on the subject with much grave matter of discussion. We have already expressed it as our decided opinion that this revolting custom passed with the first Jewish colonies from its mother country, Palestine, to the American continent, and our reasons for arriving at such a conclusion will be found in the 308th page of the sixth volume of this work; in support and corroboration of which previously expressed opinion we shall quote the following passage from the hundred and seventy-eighth chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas, which particularly treats of the cannibalism of the Mexicans and the neighbouring state of Guatemala: "Llegada la hora del sacrificio, iba el supremo señor y los otros señores con él al aposento donde estaban los esclavos que habian de ser sacrificados, y tomaba por los cabellos el esclavo; y si eran mas de uno, cada uno de los otros señores toma el suyo y llevaban los delante; y el señor supremo iba diciendo á voces altas, y los otros señores le ayudaban: 'Señor Dios, acuerdate de nosotros que somos *tuyos*, danos salud, danos hijos y prosperidad para que *tu pueblo se acreciente* y te sirva, danos agua y buenos temporales para nos mantener y que vivamos. Oye nuestras peticiones, recibe nuestras plegarias, ayudanos contra nuestros enemigos, danos holganza y descanso.' Todas *estas palabras* y peticiones iban haciendo todo el pueblo que lo entendia delante. Llegado á el altar del sacrificio, estaba el sacerdote carnicero aparejado, y el señor le ponia la victima en las manos. Él con sus ministros le sacaban con un cuchillo el corazon y lo ofrecian al idolo, y el sacerdote con tres dedos tomaba de aquella sangre y rociaba al idolo y luego al sol, haciendo muchas ceremonias que se dejan por no alargar: y de alli andaba por cada uno de los altares, haciendo lo mismo á cada idolo, porque cada uno tenia su altar dedicado; y el sol tenia el suyo, y la luna el suyo, y el levante, y el poniente, y la parte del septentrion, y la del austro. Ponian las cabezas de los sacrificados en unos palos sobre un cierto altar para esto solamente dedicado, donde las tenian por algun tiempo, el qual pasado las enterraban. Decian que por ciertas razones: una primera y principal, porque el idolo, ó el dios que representaba, se acordase del sacrificio que se le habia hecho por servirle para que les hiciese bien y les apartase de todo mal; otra, porque los que lo viesen, considerasen que aquellos por el bien comun de ellos fueron sacrificados; otra, porque el rey ó señor que sucediese, lo viese y antes á aquella religion añadiese que quitase; la otra, porque los enemigos que lo oyesen tubiesen temor de les ofender, porque sino fuesen ciertos que asi habian de ser sacrificados. *La carne de mas de los sacrificados la cocian y aderezaban, y la comian como cosa santisima á los dioses consagrada, y era felice el que de ella alcanzaba un bocado.* Las manos y los pies y otras partes delicadas presentabanse al gran sacerdote y al rey como cosa mas sabrosa y estimada. *Toda la demas se distribuia por los otros sacerdotes y ministros del altar, porque á los del pueblo ninguna cosa alcanzaba. Y de aquesto, que por religion y no por otra razon hacian, creen algunos que tubo en estas tierras origen el comer carne humana.*" "The hour of the sacrifice having arrived, the supreme lord accompanied by the other lords went to the apartment in which were the captives who were destined for sacrifice, and laid hold of the slave by the hair of the head; and if there were more than one, each of the other lords took one and carried him before them. The supreme lord ejaculated aloud as he went along, the other lords joining in the supplication: 'Lord God, remember us who are *thy people*, grant us health, bestow upon us children and prosperity in order that thy people may be *multiplied* and may serve thee, give us rain and good seasons that we may have provisions and live. Hear our petitions, accept our supplications, assist us against our enemies, and grant us tranquillity and repose.' They prayed in these very words, walking in procession in the presence of all the people who heard them. Having arrived at the altar of sacrifice, the priest, who officiated as butcher on the occasion, had everything prepared, and the king delivered the victim into his hands, when he, with those who acted as his assistants, cut out his heart with a knife and offered it to the idol; the priest dipped three of his fingers into the blood and sprinkled it on the idol, and afterwards towards the sun, performing many ceremonies, which for the sake of brevity we omit; and then he proceeded to each of the altars, performing the same ceremony before each idol, for each had its peculiar altar dedicated to it; and the sun had its separate altar, as also the moon, and the east, west, north, and south. They placed the heads of the sacrificed victims upon laths over an altar solely dedicated for that purpose, where they kept them for some time, at the expiration of which they buried them. They alleged certain reasons for so doing, of which the first and principal was, that the idol, or god whom it represented, might remember the sacrifice which had been performed to serve him, and so do good to them and remove them from all evil; another was, that those who beheld them might reflect that those victims had been sacrificed for the common good of all; another, that the king or prince who succeeded him might see them, and feel inclined rather to add to than take from the property of the church; another, that their enemies who heard of them might fear to offend them, as in that case they might feel sure that they would be sacrificed in the same manner. *They dressed and served up at a banquet the flesh of those whom they sacrificed, and ate it as a most holy thing consecrated to the gods, and happy was he to whose share a single mouthful fell.* The hands and feet and other delicate parts were presented to the high priest and the king, as the best and most savoury portion: all the rest was distributed amongst the other priests and ministers of the altar, *for none fell to the share of the laity.* And from the circumstance, that from religion, and no other cause, they so acted, some persons believe that eating human flesh originated in these countries." In the absence of all other evidence, the testimony of Las Casas would be quite sufficient to prove that Adair was in error in supposing that the South American Indians had been falsely accused of cannibalism by the Spanish monks of the sixteenth century, who were a class of men quite incapable of thus wantonly calumniating the character of any

portion of their fellow-creatures. The conclusion at which he arrived was founded upon his own observations amongst the *North* American Indians, amongst whom traces of cannibalism did not, as far as he could ascertain, exist, and would, therefore, appear never to have been practised amongst the Indians inhabiting the lower territory of the Mississippi. And here we may adduce the testimony of Las Casas to confirm, and not to confute, the above statement of Adair, who, in the following passage of the two hundred and fourth chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' expressly declares, on the authority of Cabeza de Vaca, that the Indians of Florida and the southern territory of the Mississippi held cannibalism in extreme abhorrence: "Las partes de tierra firme donde se ha dicho por nuestros Españoles que comian carne humana, son en algunos lugares, no en muchos, de hacia y encima de la costa de Paria, y en la tierra de Brasil, que es la costa adelante hacia el levante, y en las provincias de Popayan, y otras por alli. Tambien por la provincia de Guatemala, la gente que llamavan los Achies que por las sierras habitavan. *En la Nueva España no la comian tan de proposito, segun tengo entendido; sino la de los que sacrificavan como cosa sagrada, mas por religion que por otra causa.* En muchas é infinitas partes, era les cosa horrible y abominable. *Como en las gentes de la Florida,* que llegando los Españoles que fueron en el desastrado é infeliz viaje y conquista, segun ellos llaman, de Pamphilo de Narvaez, á tanto extremo de hambre que se comieron unos á otros, viendolos los Indios, de tal manera se escandalizaron, que si lo vieran al principio como lo vieron al cabo, sin duda los mataran, y fueron para otros muchos dellos que avia por alli vivos, mucho daño. *Asi lo dice Cabeza de Vaca,* que fue uno de ellos, en su triste Itinerario, puesto que no supe si él comió tambien de la carne humana, y dicen que muchos se comieron unos á otros hasta que uno solo quedava, y como era solo, no aviendo quien lo comiese escapava: quando alguno se moria, el otro ó los otros lo hacian tasajos, con lo que se sustentavan." It is related, as matter of history, of the ancient Scythians, that they sometimes, to gratify revenge or to inspire themselves with greater valour against the enemy, drank their blood on the field of battle; and amongst some other barbarians, to drink each other's blood was considered a pledge of eternal friendship, which death only could dissolve: but the custom of eating of the flesh of human sacrifices, scrupulously refraining at the same time from the blood, was not of Scythian or Tartarian origin, but savours strongly of the Levitical enactment, which required that the flesh of sacrifices of *atonement* should be eaten by the priests because it was holy to the Lord, and in order to *perfect* the sacrifice, and that no portion of it should be eaten by the *laity*. The Scythian custom above alluded to may be viewed in the light of a martial usage, and was quite opposed to the Jewish rite: it is alluded to by Gray in the following lines of one of his elegies:

Souls who in Odin's gloomy hall
The horrid human goblet quaffed,
Who triumphed at the sister's call,
And midst life's parting anguish laughed.

The Mexican custom of eating the flesh and abstaining from the blood of sacrificed victims is thus incidentally noticed by Gomara in the hundred and thirty-fifth page of his 'Historia de la Conquista de Mexico': "Tal qual veis era la religion Mexicana. Nunca uvo, á lo que parece, gente mas, ni aun tan idolatra como esta, tan mataombres, tan comeombres. No les faltaba para llegar á la cumbre de crueldad sino bever sangre humana, *y no se sabe que la beviesen.*" "The religion of the Mexicans was such as you see it. Never did there exist, as it would appear, a nation more or even so idolatrous as this,—such slayers of men, such cannibals. It was only necessary for them, in order to reach the very summit of cruelty, to drink human blood; we are not informed that they drank it."

Note 19, page 339, line 16.

M'Kenzie says, that the Dog-ribbed Indians appeared to him to be all circumcised; and Dr. Boudinot adduces the authority of several highly respectable writers to prove that circumcision was a rite which had been in ancient times practised among several of the North American Indian tribes, but which had long fallen into disuse. (See his 'Star in the West,' cap. iv. p. 113.)

Note 20, page 342, line 8.

The following passage occurs in an anonymous manuscript preserved in the library of the Escurial, which serves in some measure to corroborate the account of Adair: "La pintura de atrás es una costumbre que tenian los Yopes, que es una nacion de estas tierras; y es que cuando alguna muger casada era tomada en adulterio, el marido de ella llevaba al adultero y á su muger ante el señor del pueblo; y delante del señor y de todos cuantos presentes estaban, por mandado del señor, el cornudo quitaba con los dientes las narizes á su muger y al adultero, y con esto eran libres; y si segunda vez adulteraban, aunque fuese con diferentes personas, *los apedreaban,* y morian mala muerte *á pedradas,* de manera que el desnarijar era aviso ó primilla."

Note 21, page 344, line 9.

The rite of circumcision might have suggested the idea of scalping to the Jews, who sometimes circumcised their slain enemies, a fact which we learn from the twenty-seventh verse of the eighteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel.

Note 22, page 346, line 3.

This phrase was probably derived by the Indians from the tenth verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, where God addressing Cain says, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." It occurs likewise in the third verse of the eighth chapter of the second book of Maccabees.

Note 23, page 348, line 21.

Adair considers it a very strong argument in favour of the Hebrew origin of many of the rites and ceremonies of the Indians

that they had an avenger of blood to pursue murderers, and cities of refuge to which the man-slayer might flee and escape with impunity the penalty due to his guilt. It deserves to be remarked that amongst the Jews the avenger of blood was the next of kin or the son of the murdered person. This is evident from the discourse of the widow of Tekoah to David in the seventh verse of the fourteenth chapter of the second book of Samuel, and the artifice she made use of, at the persuasion of Joab, to induce the king to relax the rigour of the law in favour of his own son Absalom, who had caused his brother Amnon to be treacherously murdered at a banquet to which he had invited him, by inducing him, touched with compassion at her piteous tale, previously to relax it in favour of her son; and hence it appears that the avenger of blood amongst the ancient Jews was not a *public officer* of justice, as might be inferred from the perusal of the Pentateuch, but in every instance the near relative of the slain, as is also customary amongst the Indians, whose wars are perpetuated and the enmities of hostile tribes rendered implacable by the necessity they consider themselves under of revenging the crying blood of their kindred. A full illustration of the opinions of the North American Indians on this subject will be found in the following account of an Indian homicide himself calling upon the next of kin to take revenge on him as the murderer of one of their relations; it occurs in the one hundred and seventy-fifth page of Tanner's 'Narrative of his Captivity and Thirty Years' Residence among the Indians': "I was not deterred by this information from continuing my journey; on the contrary, I hastened on, and arrived in time to witness the interment of the young man my brother had killed. Wa-me-gon-a-biew took off all his clothes except his breech-cloth, and sitting down naked at the head of the grave, drew his knife, and *offered the handle to the nearest male relative of the deceased*: 'My friend,' said he, 'I have killed your brother; you see I have made a grave wide enough for both of us, and I am now ready and willing to *sleep* with him.' The first and second, and eventually all the friends of the murdered young man refused the knife, which Wa-me-gon-a-biew offered them *in succession*. The relations of Wa-me-gon-a-biew were powerful, and it was fear of them which now saved his life. The offence of the young man whom he killed had been the calling him 'cut nose'. Finding that *none of the male relations of the deceased were willing to undertake publicly the punishment of his murder*, Wa-me-gon-a-biew said to them, 'Trouble me no more now or hereafter about *this* business; I shall do again as I have now done if any of you venture to give me similar provocation.'" As it is an undoubted fact that the right of sanctuary, which in the dark ages sometimes screened the most atrocious murderers from justice, was an imitation of the ancient Hebrew cities of refuge, so a more complete corroboration of Adair's account of the Indian cities of refuge could not be afforded than is contained in the following passage of the hundred and forty-first chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas, who thus vouches on his own authority for the right of sanctuary existing amongst the Mexicans as a privilege of their temples: "Esta es una cosa entre otras en ellos *dignisima de notar*, que tambien pone el filosofo, conviene á saber, que tanta reverencia tubiesen y guardasen á sus dioses y á sus templos, que qualquiera que á ellos se retrujese por grave delito que hubiese cometida, *era tan libre de la justicia que de él no lo podian sacar. Esto se trató en mi presencia por todos los obispos de la Nueva España en la ciudad de Mexico, donde se congregaron.* Y fue afirmado que quantos delinquentes á los templos se retraian en tiempo de su infidelidad, por malhechores que fuesen, gozaban de tanta inmunidad que no tocaba en ellos la justicia, y sobre aquesta loable costumbre aunque gentilica, fundandose los obispos, hicieron cierta suplicacion entre otras al Emperador Carlos Nuestro Señor, que mandase inviolablemente guardar los privilegios é inmunidades de las iglesias y personas eclesiasticas, alegando que los Indios idolatras tenian en tanta veneracion sus dioses y sus templos, *que ninguno que á ellos se retrujese podia ser por fuerza sacado ni molestado, ni de otra manera aflijido.*" It deserves to be remarked, that besides the asylum which the Mexican temples afforded to certain classes of criminals, there were particular places appointed as *places of refuge* to which slaves might flee, and the Mexican laws contained several provisions to protect such fugitives, and punished any illegal detention in their flight. This latter custom seems likewise to have had in view the cities of refuge of the Jews, who were commanded by Moses *not to deliver up* to their masters *slaves* who sought an asylum in the land of Canaan.

Note 24, page 349, line 19.

Adair's account of the Indian method of recruiting for volunteers at the commencement of a war, and of the fastings and ablutions of the Indians preparatory to their marching in order to ensure success against the enemy, receives some confirmation from the following passage of the third part of Don Jose Cortes' 'Memorias sobre las Provincias del Notre de Nueva España,' who thus describes some of their martial usages: "El capitan nunca es responsable á las resultas de la expedicion que se intenta; ni conmueve á los que se les presentan para seguirle de otro modo que con conversaciones muy estudiadas, en que procura dar la mayor fuerza á su razon. Si se determina salir á campaña, *precede el ayuno del caudillo*; y si es á cazar, ó á algun viaje particular, un convite general: en el concurso y en la asociacion se habla de la fama, y de las buenas circunstancias de uno ú otro; y de esta manera persuaden á la imitacion y á que sigan la voz del que manda. Asi es como se alistan ó se despiden, sin que quede gratitud ó sentimiento, y sin que halla desmerito ni notas; y este uso de su rara constitucion no causa la menor alteracion en la buena armonia en que viven estos Indios." Their use of ablutions on such occasions is more particularly noticed by Juan Morfi in the second book of his 'History of the Province of Texas;' whilst their strict observance of the law of purity when on their military expeditions, is particularly described by Tanner in the eighth chapter of the first part of his 'Narrative of a Thirty Years' Residence among the Indians.' The work of Morfi being inedited, we shall here quote the exact words of that author: "Escogen sitios ventajosos para acamparse, ponen centinelas, se exortan tarde y mañana á la vigilancia, y á que el sueño sea corto y ligero: se levantan al alba, *se bañan habiendo proporcion*, y jamas se aportan mucho del grueso de la tropa. Estas cautelas que nunca se omiten, los ponen á cubierto de las sorpresas y les facilitan los atagues con ventaja." It deserves to be remarked that the law of purity was strictly enforced in the Hebrew camp, not only on the general grounds of expediency, but for the particular reason assigned in the fourteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy: "The Lord thy God *walketh in the midst of thy camp*, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; *therefore* shall thy camp be holy:

that he see no unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee." The strong assurance here held out to the Jews of the Divine presence in their camp would have been likely to cause them scrupulously to comply with the conditions of the law of purity, to which this promise was more particularly annexed; and to introduce the same custom amongst the Indians, Gumilla accordingly informs us, in the following passage of the eleventh chapter of the first part of his 'Orinoco Ilustrado', that it existed amongst the Indian tribes of the Oronoco, and he there professes to consider it, in conjunction with the rite of circumcision, an argument of their Jewish descent. The words of that author are as follow: "El postre de su comida es ir todos á bañarse y lavarse otra vez al rio: de alli cada padre de familias *toma su hazadon*, ó cosa semejante, y con todos los de su casa toma rumbo á parte, y *cava tantos hoyos* quantas son las cabezas de su cargo, y despues que han hecho su forzosa diligencia, cada uno *tapa* con gran cuidado su hoyo: esta es diligencia diaria, y siempre poco antes ó poco despues de ponerse el sol; *y aunque debiera haverla omitido, no lo quise hacer, porque es ceremonia Judayca*, y he dado palabra de ir apuntando las que fueren ocurriendo, y de los Judios, creo yo, que tomaron tambien los Turcos este uso quando marchan, ó se aquartelan en tiendas de compaña, lo qual hacen con puntualidad." We may further remark, that a somewhat similar custom, founded to all appearance on the same Hebrew law of purity, existed amongst the Indians of Tiguex, a province situated considerably to the north of Mexico; it is incidentally alluded to in the following passage of the fourth chapter of the second part of Pedro de Castañeda's inedited 'Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola': "Los pueblos son limpios de inmundicias, porque *salen fuera* á estercolar y desaguan en vasijas de barro, y las sacan á vaciar *fuera* del pueblo. Tienen bien repartidas las casas en grande limpieza, donde guisan de comer y donde muelen la harina, que es un repartado ó retrete donde tienen un farnal con tres piedras asentado con argamasa, donde entran tres mugeres cada una con su piedra, que la una frangolla y la otra muele y la otra remuele: antes que entren dentro á la puerta se descalzan los zapatos y cogen el cabello y sacuden la ropa y cubren la cabeza: mientras que muelen esta un hombre sentado á la puerta tañendo con una gaita, al tono traen las piedras y cantan á tres voces . . . .".

Note 25, page 349, line 33.

The following passage of the thirty-second chapter of Exodus will illustrate the meaning of the Indian sanctification which all underwent preparatory to a war of extermination against their enemies, although in the example cited the Jews sanctified themselves upon the bodies, or in other words imbrued their hands in the blood, of their nearest kinsmen: "Then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Who is on the Lord's side? let him come unto me. And all the sons *of Levi* gathered themselves together unto him. And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men. For Moses had said, *Consecrate yourselves to day to the Lord*, even every man *upon his son*, and *upon his brother*; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day."

Note 26, page 352, line 44.

This was analogous to the Mexican custom of fastening the skulls of their prisoners whom they sacrificed in the temple, on laths of fir fixed to posts, and forming the building which they named Tzonpantli.

Note 27, page 355, line 7.

Science of every kind was an abomination to the Jews, whose whole system was founded on fraud and imposture.

Note 28, page 355, line 19.

A gourd or calabash set with gems was a mark of sacerdotal dignity amongst the Mexicans and the people of Michuacan.

Note 29, page 355, line 30.

The Mexicans felt a sort of superstitious regard for the eagle, whose effigy they frequently emblazoned on their shields.

Note 30, page 356, line 3.

The Mexicans burned incense on the altars of Mictlantecutli, the god of hell, as a *deprecatory* offering.

Note 31, page 357, line 11.

The Mexicans entertained similar superstitious notions respecting the power possessed by witches and enchanters to assume various animal forms. See page 121 of the sixth volume of this Work.

Note 32, page 358, line 5.

The existence of the same custom amongst the Jews may be inferred from the following passage of the thirty-ninth chapter of Ezekiel, since it is to be presumed that the language of the prophet was agreeable to the usages of the Jews with respect to burials: "And they shall sever out men of continual employment, passing through the land to bury with the passengers those that remain upon the face of the earth, to *cleanse* it: after the end of seven months shall they search. And the passengers that pass through the land, when any seeth a man's bone, then shall he set up a sign by it, till the buriers have buried it in the valley of Hamon-gog." The reason for the Jews being desired to wait seven months before they commenced their search for the bones of the dead, was probably that the flesh might in the mean time consume away. It deserves to be remarked that it was about their bones rather than their flesh that the Hebrew patriarchs expressed solicitude.

Note 33, p. 358, line 48.

Reference to the sixty-seventh page of the Notes forming the supplement to the present volume, will show that the Mexicans made use of the phrase 'to gather' exactly in the same sense.

Note 34, page 359, line 1.

The following observation by Selden occurs in the preface which he has prefixed to the first edition of his treatise 'De Diis Syris', from which it would appear that he believed that this custom was common to the Jews and the Gentiles: "Frustra miretur Dorcada in Actorum cap. ix. comm. 37., *lotam* fuisse, is qui *abluendi mortui* ritum in gentium monimentis traditum nesciat."

Note 35, page 362, line 22.

Adair's account of its being an Indian custom for brothers to marry brothers' widows is corroborated by Juan Morfi in the following passage of the second book of his inedited 'Memorias para la Historia de Texas': "Todos generalmente usan la poligamia, sin otro limite que su antojo; porque como todo lo trabajan las mugeres, lejos de serles gravosa la multitud, les atrahe mucho descanso y comodidad. *Se heredan las mugeres de los hermanos tengan ó no hijos:* la *afinidad* no es un impedimento, pero lo es mui grande para el matrimonio *el de consanguinidad,* que evitan escrupulosamente. Miran á las esposas como instrumentos simples de placer, á quienes no deben la menor atencion: asi truecan una por otra con la major facilidad, dando ó pidiendo ribete con respecto á la utilidad que en ella reconocen, como si fuese una bestia las prestan, las alquilan, ó venden por un cavallo, un fusil, ó por alguna bugeria que les agrade: aunque los hombres son lascivos, ellas son honestas y recatadas."

Note 36, page 362, line 39.

The custom of brothers marrying brothers' widows, 'quasi ad sustinendum semen fratris,' seems naturally to have led to a very corrupt state of morals among the Jews, and at a later period of Jewish history to have caused incestuous marriages of every description among them. It is not therefore at all surprising, the same custom existing amongst the Indians, that it should have led in progress of time to the same abuses. Las Casas accordingly informs us, in the two hundred and eighteenth chapter of his 'Historia Apologetica,' that in some of the provinces of New Spain, remote from Mexico, it was customary for the son on whom the succession devolved to take his father's wives, provided they had no children. The words of that distinguished prelate are as follow: "En las provincias que mas se usaba, era desta manera, que el hijo sucesor en el estado, aquellas mugeres del padre tomava en quien no habia habido hijo ni hija alguna, y tomavanlas 'quasi ad sustinendum semen *patris*'. Y puesto que esta costumbre se usaba, no era tenida por buena ni licita, sino por mala y reprobada, y quanto mas la provincia se acercava á las ciudades de Mexico y Tezcuco, mas se vituperaba, y por esto en su lengua se llamava *totezauh,* como quien dixese, pecado ó *cosa de admiracion,* y los hijos de aquel tal ayuntamiento se llamavan *tezauhpilcintli,* conviene á saber, 'hijos hechos en pecado,' y por tanto espurios y bastardos: y tambien mostravase este defecto, porque aquellas viles mugeres se tomavan como mancebas, y no por mugeres principales." A custom similar to that which Adair mentions as existing amongst the "corrupt Cheerakes" is said by Las Casas to have existed amongst the Indians of Mechuacan, though unknown in Mexico and Tezcuco: "Casarse con suegra en el reyno de Mexico y de Tezcuco, no se ha hallado quien lo huviese atentado, porque siempre se ha tenido por malo y reprobado. En el de Mechuacan, que era reyno por si, y que se comprende dentro de lo que llamamos Nueva España, segun fue fama, huvo costumbre de tomar la suegra por muger. *Tambien si alguno casava con alguna muger mayor de dias, y aquella tenia hija de otro marido, por contentar al que al presente tenia, porque por vieja no la dexase, le dava tambien su propia hija, y asi tenia madre y hija por mugeres en un tiempo ambas.* Pero esto no se tenia en todos aquellos reynos por buena costumbre, sino por abuso abominable introducido por señores y personas muy principales, que no tenian superior que les fuese á la mano."

Note 37, page 363, line 11.

"One is not," is the phrase by which Joseph's brethren alluded to his supposed death, in the thirty-second verse of the forty-second chapter of Genesis.

Note 38, page 363, line 14.

The words 'as a son' should have been inserted after 'counting,' to make the author's meaning fully apparent.

Note 39, page 357, line 29.

The laws of the Pentateuch are prolix and minute *usque ad fastidium* on many immaterial points; yet, strange as the omission must necessarily appear, the important subject of wills and bequests is passed over in complete silence, nor did the Hebrew legislator frame a single statute to secure to the widow and the orphan the possession of their just and natural rights. If indeed the Jews had been ignorant of the art of writing when they quitted Egypt, a reason for the omission would be apparent; but this not having been the case, at least in regard to the tribe of Levi, the fact is inexplicable, and warrants the conjecture that the Peruvian custom of burying the entire wealth of the deceased with him in the same grave, might have originated in a fanatical misinterpretation of the silence of Moses in the Pentateuch on the important subject of wills and of what should become of the personal property of persons deceased. So simple a fact as that of a powerful Hebrew family engaging in a quarrel, shortly after the arrival of the Jews in America, about the succession to this kind of property, and thereby hazarding the peace of their infant colony, might have led to a fanatical interpretation of the Mosaic law, adapted in the first instance solely to a particular emergency, but which, constituting a precedent, became in later ages a general custom amongst the Indians. A belief in the doctrine of the resurrection would scarcely have led the greatest miser on earth to direct that all his riches should be consigned with him to the tomb.

Moses informs us, in the seventh verse of the ninth chapter of Genesis, that when the waters of the deluge had subsided, Noah dispatched a raven from the ark, which went forth to and fro, and did not return; and that he afterwards sent forth a dove, which returned; and hence perhaps the origin of the Mexican proverb '*mensagero del cuervo*', which Sahagun affirms, in the 175th page of the seventh volume of this work, the Mexicans applied to a messenger who, being sent on an errand, *did not return with an answer.*

Note 40, page 366, line 48.

The Jews emphatically styled Jehovah the God of War.

Note 41, page 368, line 42.

This criticism, proceeding from the mouth of a person wholly ignorant of the Spanish language and literature, as was the case with Adair, cannot of course carry with it any weight. We may be permitted, however, to observe, that if that author had known that many of the early Spanish monks and friars advocated his theory of the Indians being descended from the Jews, it is probable he would have spoken more respectfully of an order of men who coincided with him in opinion on so important a subject.

Note 42, page 369, line 9.

The Mexicans named Tezcatlipoca *Yao*, which approaches nearer than *Jehovah* to the pronunciation of the ineffable name.

Note 43, page 369, line 13.

Well may we ask, on the perusal of this passage, what translation of Roman could Adair have consulted in which it was possible for him to find so great an absurdity as is here stated on the authority of that writer. As for the error itself, it is of so palpable a nature, that a little reflection must convince the reader that whatever translation it might have been, this blunder was purposely introduced for the sake of vilifying the narrative of a Roman Catholic historian.

Note 44, page 370, line 15.

The word 'not' is evidently inserted here by mistake, since 'did eat' is undoubtedly the right reading of this passage.

Note 45, page 370, line 27.

The Indians of Florida are said to have sacrificed their first-born male children as devoted victims to their supreme deity, on such occasions typified by the king. Whether this horrid custom might not have originated in a perversion of the ordinance contained in the second verse of the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, and in a notion of mistaken piety similar to that which led Jephtha to sacrifice his *only* daughter as a burnt offering to Jehovah, we shall not in this place inquire.

Note 46, page 371, line 6.

The Jews were great astrologers, and were originally a shepherd people; it is not therefore surprising that the Indians should have had a star which protected flocks.

Note 47, page 371, line 8.

Adair shows himself in this place surprisingly ignorant of the nature of the llama, to which species of animal the Spaniards gave the appellation of *oveja*, or sheep. The Peruvians were accustomed to transgress the enactment contained in the nineteenth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, by wearing *cotton* garments with *figures of idols* embroidered on them with *wool* of the llama, as the Mexicans were also with 'tochimitl', or the soft down of the rabbit spun into threads; and, on the supposition that the Jews were in ancient times addicted to the same species of idolatry, we should have an intelligible reason for the Mosaic ordinance: "Neither shall a garment *mingled of linen and woollen* come upon thee."

Note 48, page 371, line 28.

The divine oracles and the Koran bear a much nearer resemblance to each other than is generally supposed; nor would the Koran ever have existed if it had not been for those oracles, which suggested the idea of it to Mahomet and his disciples.

Note 49, page 372, line 30.

The Jews resembled the Indians in the predilection which they manifested for dresses of showy colours, and in their love for gold and silver ornaments and jewels, the latter of which they were accustomed to wear not only in their ears and their noses, but also in their cheeks. This fact we learn from the tenth verse of the first chapter of the Song of Solomon: "Thy cheeks are comely with *rows* of jewels, thy neck with chains of gold."

Note 50, page 372, line 46.

Ulloa published his 'Noticias Americanas' in the year 1772, in one small volume. He can therefore be considered only as a recent writer, of no great authority on any question connected with the more ancient history of the Indians. It would appear that Dr. Robertson formed his very low estimate of the moral and intellectual character of the Indians from the perusal of Ulloa's narrative, since he instances, in the Notes and Illustrations to the second volume of his History of America, the *very fact* stated by that author, *of the Indians counting the threads one by one when they wove*, and the consequent slow process of their manufactures.

Note 51, page 373, line 33.

The celebrated Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, entertained the same belief; and he even goes so far as to say that the children of the Indians reminded him of the Jewish children whom he had seen in that quarter of London designated Old Jewry.

Note 52, page 373, line 35.

See page 205 of the sixth volume of this Work, where the same subject is treated of.

Note 53, page 373, line 38.

Las Casas informs us that this custom prevailed amongst the Indians of New Spain; and other authors declare that it was common in Peru.

Note 54, page 373, line 40.

Gomara mentions the existence of the same custom amongst the Indians of South America, and Herodotus says that it was usual amongst the ancient Egyptians.

Note 55, page 373, line 44.

The passage in Hosea which justifies this inference is the following: "Now when she had weaned Lo-ruhamah, she *conceived*, and bare a son." It may be proper to remark, that the woman here alluded to was Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, who, notwithstanding the infamy of her character, was commanded by God to become the wife of the prophet Hosea, who is himself acquitted of the crime of adultery, because he only acted in obedience to God's commands, having had, like Abraham, his faith put to an extraordinary trial. The words of the divine command were as follow: "And the Lord said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms and children of whoredoms: for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord. So he went and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, which conceived, and bare him a son."

Note 56, page 374, line 6.

This author's right name is Benzoni: his work, written in Italian, was published in a small octavo volume at Venice in the year 1572. Although possessing little interest, it is still held in some estimation, from the author having been in Peru and having visited the scenes which he describes.

Note 57, page 374, line 12.

Pedro Simon observes that it was customary amongst some of the Indian tribes, for the men, after the confinement of their wives, to feign themselves sick, and to receive visitors reclining on a bed. To this custom Dr. Diego Rocha alludes in the following passage of his treatise concerning the origin of the Indians of Peru and Mexico, where he affirms that the same usage existed in ancient times in some of the provinces of Spain: "La undecima proposicion de que las primitivas Españolas en pariendo se iban a lavar al rio, i lavaban la criatura, i como añade Celio Rodigino, lib. 18. cap. 22., desde aquellas palabras 'mulieribus,' *que los varones despues del parto de las mugeres se echaban, i las paridas les administraban.*" ('Tratado Unico y Singular del Origen de los Yndios Occidentales del Peru, Mexico, Santa Fé y Chile,' cap. 2. sec. 17.)

Note 58, page 374, line 26.

The judgement which Adair pronounces on the Spanish historians of America proves his ignorance of their writings, and consequently when his relation of facts agrees with theirs, confirms his veracity.

Note 59, page 374, line 34.

The author assumes here that the Indian history presented a blank page when America was first discovered by the Spaniards; and reasoning on this false assumption, he necessarily arrives at an improbable conclusion.

Note 60, page 375, line 1.

It is only necessary to remark, in order to prove that Adair deceived himself in the opinion which he here expresses, that the coast of Brazil was actually discovered by the Portuguese when on a voyage to the East Indies, and by such an accident as he describes.

Note 61, page 375, line 10.

It is but reasonable to suppose that the revolt of Jeroboam, and the prolonged civil wars of the Jews, were attended with consequences ruinous for a considerable length of time to their commerce; but there are no grounds for concluding that the Tyrians abandoned at the same period their trading voyages to any part of the globe which they had previously visited, nor can such an inference be deduced from the *silence* of Scripture respecting them.

Note 62, page 375, line 14.

Some Spanish authors mention the curious fact of the hulk of a ship having been discovered by some labourers in the alluvial soil of a mine situated on the sea-coast of Paria; whilst others speak of caves filled with decayed logs of indigo, evidently intended for exportation, and of great and ancient excavations still existing in the island of St. Domingo.

Note 63, page 375, line 15.

This opinion is founded in part on a fanciful resemblance between the proper names Ophir and Peru: its futility, however, is demonstrated by Garcilasso de la Vega, who informs us that the Peruvians did not call their country Peru, but that that appellation was of Spanish origin.

Note 64, page 375, line 25.

This remark would be true of instinct; but man has no inward monitor to direct him, like the swallow, to seek distant and more congenial shores.

Note 65, page 350, line 6.

Adair's description, in his sixteenth Argument, of the Indian mode of *sanctifying* themselves for war, of their fastings and purifications, of their separating themselves from their wives during their campaigns, of their carrying with them a *holy ark* in which they reposed the utmost confidence of victory, and which they deemed so sacred that they never permitted it to rest on the ground, and even punished its supposed profanation with death*, is so extraordinary, and at the same time so convincing a proof of the Hebrew descent of the Indian tribes, or at least of the Hebrew origin of many of their rites and ceremonies, that it is extremely satisfactory to have it in our power to adduce such proofs of this striking analogy in the religious rites of the Indians and the Jews as we cannot but think will satisfactorily settle the long-agitated question of the Hebrew origin of a portion, at least, of the Indian tribes of both continents of America. These proofs will be found in the accompanying plate, which contains an accurate engraving† of a drawing copied from a highly authentic and valuable history of the kingdom of Michuacan, still preserved in the library of the Escurial, and which was composed soon after the conquest by a celebrated Spanish missionary, Torribio de Benavente, at the express request of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of Mexico. The subject of the plate, as appears from the Spanish explanation added to the figures, is the attendance of the different religious orders of the state in the camp of the king of Michuacan, each distinguished from the other by some peculiar badge denoting the duties which they were required to perform in time of war; whether, for example, to bear in their arms the holy ark, to carry the sacred utensils, to blow the trumpets, to burn incense, to strew branches on the ground, or, lastly, to tear out the hearts of the prisoners destined for sacrifice. In the

* The anecdote related by Adair, in the note subjoined to the three hundred and fiftieth page of the present volume, of the Indian sentinel who was about to shoot a gentleman at the Ohio, in the year 1756, for an attempt to pollute the Cheerake ark by viewing its contents, is extremely curious, and would lead one to suppose that the Indians might have had a tradition of the narrative contained in the following passage of the sixth chapter of the first book of Samuel, which records the destruction of fifty thousand and seventy men, for presuming to look into the Hebrew ark. "And the ark of the Lord was in the country of the Philistines seven months. And the Philistines called for the priests and the diviners, saying, What shall we do to the ark of the Lord? tell us wherewith we shall send it to his place. And they said, If ye send away the ark of the God of Israel, send it not empty; but in any wise return him a trespass offering: then ye shall be healed, and it shall be known to you why his hand is not removed from you. Then said they, What shall be the trespass offering which we shall return to him? They answered, Five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on you all, and on your lords. Wherefore ye shall make images of your emerods, and images of your mice that mar the land; and ye shall give glory unto the God of Israel: peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you, and from off your gods, and from off your land. Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? when he had wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let the people go, and they departed? Now therefore make a new cart, and take two milch kine, on which there hath come no yoke, and tie the kine to the cart, and bring their calves home from them: and take the ark of the Lord, and lay it upon the cart; and put the jewels of gold, which ye return him for a trespass offering, in a coffer by the side thereof; and send it away, that it may go. And see, if it goeth up by the way of his own coast to Beth-shemesh, then he hath done us this great evil: but if not, then we shall know that it is not his hand that smote us; it was a chance that happened to us. And the men did so; and took two milch kine, and tied them to the cart, and shut up their calves at home: and they laid the ark of the Lord upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold and the images of their emerods. And the kine took the straight way to the way of Beth-shemesh, and went along the highway, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left; and the lords of the Philistines went after them unto the border of Beth-shemesh. And *they of Beth-shemesh* were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley: and they lifted up their eyes, and *saw the ark, and rejoiced to see it.* And the cart came into the field of Joshua, a Beth-shemite, and stood there, where there was a great stone: and they clave the wood of the cart, and offered the kine a burnt offering unto the Lord. And the Levites took down the ark of the Lord, and the coffer that was with it, wherein the jewels of gold were, and put them on the great stone: and the men of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same day unto the Lord. And when the five lords of the Philistines had seen it, they returned to Ekron the same day. And these are the golden emerods which the Philistines returned for a trespass offering unto the Lord; for Ashdod one, for Gaza one, for Askelon one, for Gath one, for Ekron one; and the golden mice, according to the number of all the cities of the Philistines belonging to the five lords, both of fenced cities and of country villages, even unto the great stone of Abel, whereon they set down the ark of the Lord; which stone remaineth unto this day in the field of Joshua, the Beth-shemite. And he smote the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the Lord, even he smote of the people *fifty thousand and threescore and ten men*: and the people lamented, because the Lord had smitten many of the people with a great slaughter. And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before this holy Lord God? and to whom shall he go up from us?"

† This plate has not been engraved with the same scrupulous regard to the outline of the figures and the *profile* of the countenances as has been observed in copying all the original Mexican paintings contained in these volumes, as that was deemed unnecessary, the drawing from which it was taken being evidently of Spanish design and execution.

centre of this historical painting we recognise the Petamuti, or high-priest, attired in a rich vestment, with a gourd set with turquoise stones suspended from his neck, and a similar ornament inserted in his under lip, which, together with a staff terminating in a point like a lance, appears to have constituted the military costume of that religious functionary: near him on either side, and in a sitting posture indicative of their respect for the person of their high-priest, are the other inferior orders of the priesthood, some burning censers, others, like Nazarites, distinguished from the rest by wearing their hair long and combed back from the head, whose peculiar duty it was to sacrifice the prisoners taken in war, and all attired in black surplices; others carrying the holy things; and more immediately in front, a little behind the royal standard, the Parariecha, or select religious band, bearing aloft the holy ark, on the lid of which there appears to be carved a symbol of the Sheshinah, or divine presence, represented by the head of an idol wearing a crown not unlike that described by the interpreter of the Vatican Codex in the two hundred and fifth page of the sixth volume of this work, and such as is represented on the head of Quetzalcoatle in the specimens of Mexican sculpture inserted at the end of the fourth volume of the present work. In the corner of the plate appears another group of priests, whose duty it was to remove the slain from the field of battle. We may here remark, in confirmation of an observation in a preceding note, that the various orders of the priests are all attired in that particular kind of dress, viz. a long robe reaching to the feet, which Emanuel de Moraes says, in the three hundred and eighty-sixth page of the present volume, the *Brazilians* preferred to every other kind of apparel, and which was worn by the Pharisees in the age of Christ. The subject of the second engraving in the above plate is the punishment inflicted by the laws of Michuacan on various classes of offences. Agreeably to the usage of the Jewish theocracy, the high-priest is represented expounding the laws to the assembled multitude, and pronouncing judicial sentences on the guilty, in the presence (as was also customary among the Jews) of the elders of the people. The following is the explanation given by the anonymous author of this history, who, as we have already observed, there is much reason to suppose, was the Franciscan monk Torribio de Benavente: " Habia una fiesta llamada Yzquataconscuaro, que quiere decir, *de las flechas,* luego el siguiente dia despues de la fiesta, haciase la justicia de los malhechores que habian sido rebeldes ó desobedientes, y hechabanlos á todos presos en una carcel grande, y habia un carcelero diputado para guardarlos, y eran estos los que cuatro veces habian dejado de traer leña para los fogones cuando el Cazonçi embiaba mandamiento general por toda la provincia que trugesen leña, quien la dejaba de traer, le hechaban preso, y eran estos las espias de la guerra, los que no habian ido á la guerra ó se volvian de ella sin licencia, los malhechores, los medicos que habian muerto alguno, las malas mugeres, los hechiceros, los que se iban de sus pueblos y andaban vagamundos, los que habian dejado perder las sementeras del Cazonçi, por no desherbarlas que eran para las guerras, los que quebraban los magueis, y á los pacientes en el vicio contra natura, á todos estos hechaban presos en aquella carcel."

Note 66, page 336, line 17.

Mention having been made in a preceding note of the province of Cibola and its seven cities, we shall here insert a short extract from the second part of Pedro de Castañeda's inedited 'Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola,' which is the more interesting as it serves to corroborate the testimony of Adair in many curious and important particulars. " Çibola son siete pueblos: el mayor se dice Macaque; comunmente son de tres y cuatro altos las casas: en Macaque hay casas de cuatro altos y de siete: estas gentes son bien entendidas, andan cubiertas sus verguenzas y todas las partes deshonestas con paños á manera de servilletas de mesa *con rapacejos y una borla en cada esquina,* atanlos sobre el guadul: visten pellones de plumas y de pelo de liebres, mantas de algodon: las mugeres se visten de mantas que las atan ó anudan sobre el hombro izquierdo y sacan el brazo derecho por encima, cinenselas á el cuerpo, trahen capotes de cuero pulidos de buena faycion: cogen el cabello sobre las dos orejas hechos dos ruedas que parecen papos de cofia. Esta tierra es un valle entre sierras á manera de peñones; siembran á hoyos, no crece el maiz alto, de las mazorcas desde el pie tres y cuatro cada caña gruesas y grandes de á ochocientos granos, cosa no vista en estas partes. Hay en esta provincia osos en gran cantidad, leones gatos, cervales y nutrias, hay muy finas turquesas, aunque no en la cantidad que decian: recojen piñones para su año: *no tiene un hombre mas de una muger:* hay en los pueblos estufas que estan en los patios ó plazas donde se juntan á consulta: *no hay Señores como por la Nueva España,* rigense por consejo de los mas viejos: tienen sus sacerdotes á quien llaman Papas, que les predican, estos son viejos, subense en el terrado mas alto del pueblo, y desde alli á manera de pregoneros predican á el pueblo por las mañanas cuando sale el sol estando todo el pueblo en silencio asentados por los corredores escuchando: dicenles como han de vivir, y creo que les dicen algunos mandamientos que han de guardar, porque entre ellos no hay borrachera, ni sodomia, ni sacrificios, ni comen carne humana, ni hurtan, de comun trabajan en el pueblo, las estufas son comunes: es sacrilegio que las mugeres entren á dormir en las estufas: *por señal de paz dan cruz:* queman los muertos; *hechan con ellos en el fuego los instrumentos que tienen para usar sus oficios.* Tienen á Tusayan entre Norte y Poniente á veinte leguas; es provincia de siete pueblos, de la misma suerte, trages, ritos y costumbres que los de Cibola: habra en estas dos provincias que son catorce pueblos, hasta tres ó cuatromil hombres, y hay hasta Tiguex cuarenta leguas ó mas la vuelta del Norte. Hay entremedias el Peñon de Acuco que contamos en la Primera Parte."

Note 67, page 380, line 28.

Further researches in the wide field of American antiquities having led us to the conclusion that the continent of America was colonized by Jewish tribes passing from Media through ancient Scythia or Tartary to Kamschatka, as well as by Jews proceeding by sea voyages across the Atlantic, we are induced to insert the following extract from the two hundred and ninth chapter of the 'Historia Apologetica' of Las Casas, which contains a long and interesting account of a nation inhabiting the northern provinces of Mexico, which bore much resemblance in their habits and erratic mode of life to the Tartars, or, as others supposed, to the

Bedouin Arabs. It may be proper to remark, that the nation whose customs are here described were the Querechi. "La tercera especie ó genero de gentes que por aquellas amplisimas tierras que llamamos de Cibola se hallaron y hay, es los que llaman Querechos. Esta gente no tiene ciudades, ni pueblos algunos, ni está quieta ó estante, sino que anda vagueando aqui hoy, y mañana alli, por unos llanos que duran mas de trecientas leguas, donde andan millones de vacas monteses muy diferentes de las de nuestra España. Son mansas, que andan juntas veinte y treinta y cinquenta mil de ellas, y que desde léjos, como la tierra es todo muy llana, no parecen sino montes ó montañas la multitud dellas. Entre estas vacas viven aquellas gentes, y por provincia ó patria propia tienen todas aquellas trecientas leguas como las vacas. No tienen casas ni moradas, ni siembran, ni cogen alguna manera de pan, ni se les da nada por ello. Tienen consigo tiendas de la hechura de las nuestras, ensebadas con el unto de las vacas, y con un betun amarillo que parece cera, donde se meten y guarecen del sol y del agua. Su comida es carne cruda y seca al sol de aquellas vacas, y de carneros y venados; y tambien comen piñones, quando llegan donde ay pinos; beben sangre como si fuesse agua. La manera como matan en especial las vacas, que son muy dificiles de matar, es esta. Juntanse mucha gente de ellos, y cercan un rebaño de vacas y toros, poniendose por paradas, y aguardanlos que paren juntos, y tiranles á monton muchas flechas, y son tan flecheros y fuertes, que acaece pasar un toro de parte á parte. Sintiendose herido el toro ó vaca, luego se aparta del otro ganado, y si es la herida mortal, echa sangre por las narices y luego cae. Matan de esta manera cien toros dentro de media hora, y caen vivos á vista de otros. Traen unos navajones de pedernal enxeridos en palos; y quando cae el toro, abrenle por la hijada, y si está gordo salele un pedazo de unto y sebo, y cortado comenselo asi caliente como lo cortan. Y si el toro está muy bien gordo, ponenlo patas arriba, y sacadas las tripas y la asadura, y en la sangre que alli se recoge se echan de bruzas, y beben hasta que se hartan de ella. Despues sacanle un par de costillas, que van comiendo por el camino, lo demas se dexan perdido alli. Pero no se pierde al cabo, porque proveyó Dios de otros animales por aquella tierra que se mantienen de aquello. Estos son unos lobos blancos, muy grandes como asnillos, que andan tras los ganados que aquestas gentes matan y estos son infinitos. Estas gentes son muchas, y andan tres y quatro mil juntas, son fortisimas y guerreras, y no es maravilla, pues tambien bestialmente comen. Temenlos toda la gente politica, por que los tienen por gente cruel, y que saltean quando pueden, pero comunmente andan separados de las ciudades y poblados; porque toda su conversacion y negociacion es con las vacas. Nuestros Christianos toparon assentadas dellos mas de mil tiendas de una vez, y como los Indios vieron á los nuestros, salieron de sus tiendas, y pararonse á mirarlos, y andava entre ellos un gran murmurio, como gente adivinada y espantada. El capitan hizo poner en hilera los de cavallo, y los de los arcabuces delante, hasta ver si los acometian. Pero todos estubieron quedos, y llegando los Christianos á obra de un tiro de ballesta dellos, hizieron señal de paz con las manos, y con un cuero de venado, y luego *tendieronse en el suelo*. Levantados vinieron veinte de ellos al capitan, y dieronle los arcos y las flechas en señal de amistad. El capitan de los nuestros se los tornó á dar con gesto muy alegre, halagandolos *con meneos y señas*, y quanto por ellas se les podia dar á entender, diciendoles que no tuviesen miedo, porque no les queria ni habia de hacer algun daño. Ellos van luego á sus tiendas, y mandan salir á las mugeres y hijos y gente con mucha carne y sebo, y unos talegones de carne molida seca, que ellos tienen para beber con agua, de lo qual todo mezclado hacen cierto brevaje. Sacaron asimismo muchos cueros de vaca, muy bien adovados y muy pintados, de muy lindo parecer, porque son muy blandos por el muy buen adovio que tienen, y con esto muy blancos del enves. Lo mismo dieron cueros de venados muchos, buenos y bien adovados. El capitan se los recibió con alegria, y les dió en pago cascabeles y cuentas de diversas colores de Castilla, diciendoles, que estubiesen seguros en sus tiendas, que no se les haria mal ninguno. Pero ellos otro dia por la mañana, escogieron lo mas seguro sin decir nada, y alzan sus tiendas, y los hombres por una vanda y las mugeres por otra, como que van en procession, comenzáron á caminar. Tienen unos perros muy lanudos, como grandes lebreles, muy recios, y para mucho travajo, porque llevan tres arrobas; son muy mansos y domesticos que no muerden. A estos llevan unas albardillas, y sobre ellas ponen sus tiendas con las armaduras de madera dellas: y asi llevan todo su hato y alhajas. Y porque no les coman la carne que llevan encima de si, echanles unos bocalejos, como los recueros en nuestra tierra echan á sus azemilas. Quando caminan sus amos, van detras de ellos con sus cargas á cuestas estos perros, sin que nadie los guie ni los lleve. Quando se les cae la carga gimen y echanse con ella, y aguardan que se la enderecen. Hacenseles mataduras y cincheras, como se hacen á nuestras bestias. Cosa es de alegria ver ir juntos dos y tres mil cargados de ellos. Quando pues los cargaban gemian, y asi por la orden dicha se fueron: y los perros detras con sus cargas á cuestas, quedando los Christianos admirados y alegres de verlos. No faltó quien dijo al capitan, que seria bueno tomar de aquellos Indios, para que llevasen cargas por sobrellevar sus caballos que las traian; pero el capitan no consintió que aquel agravio se les hiciese. *Esta manera de gente parece á los Scythas* que andan de aquella guisa, como arriba queda dicho. Difieren que los Scythas traen sus casas y hatos en carros, y estos sobre perros. Si estos beben la sangre de las vacas, los Scythas beben la sangre de los hombres que primero captivan, y no solo de los enemigos, pero tambien de sus familiares y vecinos, quando unos con otros riñen, y cortanles las cabezas, y el casco redondo de las orejas arriba, que queda como una taza, limpianlo, y quitanle el cuero, y con él despues con gran veneracion beben. Y si estos Querechos adovan los cueros de las vacas, y se visten de ellos, los Scythas desuellan los hombres y adovan sus cueros, y hacen vestidos, de que mucho se asean. Todo esto con otras bestialidades quenta dellos Herodoto en su 4° Libro. No faltaron en el mundo, ni hoy faltan gentes de la Europa y Asia y Africa, de quien podemos referir costumbres bestialisimas, por las quales veriamos ser inferiores á estas gentes Querechos; pero acordamos abreviar por concluir esta obra quan presto pudieremos. Finalmente aunque estos Querechos tienen costumbres barbaricas, y estan en el estado primero segun parece, que tubieron como está probado; las otras gentes, pero traibles son, y atraibles, y aparejadas para ser reducidas á vida politica y razonable y Christiana, como las de la Florida y otras qualesquiera, si por la via y modo universal, dulce y amorosa, natural y propia á los hombres, de que ya queda dicho, son atrahidos y reducidos; porque tienen dentro de si aquellas mismas naturales simientes y principios á todos los hombres comunes, y de que ninguno carece como ya dejimos. Y esto

mostraron bien aquestos, quando vieron que nuestros Españoles les hicieron señales de amor, y no daño alguno, lanzandose luego en el suelo, y ofreciendoles de todo lo que tenian, siendo, como tenian fama, gente brava y cruel y valentisima, y asi lo parecian."—The discovery, thus duly authenticated, of a populous nation in America, whose manners assimilated them to the Scythians, would favour the conjecture of those who suppose that America was colonized by a portion of the ten tribes migrating thither from Tartary; since it is evident that the Tartars, or Scythians, could hardly have been ignorant of the narrow straits which separate Europe from Asia, by which it is to be presumed the Jews, at an earlier or later period, crossed over to the New World, who probably were accompanied by some Scythian families, either as slaves or the companions of their migration. Neither was the political state of Asia at the distant epoch to which we allude, at all unfavourable to this hypothesis; since Herodotus informs us, in his first book, that the Scythians, having made a sudden irruption into Asia more than half a century before the birth of Cyrus, conquered and possessed themselves of the empire of the Medes, and, raising the siege of Nineveh, defeated Cyaxares in a pitched battle; and that, establishing a permanent dominion in Asia (which lasted, however, only eight-and-twenty years), they overran Asia Minor, and took Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and, prosecuting their conquests, invaded Egypt by the route of Palestine, and were only deterred from entering that territory by Psammetichus, the Egyptian monarch, presenting their leaders with costly gifts. It is likely, therefore, that when the Scythians conquered Media, they would have liberated those nations who were enslaved in the cities of the Medes, or have allowed them at least to effect their own liberation: but Scripture informs us, in the sixth verse of the seventeenth chapter of the second book of Kings, that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had placed the ten tribes "in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes;" which cities, there is every reason to suppose, were those which Shalmaneser or his predecessors had conquered from the Medes. If, therefore, these tribes were liberated by the Scythians from bondage in the cities of the Medes, or were themselves able at the epoch of a great civil convulsion to effect their escape from their oppressors, it is much more probable that they would have sought a new habitation in Scythia, in the country of their deliverers and benefactors, than have attempted to return to their native country, Samaria, the cities of which, we are informed in the twenty-fourth verse of the same chapter of the second book of Kings, were peopled by the King of Assyria, immediately after their captivity, by colonies from Babylon and other parts; and that, disappointed in their expectation of finding a peaceful settlement amongst strangers, with liberty to indulge in their old idolatries and proneness for human sacrifices, (since there is no reason for supposing that the captivity of the ten tribes effected any amelioration in their morals,) they journeyed onwards through the wilds of Tartary until they reached the icy straits of Kamschatka, and so by a long pilgrimage arrived at America. It deserves, however, to be remarked, that the custom of dwelling in tents, and dexterity in the use of the bow, were by no means peculiar to the ancient Scythians; since we learn from Scripture that a great portion of the Jewish nation in the age of Solomon, and probably for many centuries afterwards, were a tent-dwelling people. This plainly appears from the distinction drawn in the seventeenth verse of the twelfth chapter of the first book of Kings, between the Jews who dwelt in tents and those who dwelt in cities; the former of whom were the ten tribes who rebelled from Rehoboam, and the latter the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, who remained faithful to their lawful sovereign. That the Jews excelled in very early ages in the use of the bow, having been particularly trained to that mode of warfare by David, is evident from the eighteenth verse of the first chapter of the second book of Samuel: "Also he bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow: behold, it is written in the *book of Jasher*:" whence perhaps we may arrive at the general inference, that the reason the Mexicans preferred the bow and arrow to all other kinds of weapons, was because they had been trained in former ages to that mode of fighting by the Jews.

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CARTAS INEDITAS

DE

HERNANDO CORTES.

CARTAS INEDITAS

DE

HERNANDO CORTES.

Cinco Cartas de Hernando Cortés escritas á S. M. desde* 15 *de Mayo de* 1522 *hasta* 10 *de Octubre de* 1530, *sobre la conquista de la Nueva España y descubrimiento de la Mar del Sur, y las varias espediciones que mandó hacer para la Especieria. Y al fin un memorial que presentó á S. M. en Valladolid á* 3 *de Febrero de* 1544, *pidiendo mandase juntar otros Jueces para la determinacion del pleyto que tenia pendiente con el Fiscal sobre la escritura de mercede que S. M. le hizo.*

CARTA PRIMERA.

MUY alto y potentisimo Principe, muy Catolico é invictisimo Emperador, Rey y Señor, con la presente embio á Vuestra Cesarea Magestad larga y particular relacion de las cosas subcedidas en esta Nueva España; que por orden es tercera despues que yo á ella vine, y la poblé y conquiste con los trabajos y peligros que por ella y por las otras Vuestra Alteza puede mandar ver; la que embio juntamente con los oficiales de V. M., que á todo ó lo mas se han hallado presentes. Suplico á Vuestra Alteza lo mande recibir é oir benignamente, pues en ella se veran obras no de nuestras manos, mas de Dios, con cuyo favor á V. M. se han hecho tantos servicios en estas partes, que por no me alargar los dejo de significar, y tambien por ser yo en parte ministro de ellos. Lo que á Vuestra Alteza quiero solamente hacer saber es, que despues que en esta tierra estoy, que ha mas de tres años, siempre he escrito y avisado á V. M., y á los de su Consejo de las Indias, cosas que importaban mucho á su servicio, y nunca hasta agora de cosa de ellas he habido respuesta. La causa creo ha sido, ó no ser bien recibidas mis cartas y servicios, ó la distancia de la tierra, ó la negligencia de las personas que solicitan mis negocios; é lo mismo ha acaecido á los demas pobladores é conquistadores de esta Nueva España, que allá tienen sus procuradores. Y viendo esto, y la mucha necesidad que hay de informar á V. M. de las cosas de acá, agora tornen de nuevo sus procuradores: y porque de ellos y de los que tienen mi poder será Vuestra Alteza muy particularmente avisado, en esta no me alargare mas de suplicar á Vuestra Cesarea Magestad tenga por bien recibirlos, y mandar dar audiencia á los unos y á los otros, y recibir de ellos el servicio y muestra que á Vuestra Alteza hacemos de esta su nueva y abundantisima tierra.

Por la relacion que agora embio, verá V. M. la solicitud y diligencia que yo he puesto en descubrir la Mar del Sur, y como, gracias á Nuestro Señor, la he descubierto por tres partes, lo cual puede Vuestra Alteza tener por uno de los mas señalados servicios que en las Indias se han hecho. Y tambien verá como para descubrir y saber todo el secreto, que sin duda segun la noticia tenemos se han de saber y hallar maravillosas cosas, he comenzado á hacer

* These letters, now for the first time printed, were discovered not many years ago in the archives of Simancas, but owing to some accidental causes, have never yet been published: five of them are addressed to the Emperor Charles V. and one to the Bishop of Osma. As authentic records of so celebrated an individual as Cortes, they cannot but be considered extremely interesting, although the facts which they disclose are less calculated to elucidate the ancient history of America than to explain certain mysterious passages in the Ocean Decads of Peter Martyr, and in the last volume of the Bishop of Chiapa's inedited History of America, little favourable to the character of that conqueror. They prove, likewise, beyond all doubt, with what extreme distrust the conduct of Cortes, both at the commencement of his career and even at a later period of his life, was viewed by Charles the Fifth and the Council of the Indies, of which Peter Martyr was a most distinguished member.

cerca de la costa, bien noventa leguas de estas provincias, navios y bergantines, y porque antes de agora, teniendo alguna noticia de la dicha mar, yo avisé á los que tienen mi poder, de ciertas cosas que se habian de suplicar á V. M. para la mejor y mas breve expedicion del dicho descubrimiento; y despues acá, no solamente yo lo he descubierto la dicha mar, pero aun en cierta costa de ella tengo poblados doscientos y cincuenta Españoles de caballo: y porque aquel aviso mio no sé si se habra recibido, porque fue por diversas vias, la persona que agora embio con mi poder informará á Vuestra Alteza muy larga y particularmente de esta negociacion. Suplico á Vuestra Cesarea Magestad, tenga por bien de le mandar oir, porque este negocio es de tanta importancia que es mucha razon que Vuestra Alteza le tenga en mas que á todo el resto de las Indias, segun relacion de lo que como digo, tenemos relacion.

Potentisimo Señor, Dios Nuestro Señor la vida y muy Real Persona y muy poderoso estado de Vuestra Cesarea Magestad conserve y aumente con acrecentamiento de muchos mas reynos y señorios, como su corazon desea. Potentisimo Señor, de Vuestra Cesarea Magestad muy humilde siervo y vasallo, que los muy reales manos de Vuestra Alteza besa, HERNANDO CORTES. De Cuyuacan, á los 15 dias de Mayo de 1522 años.

CARTA SEGUNDA.

SACRA CESAREA CATOLICA MAGESTAD, porque por lo que tengo escrito á V. Magestad, asi del Cabo de Honduras o de las Hibueras, como desde la Isla de Cuba, viniendo ya de camino á esta Nueva España, estará V. M. informado de lo que ha sucedido despues que los Procuradores Diego de Ocampo y Francisco de Montejo fueron despachados, agora informaré á Vuestra Magestad brevemente de lo que ha pasado despues de mi llegada; y porque el despacho postrero que embié despues desde Cuba, fue encaminado por via algo dudosa, ira con la presente lo que entonces escribi, suplico humildemente á V. M. mande ver lo uno y lo otro. Asimismo embio agora á V. M. con la presente una Relacion bien larga y particular de todo lo que me sucedio en el camino que hice á las Hibueras, y al cabo de ella hago saber á V. M. muy por estenso lo que ha pasado y se ha hecho en esta Nueva España, despues que yo parti de la Isla de Cuba para ella. Y porque podria ser, que por la larga escritura V. M. no lo pudiere todo ver, tocaré en esta sucintamente en ello, para que con relacion mas breve V. M sea informado; como quiera que todavia suplico á V. M. á lo menos que al Presidente y á los de su Consejo de las Indias mande bien ver y examinar la dicha Relacion, para que en vista informen á V. M. de lo que en ella digo.

Yo me hice á la vela del Puerto de la Havana de Cuba á 16 de Mayo, y llegue al Puerto de Sanct Juan desta Nueva España á 24 de Mayo de este año de 1526. Vineme á la villa de Medellin, que está á dos leguas del dicho puerto, y supe alli muchas cosas de las que habian pasado en mi ausencia, y de otras bien peligrosas que se tramaban, creyendo que hubiera mas dilacion en mi venida; y no quiero encarecer á V. M. el servicio que en la presteza de ella hice, posponiendo mil peligros, pues es tan notorio cuantos alborotos y escandalos de entre los Españoles, y malos tratamientos de los naturales, se evitaron con mi llegada, porque como estaban tan recientes los males y daños hechos por Gonzalo de Salazar y Pedro Armildez, y por los que los siguieron, habia tanto desasosiego; y como quiera que el tesorero Alonso de Estrada y el contador Rodrigo de Alborñoz los tenian presos, cada dia habia mil movimientos y alborotos, que llevaban muy mal remedio, si Dios no lo remediaba con su mano ó, como lo remedió, con mi venida, lo cual se mostró bien en el regocijo y alegria que mostraron en ella, asi los naturales como los Españoles.

Yo me parti luego para esta ciudad de Temixtitan, y llegado halle ser verdad todo lo que escribi á V. M., desde la Isla de Cuba, asi acerca de los agravios y afrentas hechas á mis deudos y amigos y á mi hacienda, como á los naturales, y pudiera estenderme mas entonces y agora, salvo que por ser la cosa tan publica no quiero repetirla mas. Hallé presos á Salazar y Armildez y otros, que fueron agresores en todos los daños pasados, y movieron y levantaron la tierra á voz de comunidad. Y aunque á muchos de ellos Alonso de Estrada y Rodrigo de Alborñoz habian sacado de algunos Monasterios, yo los hice bolver y restituir á ellos, dado caso que segun la calidad de sus delitos no debian gozar de la inmunidad de la Iglesia; pero por ser cosas que demas de tocar á los vasallos de V. M., tocaban á mi persona, yo holgue que fuesen restituidos, y porque no me acusasen de apasionado, aunque habia muchas causas para ello, no quise entender en las culpas de aquellos.

Dende á pocos dias que yo llegué á esta ciudad, me escribieron de la villa de Medellin como al puerto habian llegado ciertos navios, y que en ellos venia el licenciado Luis Ponce de Leon por juez de residencia de V. M., y el teniente de aquella villa me escribió que habia ido al navio en que dicho Luis Ponce venia, y que le habia dado una

carta de V. M., en que le mandaba que hiciese todo lo que el dicho Luis Ponce le mandase de parte de V. M., y que el dicho teniente le respondió, que en todo seria obedecido y acatado, y asi lo puso luego por obra. E yo respondiendo á la carta que el dicho teniente me escribió, le encargué mucho el buen tratamiento y recibimiento del dicho Luis Ponce. El cual dende á pocos dias que desembarcó, se partió para esta ciudad de Temixtitan, y desde el camino me embió una carta de V. M., por la cual me mandaba que luego como llegase el dicho Luis Ponce fuese recibido conforme á su provision, y le fuesen entregadas todas las varas. El cual llegado á esta ciudad, que fue un dia bien de mañana, no quiso presentar la provision que trahia de V. M., sino ver la ciudad y platicar conmigo algunas cosas de las de estas partes, en lo cual conoció bien la obediencia y fidelidad que yo habia tenido y tenia al servicio de V. M. Luego otro dia el dicho Luis Ponce presentó su provision, la cual por mi y por mis oficiales fue obedientisimamente recibida y cumplida, y incontinenti, en presencia de los oficiales de V. M. y de todo el pueblo, ellos é yo le entregamos todas las varas, y comenzó á usar su cargo como V. M. le mandaba.

Aquella misma noche, ó del trabajo del camino ó de mudanza de la tierra, el dicho Luis Ponce adoleció de unas calenturas de que creimos que no recibiera peligro, y como le fueron algo agravando, determinó de subrogar el poder que trahia de V. M. en el licenciado Marcos de Aguilar, que habia venido con él desde la Española *á egercer el cargo que tiene de Inquisidor de las Indias;* y el dicho licenciado Aguilar aceptó el dicho poder, y usó de el hasta que el dicho Luis Ponce murió, que fue á diez y ocho ó diez y nueve dias despues que á esta ciudad llegó. Y sin duda entristeció tanto su muerte á todos, como si fueramos sus deudos propios, y se hizo tanto sentimiento como si le hubieramos conversado toda la vida, y cierto con harta causa, porque su persona y cordura mostró bien merecer aquello y mas. Y entre algunas fortunas contrarias que se me han ofrecido en el descubrimiento, conquista y pacificacion de estas partes, una de las mas adversas para mi, ha sido la muerte de Luis Ponce, porque asi de la buena fama que de su persona habia, como por sus apariencias, mostraba traher muy verdadera intencion para el servicio de V. M., y para le hacer relacion de las cosas de estas partes, en especial de mi fidelidad y servicios, que era á lo que mas principalmente V. M. le embiaba, é yo mas deseo tenia.

Muerto Luis Ponce, la justicia y regimiento de esta ciudad, juntamente con los Procuradores de las otras villas, me requirieron muy afectuosamente que tornase á recibir en mi el cargo de la gobernacion, pues que espiraba con la muerte del dicho Ponce el poder que habia dado al licenciado Marcos de Aguilar, y principalmente porque les parecia que convenia asi para el sosiego y pacificacion de estas partes; é yo me escusé de ello por cuantas vias pude, porque conozca y vea V. M. la codicia que tengo y he tenido de cargos y administraciones de justicia; y asi quedó y queda la gobernacion de la justicia civil y criminal por V. M. en el dicho licenciado Aguilar, hasta que otra cosa mande proveer, y los cargos de Capitan General de los Indios, y administracion de ellos, quedá en mi hasta que V. M. sea servido; y esto acepte porque, como persona mas esperimentada, podre mejor servir en ellos.

Las cosas de estas partes despues de la venida de Luis Ponce, quedan en los terminos que á V. M. he dicho. Está la tierra algo fatigada con las alteraciones pasadas, pero con la conservacion y buen tratamiento de los naturales que yo siempre procuro, se irá presto restituyendo, placiendo á Dios, porque los Indios, aunque no es posible menos sino recibir fatiga con nuestra conversacion, como trabajo de los relevar, multiplican y van tanto en crecimiento, que parece que hay hoy mas gente de los naturales que cuando al principio yo vine á estas partes. Los Religiosos que acá han venido y vienen, hacen grandisimo fruto, especialmente en los hijos de los principales. Vase tambien plantando la fé y religion Cristiana, que V. M. es muy obligado á dar muchas gracias á Dios por ello.

Mucho ha que hice saber á V. M. como habia ciertos navios en la Mar del Sur para descubrir, y aunque aquello es cosa muy importante, por otras ocupaciones y cosas que se me han ofrecido, ha cesado hasta agora que los navios estan á punto. Embio por capitan á una persona bien cuerda y esperimentada, que es Diego de Ordas, el cual ha estado en esa corte de V. M. por procurador de esta tierra: plegue á Dios lo encamine. Creo se hará á la vela en todo el mes de * . . . . . .

Juan de Ribera, á quien yo embie por mi procurador, y á hacer relacion á V. M. de las cosas de estas partes, y á que residiese en esa su corte en mis negocios, me dijo, que conociendo la necesidad que V. M. tenia, asi por las grandes guerras que por tantas partes se le ofrecian, como por las alteraciones pasadas en esos sus reynos, y conociendo asi mismo la voluntad con que yo siempre he servido á V. M., se habia ofrecido en mi nombre que yo embiaria á V. M. cierta suma de oro, é que sobre ello é sobre ciertas mercedes que V. M. me hacia, habia mandado

* Igual vacio en el original y en el duplicado.

tomar cierto asiento con el dicho Juan de Ribera y con Fray Pedro Melgarejo; y que estando aderezando su viage para estas partes, V. M. les mandó volver á esta corte con el despacho que V. M. le habia dado, el cual por mandado de V. M. habian entregado en el Consejo de las Indias; y asi mismo el dicho Juan de Ribera me dijo, que V. M. despues le habia dicho, que habia mandado proveher á Luis Ponce para saber como yo habia hecho las cosas de vuestro servicio, y para que se viese y conociese mi limpieza en cuanto á lo del ofrecimiento que á V. M. tenia hecho, ó se hizo de mi parte. Ninguna cosa he deseado, ni deseo mas, en este mundo, que ofrecerse caso en que mi voluntad se experimente por todas vias en el servicio de V. M.; y aunque á la sazon yo estaba pobre y adeudado, pusiera toda mi posibilidad, porque se cumplira lo que de mi parte se habia prometido á V. M., y asi lo hiciera agora, sino que, como á V. M. en la relacion escribo, estoy tan alcanzado y pobre, que todo cuanto he conquistado y ganado y servido á V. M., no me queda sino mi persona lastimada y herida en diversas partes, y puesta en necesidad ella, y todos sus amigos: y si esto no es ansi, veanse las astucias y diligencias que Gonzalo de Salazar hizo por descubrir mis riquezas, y los tormentos que dió á quien tenia cargo de mi casa, y como la aró y cabó por muchos lugares, hasta que quedó satisfecha su mala intencion. Y en cuanto á saber V. M. como yo he hecho en estas partes las cosas de su servicio, y que se vea mi limpieza, si mis obras y servicios no han bastado para ello, bien sé que no ha estado el defecto en ellos, sino en mi dicha y en los embidiosos de lo que he servido: y porque en la relacion larga que embio á V. M., toco mas largo en esta materia, aqui no diré mas de quedar aparejado y obediente á todo cuanto V. M. fuere servido mandar, como siempre lo he hecho.

En lo que toca á la hacienda de V. M. no sé que decir, sino que en lo que en mi es, la procuro como haria á la salvacion de mi anima. Los oficiales haran relacion de ella á V. M. Solamente quiero decir, que tengo por dificultoso haber buen recado en ella, por las muchas y grandes diferencias é intereses que entre ellos ha habido, y hay.

El cargo de alguacil mayor de esta Nueva España, de que V. M. mandó proveher á Diego Hernandez* de Pro año, se le entregó luego como presentó su provision, y comenzó á usar de el. Asimismo se le entrego la fortaleza que se hace en esta ciudad á Pedro de Salazar, como V. M. lo mandó, y son personas en quien cabe muy bien semejantes cargos. Las atarazanas de esta ciudad, donde estan los bergantines, se entregaron á Lope de Sainaniego. En este nos parecio que V. M. nos agravió, porque no era cargo aquel de que V. M. mandara proveher á un mancebo, que servia ayer á Rodrigo de Albornoz. Suplico á V. M. por mi y por los conquistadores de estas partes, cuando semejantes cargos mandare proveher, mande primero saber que personas son, y de que calidad, y no parezca que S. M. tiene en tan poco esta tierra, que se da lo que pide al primero que llegue; y lo mismo suplicamos á V. M. haga respecto de los oficios de regimientos, porque aqui se han recibido algunos, que en la Española y en las otras Indias, se suplicara de ello.

Estando escribiendo esta, me vinieron unos Indios, mensageros de una provincia Tecoantepecque, que está en la Mar del Sur, ciento veinte leguas de esta ciudad; y trajonse dos cartas, una de un Español que yo tengo en aquella provincia, y otra de un Guevara capitan, y por ella entendi, como á aquella costa habia aportado una nao de la conserva del capitan Loaysa, que V. M. habia mandado despachar de la Coruña para las Islas de Maluco, sin batil y con mucha necesidad de mantenimientos. Y viendo que eran vasallos de V. M., luego provehi que fuese una persona de bien á ver la necesidad del dicho capitan, y le proveyese muy cumplidamente; y le escribi que si el queria ir en compañia en seguimiento de su derrota, que yo tenia tres navios, y á punto para ir en busca de la Especieria, y que irian todos juntos, ó que viese lo que queria hacer, que yo le haria todo buen tratamiento, y le socorreria en todo lo que hubiese menester. Y despues, recibi cartas del dicho capitan y del piloto del navio, en que me hacian saber que estaban en puerto seguro, y que habian recibido muy buen tratamiento de la persona que yo alli tenia, y las dichas cartas embio con la presente á V. M.

Asimismo embio una relacion que un Juan de Areyzaga, Cligo†, natural de Guipuzcoa me dio, del viage que el dicho Loaysa hizo despues que salió de la Coruña hasta que embocó y desembocó el Estrecho de Magallaes, porque desde que desembocaron, el navio Santiago donde el venia, perdió la flota, é arribó á esta costa que yo tengo descubierta de la Mar del Sur. Creo que olgara V. M. de lo saber, especialmente si el navio en que iba por capitan D. Rodrigo de Acuña, y el navio Nunciada‡, que crehen estos que no quisieron seguir á Loaysa, no han aportado á esos reynos.

* Asi parece por los dos originales; en el uno pone asi la abreviatura rr^{os}, y en el otro $\overline{ros}$. *Pro año* parece segundo apellido.

† Por Clerigo. Esta relacion de Areyzaga está en el Archivo de Indias.

‡ En uno de los originales lo espresa, y en el otro lo deja en vacio.

De algunas personas que á estas partes han venido, especialmente de Juan de Ribera, que residió en la corte de V. M., en mis negocios, he sabido como V. M. no solamente no me tenia en servicio el trabajo y gasto que hacia en descubrir y sujetar á su servicio algunas tierras y provincias de estas partes, pero que no lo tenia por bueno, y que los del consejo de V. M. se lo habian dado á entender muchas veces, diciendo que en lo que yo tenia pacifico y sugeto á V. M., habia harto en que entender. La verdad es, que si yo pospusiera lo que debia al servicio de V. M. por seguir mi interese, que habia harta disposicion en esta Nueva España, sin entremeterme en descubrimientos y sugeccion de tierras; pero yo he tenido proposito de servir á V. M. con mucha fidelidad, de ensancharle su señorio, posponiendo para ello todo trabajo y costa. Y en la venida de esta nao, se parece si era cosa provechosa descubrir y pacificar la tierra; porque si yo no tubiera pacificadas mas de 300 leguas de costa, á ninguna parte pudiera aportar aquella nao ni ninguna otra, que no mataran la gente de ella. Suplico á V. M. lo mande ver y considerar, y hallará que en todo el descubrimiento y pacificacion que he hecho en estas partes, hé servido mucho á V. M.

Invictisimo Cesar, Dios Nuestro Señor la vida y muy poderoso estado de Vuestra soberana Magestad conserve y aumente por muy largos tiempos la vida de, como V. M. desea. De la Ciudad de Temixtitan, á 11 de Septiembre de 1526 años*. De Vuestra Sacra Magestad muy humilde siervo y vasallo, que los muy reales pies y manos de V. M. besa. HERNANDO CORTES.

CARTA TERCERA.

SACRA CESAREA CATOLICA MAGESTAD. Por otra mia que va con la presente, hice saber á V. M., como despues de la muerte de Luis Ponce, la justicia y regimiento de esta† ..... y los procuradores de otras villas de esta Nueva España me habian requerido afectuosamente que tornase á recibir en mi el cargo de gobernador, segun parece por un requirimiento que sobre ello me hicieron, el cual embio al consejo de V. M. Y porque el dicho Luis Ponce habia dado su poder al licenciado Marcos de Aguilar, y principalmente porque V. M. conociese mi obediencia y fidelidad, no quise aceptar lo que toda la tierra me requeria, sino que el dicho Marcos de Aguilar quedase por justicia de V. M., y porque el dicho Luis Ponce no me habia suspendido el cargo de capitan general, ni la administracion de los Indios, *ni la encomienda de ellos*, yo quedase con aquellos cargos hasta que V. M. mandase proveer otra cosa, segun que de todo esto en la carta que escribo á V. M. hago mas larga relacion. Y puesto que yo conoci que para que la dicha jurisdiccion quedase con Marcos de Aguilar, Alonso de Estrada y Rodrigo de Albornoz habian puesto mucha diligencia, y lo procuraban con tanta eficacia como si cosa del mundo no comviniera mas al servicio de V. M., y veia claramente que su fin era para traher despues á su proposito al dicho Marcos de Aguilar, y con voz de justicia hacer algunas cosas en deservicio de V. M. y en perjuicio de la tierra, y otras en perjuicio y disfavor de mi persona, y que por evitar estas cosas, que todas se me representaban como si las viera, comvenia mucho que quedara en mi el dicho cargo de gobernador. Todo lo quise posponer por mostrar mas clara mi limpieza, y no aceptar el dicho cargo de gobernador.

Despues de haber quedado la gobernacion de la justicia con el dicho Marcos de Aguilar, los dichos Estrada y Albornoz hacian tantas juntas y cabildos con él, induciendole á algunas maneras de provision, en tal manera escandalosas que ponian casi toda la tierra en alboroto; y todo lo encaminaban á fin de me hacer errar, bien que en lo pasado yo habia acertado; á lo cual yo daba lugar y disimulacion, porque me parecia que esto servia mas á V. M.

Como yo siempre he procurado y procuro el buen tratamiento de los naturales de estas partes, habia para ello hecho, ciertos dias habia, unas ordenanzas muy provechosas á los Indios sobre la manera que habian de tener sobre el servicio de los Españoles, y lo que ellos de su parte habian de hacer para que los dichos naturales fuesen bien tratados y relevados, y ellos aprovechados; las cuales embio á V. M. Y como ya he dicho á V. M., el cargo de capitan general y administracion de los Indios habia quedado en mi, yo hice pregonar las dichas ordenanzas, porque solamente tocaban en el buen tratamiento de los naturales; y como esto vieron los dichos Estrada y Albornoz, junta gente armada yvan al dicho Marcos de Aguilar, diciendo que aquello yo no lo podia hacer, y que era usar de jurisdiccion, y que estaba suspenso de aquello y de todo lo demas, y que lo remediase y castigase. Y por calumniarme, inducieron al dicho Marcos de Aguilar á que luego saliese á la plaza de esta ciudad, y diese un pregon que

* En un original tiene la fecha de 11 de Sept., y el otro de 13 del mismo mes y año.

† Esta copia se ha hecho por el de 11 de Sept., pero en la confrontacion se ha tenido presente el otro, para llenar algunos vacios como puede notarse en las notas marginales.

todos acudiesen á él y á sus llamamientos, y obedeciesen sus mandamientos, y no de otra persona; el cual se dio, estando yo presente; y respondi que yo seria el primero que acudiria á su llamamiento de dia y de noche, y hizo pregonar una cedula ó provision de V. M. que trahia Luis Ponce, en que mandaba á todos los vecinos le siguiesen y acudiesen á él para todo lo que les mandare: lo cual hacian y hicieron por me desfavorecer, y dar á entender á las gentes que V. M. holgaria que yo fuese desfavorecido, y no porque habia necesidad del dicho pregon. Luego otro dia el dicho Marcos de Aguilar, inducido y requerido por los dichos Albornoz y Estrada, me requirió y mandó que mostrase por donde usaba el cargo de capitan general, y de la encomienda y deposito de los Indios, y si tenia para ello provision de V. M. despues de la muerte de Luis Ponce, y si no, que no usare ni de lo uno ni de lo otro. E' yo, por obedecer á la justicia que tiene voz de V. M., me desisti de dichos cargos con ciertas protestaciones, segun parece por los autos que sobre ello pasaron y embio al consejo de V. M. Pienso que V. M. se ira satisfaciendo de mi limpieza, pues no solamente obedeci y cumpli lo que el juez embiado por V. M. me mandó, pero aun obedezco y cumplo todo lo que me manda el juez que no tengo por competente, ni fue ni es nombrado por V. M., ni por su consejo; en lo cual padezco hartos disfavores, y no tal tratamiento cual mis servicios merecen, ni creo que V. M. lo consentiria si lo viese; y todo lo causan estos sus oficiales, que por el odio y enemistad que me tienen, trabajan continuo de me pagar no en las obras que de mi han recibido, y parece que su ventura les ha traido á este Licenciado á la mano para conseguir lo que quieren, hasta que V. M. lo mande remediar: pero no podran tanto ellos, ni ninguno de ellos, ni seran sus intricaciones tan bastantes que me compelan á salir de mi sufrimiento y paciencia. Y porque sobre todas las cosas del mundo yo he deseado dar á conocer á V. M. mi fidelidad y obediencia, y despues de la venida de Luis Ponce hasta agora se han ofrecido cosas en que la he mostrado, y lo mostraré mas, mandandome V. M. tomar cuenta y residencia de mis cargos, humildemente suplico á V. M. pues esto cesó con la muerte de Luis Ponce, y el licenciado Marcos de Aguilar no me la quiso tomar, que V. M. provea la dicha, como se me toma la dicha residencia, porque se acabe de quitar de mi el obstaculo y sospecha que sin merecimiento se me ha opuesto.

Invictisimo Cesar, Dios Nuestro Señor la vida y muy poderoso estado de V. M. conserve y aumente por muy largos tiempos, como V. M. desea. De la Ciudad de Temixtitan, á 11 de Septiembre de 1526 años. De Vuestra Sacra Magestad muy humilde siervo y vasallo, que los muy reales pies y manos de V. M. besa, HERNANDO CORTES.*

CARTA QUARTA.

Carta dirigida al Obispo de Osma por Hernando Cortes, de Coaunavach, á 12 *de Enero de* 1527.

REVERENDISIMO Y MUY MAGNIFICO SENOR. Aunque ha poco que escribi á S. M. y á V. S^ria^ largo de las cosas de acá, la distancia debe causar que en poco tiempo haya siempre que escribir, y asi agora escribo á Su Magestad lo que de nuevo hay que hacer le saber. Y pues V. S^ria^ lo ha de ver, no quiero repetirlo en esta mas de le suplicar que lo mire todo con benevolencia, habiendo respeto á lo que yo he servido, y á los trabajos que en estas partes me he puesto por hacer en servicio de S. M. todo lo que tubiese posibilidad, y certifico á V. S^ria^ que son tantos que yo no osase emprender á los escribir de principio fasta el cabo, aunque pensase haber gran galardon; y pues ya cuando esta llegare, habrá V. S. visto lo que acá nos habia sucedido, suplico á V. S^ria^, que conociendo que mis servicios lo merecen, me sea favorable con S. M. en todo lo que antes y agora le embio á suplicar, porque de otra manera no osaria serle importuno.

Ya V. S^ria^ sabra, como vino de allá despachado con ciertos Frayles Dominicos un fray Tomas Ortiz, é segun yo he sabido, y he sido certificado, él trabajó mucho por se venir en el tiempo que S. M. tenia prohibido que no pasase ningun navio á las Indias, fasta que Luis Ponce de Leon partiese, á fin de me avisar y persuadir á cosas que despues pasaron entre su persona y la mia: é como no pudo poner en el efecto lo que deseaba, vino con el dicho Luis Ponce, y entró con él en la ciudad de Temixtitan, y luego me fue á hablar, y representaronme lo que habia trabajado en que nuestra vista fuere mucho antes; y tras de esto me certificó que Luis Ponce trahia provision de S. M. para me prender y degollar, y tomar todos mis bienes; é que lo sabia de muy cierta ciencia como persona que venia de la corte, y que porque el me deseaba todo bien y acrecentamiento, y le parecia que aquello era muy al reves de lo que

* De esta carta hay duplicada, pero ambas estan en todo uniformes.

yo merecia, me aconsejaba que para lo remediar yo no recibiese al dicho Luis Ponce, y esto fue tantas veces y con tanta instancia y exortaciones dicho, que bastara mudar y ablandar un corazon de azero: y lo mismo trataba con los Padres Franciscos, con quien yo tenia mucha familiaridad, para que me persuadiesen á que no recibiese al dicho Luis Ponce.

Y en todo este tiempo, como yo tenia el corazon fiel, nunca halló en mi respuesta que consonase á su proposito, como quiera que me hacia dar vuelta á mil pensamientos, porque su negociacion era de tal calidad que ansi lo requeria; postreramente yo le respondi: que bien podia S. M. hacer conmigo lo que fuese servido con justicia ó sin ella, porque yo habia de obedecer ó cumplir su mandato sobre todas las cosas; y para efecto de ello dejando los obstaculos que el dicho fray Tomas imponia, luego otro dia que entraba en la ciudad de Temixtitan, recibi al dicho Luis Ponce como á Vuestra Señoria tengo escrito poco ha, y entonces no le hice relacion de esta cosa, porque me parescia que encarescia mi obediencia, y tambien porque yo creia que aquel padre, aunque me tubiese buena voluntad, me persuadia á su proposito mas con ignorancia que con saber lo que decia, el cual y los otros religiosos que con él vinieron, fueron y son de mi tan bien tratados, y hallaron tan buen acogimiento como si fueran mis propios hermanos; y en sus enfermedades fueron y son de mi y de los de mi casa tan visitados cuanto á mi me es posible. Y despues el dicho fray Tomas Ortiz determinó de ir á España, como allá Vuestra Señoria habrá visto, y comunicólo conmigo; é segun me informaron, estando para se embarcar en el puerto, donde quiera que se hallaba, decia y publicaba que yo habia muerto á Luis Ponce, y otras cosas feas en mi perjuicio, especialmente el que yo habia muerto al dicho Luis Ponce, y esto dijolo tan publico, que aunque yo tenia mucha incredulidad de ello, se averiguó muchas veces haberlo dicho, y aunque ello sea gran falsedad y levantamiento, no pude sino recibir pena de que un hombre teniendo aparencias de un buen religioso, osase poner en su pensamiento é lengua tan gran maldad, habiendo recibido de mi tan buenas obras, y mostrandome el á mi tan buena voluntad, y aunque esto sea cosa que yo la debiera dejar por vana y no dar parte á nadie, quiselo hacer saber á Vuestra Señoria, y asi por ser aquel frayle de su orden, y ser Vuestra Señoria el mas preeminente en ella, para que le conozca, y no se le fie cosa de que pueda venir infamia á su religion. Los padres que acá quedan, estan tan fuera de juicio en ver su desverguenza y testimonio falso, que pienso yo que no se acabaria con ellos estar á su obediencia. El dicho Luis Ponce fue curado en su enfermedad por dos buenos medicos; el uno trajo él consigo, y el otro estaba ya aca. Un padre reverendo que acá tiene las veces del obispo, les mandó so pena de excomunion que declarasen el conocimiento que tubieron en su enfermedad, é como procedieron en ella, segun Vuestra Señoria verá por dos testimonios que á Vuestra Señoria embio. Quise hacer esta diligencia para con Vuestra Señoria, aunque la notoria duda de mi inocencia bastaba, porque, como digo, no de credito á cosa que aquel padre dijere. Tambien embie á Vuestra Señoria cierta declaracion que unos frayles Franciscos hicieron, cerca de lo que fray Tomas ordenaba y trabajaba para que yo recibiese á Luis Ponce, porque vea que magnas* del diablo tiene aqueste padre, y con que negociacion lo traia el demonio á toda prisa. Suplico á Vuestra Señoria lo vea y no reciba importunidad en mi largo escribir.

Reverendisimo Señor, Dios Nuestro Señor la vida y muy magnifica persona y estado de Vuestra Señoria conserve y aumente, como Vuestra Señoria desea. De Coaunavach á 12 de Enero de 1527 años. Hernando Cortes.

CARTA QUINTA.

Sacra Cesarea Catolica Magestad. Despues que besé las manos de V. M. en Barcelona, y le di cuenta de las cosas que hasta aquella sazon habia sucedido en esta Nueva España, estube algunos dias en Madrid, para que los del consejo de las Indias cumpliesen lo que V. M. les embió á mandar, cerca del remedio de estas partes, porque como quien mas que á nadie le dolia, tenia de ello mas cuidado. Estando entendiendo en esto, llegó una cedula de V. M. en que mandaba al arzobispo de Santiago, presidente del consejo real, que entendiese en proveher las cosas de acá; y fue provision divina y como de tan catolico y cristianisimo Principe se espera. Y no en valde tiene Dios el cuidado de las cosas de V. M. que hasta aqui ha tenido, pues tanto V. M. tiene de su honra y de dilatar su fe catolica, y conservar estas gentes que nuevamente á ella se convierten. Y tenga V. M. esto por el mayor premio que ante Dios merece, porque en todo el universo no hay cosa donde su Santa Iglesia mas se engrandezca.

El arzobispo de Santiago se comenzó á informar de las cosas de acá para mejor acertar en su provision, y á esta

* Magnas por mañas.

causa hubo alguna dilacion, y en este tiempo llegaron muchas informaciones de religiosos y de otras personas zelosas del servicio de Dios y de V. M., por donde al arzobispo y á los del consejo de las Indias les constó los insultos y robos y otros daños, que V. M. sabrá por otra parte que el presidente é oidores que acá estaban hacian; y la necesidad que habia de remedio breve; y asi comenzaron á dar mucha prisa en buscarle, y hablaron á algunas personas para encomendarles la presidencia de la nueva audiencia que proveyan, y con ninguna se contentan: las causas ellos las habran dado á V. M.

Visto que en esto habia alguna dilacion, y como V. M. me mandó diese mucha prisa en mi venida, determiné antes de me partir de la conclusion de esto, aunque deseando que todos vinieramos juntos, para escusar algun escandalo que se me representaba que habia de haber con mi venida. Me detube en Sevilla y en San Lucar muchos dias, y aun en Santo Domingo de la Isla Española dos meses y medio, creyendo que cada dia me alcanzarian; y como yo trahia mucha costa con la mucha gente que truge, no pude detenerme y asi me vine. Verdad es que primero supe como la Emperatriz mi Señora, y los del consejo habian ya dado fin en este remedio, y señalado todos los oydores, y por presidente al obispo de Santo Domingo y la Concepcion, y presidente de la Isla Española, que tambien me pareció cosa provehida de Dios, segun lo que yo alli conoci de su persona, y vi en las obras que hacia en su oficio, y tengo por cierto que Dios no tiene olvidados á estos que con tan buena voluntad desean su salvacion, y tan á rienda suelta se convierten y tan milagrosamente conocen á su Criador.

Yo llegué al puerto de esta Nueva España á 15 de Julio de este año, y en la ciudad de Vera Cruz, que es el primer pueblo de Españoles, presenté ante el cabildo de ella la provision de V. M., en que se me manda sea su Capitan General en estas partes, y alli fue obedecida con todo acatamiento y pregonada publicamente. Antes de esto habia escrito luego que llegué al puerto á los oydores de esta audiencia, haciendoles saber mi llegada, y diciendoles que en saltando en tierra les haria mas larga relacion de lo que V. M. me mandó.

Alli junto, cinco leguas de la ciudad de Vera Cruz, está un pueblezuelo pequeño, que se dice la Rinconada, y antes le llamaban los Indios Izcalpan, y es uno de los que V. M. me hizo merced, y por virtud de ella tomé la posesion con los autos y diligencias necesarios ante escribano publico. Y como los oydores supieron que la provision de V. M. habia sido obedecida y cumplida por los del cabildo de aquella ciudad de Vera Cruz, y supieron que habia tomado aquella posesion, sintieron mal de ello, porque quisieron hacer con estas provisiones lo que con todas las otras que V. M. y la Emperatriz mi Señora han embiado, que es no haber cumplido ninguna, en especial lo quisieron mucho efectuar en estas, porque demas de la enemistad que á mis cosas han mostrado, siguenseles mucho interes por tener ellos como tienen todos los mas de estos pueblos mios, y se sirven y aprovechan de ellos, unos puestos en cabeza de V. M., otros en si mismos, otros en deudos y criados suyos, y de todos estos depositos no tienen mas del nombre y los intereses llevan ellos, como parecerá por los libros de los oficiales de V. M., que se veran cuantos son los intereses ó rentas que de los pueblos que para V. M. tienen señalados, se le han seguido, como ya otra vez hablando á V. M. en esta materia le dige. Y quisieron hacer alguna alteracion ó bullicio, y embiar á prender los que obedecieron la provision de V. M. y hicieron muestra de juntar gente, y aderezar artilleria y hacer capitan de ella, y otros bullicios de esta calidad muy en deservicio de V. M. y desasosiego de la tierra. Como yo lo supe, hablé al obispo de Tascala, y al prior de la orden de Santo Domingo, é al guardian de los Franciscos, y les rogué y dije de parte de V. M. que fuesen á los oydores, y les dijesen como yo habia sabido aquella novedad, y que ya sabian cuanto desasosiego era para la tierra, y cuanto V. M. se deserviria, y que si hacian aquel apercibimiento de artilleria é junta de gente para alguna cosa que conviniese al bien é pacificacion de la tierra, que ya sabian como yo era capitan general, y que ellos habian visto la provision que V. M. me dio, y teniendola muchos dias, que me lo hiciesen saber, porque luego iria con mi persona y con toda la gente que trahia, y con la que mas fuese menester á entender en ello, y que si no era para ese efecto, que les rogaba y aun requeria de parte de V. M. que no hiciesen aquel bullicio ni alboroto, porque seria muy dañoso, antes les pedia que nos conformasemos en todo para el servicio de V. M. y bien y sosiego de la tierra, y otras cosas que me parecio que convenia decirles y amonestarles, para que se cumpliese la voluntad de V. M. pues yo mejor que nadie la sé en este caso.

Este obispo y religiosos aceptaron mi ruego, y fueron á la ciudad de Mexico, donde ellos residen, (y yo me quedé en la provincia de Tascala, porque la Emperatriz mi Señora me embió á mandar por una su cedula, que no entrase en la dicha ciudad con diez leguas á la redonda, á causa que entre los dichos presidente é oydores no hubiese algun escandalo, y asi obedeci y cumpli,) y hablaron á los dichos oydores, é significaron mi voluntad; y ellos respondieron que tambien la suya era de toda conformidad, pero las obras no correspondieron, ni hasta agora han sido conformes á

esta respuesta, porque no solo no han querido cumplir provision alguna ó ninguna de las que V. M. me mandó dar, ni merced de las que me mandó hacer, antes han tenido y tienen nuevas formas para proseguir en hacerme daño; porque luego que les constó la merced que V. M. me hizo del valle de Guaxaca, habiendo visto las provisiones originales, porque tubiese contradicion, y por dar color á su dañada voluntad, fundaron una villa en el dicho valle y repartieron los pueblos del que yo tenia y V. M. me hizo merced, á los vecinos de la dicha villa, los cuales son todos hermanos parientes allegados á los dichos presidente y oydores, é me tomaron todos los otros pueblos que yo tenia en esta Nueva España sin me dejar ninguno, é los repartieron asimismo por personas de esta calidad, para que hubiese opositores, é defendiesen la posesion, pues no era menester mas de oponerse, siendo ellos los jueces, á los cuales dieron luego que en la tierra entre mandamientos de amparo, y con ellos me requirieron. Por manera que demas de haberme quitado toda cuanta hacienda mueble y raiz tenia y dejé en esta Nueva España, me tomaron los dichos pueblos, é me han dejado sin tener de donde haya una hanega de pan, ni otra cosa de que me mantenga, y demas de esto (porque los naturales de la tierra con el amor que siempre me han tenido, vista mi necesidad, é que yo y los que conmigo trahia nos moriamos de hambre, como de hecho se han muerto mas de cien personas de las que en mi compañia trage por falta de refrigerios y necesidad de provisiones, me venian á ver y me provehian de algunas cosas de bastimento) embiaron los dichos oydores alguaciles á prender á los dichos naturales que conmigo estaban, é prendieron é llevaron presos muchos de ellos con mucho escandalo y alboroto, á fin de que los dichos naturales no me proveyesen, é se les diese á entender que yo no era parte para nada en la tierra, é para que con estas afrentas é componerme en estrecho de necesidad, yo no pudiese hacer sino resistir algo, por dar algun color á lo que tan falsamente han propuesto é querido decir, por tener, como han tenido, la tierra en tirania, é que no hubiese en ella quien contradicion les hiciese, para no obedecer, como hasta aqui no han obedecido ni cumplido, carta ni provision de V. M., sino como absolutos señores de ella han robado asi á los naturales como á los nuevos pobladores, y destruidola en tanta manera, que certifico á V. M. que si les durara en el mismo tiempo, ó en muy breve tiempo, la pusieran en el termino que á la Española y á las otras Islas, porque ya falta mas de la mitad de la gente de los naturales á causa de las vexaciones y malos tratamientos que han recibido, que ni han bastado para lo estorvar las ordenanzas que para defensa de esto V. M. mandó hacer y embiar: antes las han tenido suspensas sin cumplir ninguna de ellas, y ahora despues de yo venido andan en darles limitacion, diciendo que no se pueden sufrir; é para me enemistar con los Españoles, dicen é publican que yo fui él que las hice, y di á V. M. el aviso de ellas; y ni tampoco ha bastado la proteccion que V. M. mandó que tubiese el electo obispo de Mexico, porque jamas han querido cumplir ni obedecer las provisiones que para esto trajo: antes porque el dicho electo ha trabajado de defender que no sean los naturales tan mal tratados, le han á él mal tratado y ofendido, asi en la persona poniendole las manos en él, como en la fama levantandole mil testimonios falsos, siendo como es uno de los buenos religiosos y de buena doctrina y ejemplo que pueden ser, y como tal V. M. lo escogió para el cargo: mas porque si el dicho electo lo tubiera, ellos do pudieran haber tenido, como tienen, cada cincuenta mil castellanos en un año, sin casi otros tantos que han gastado en pagar muchas deudas que trajeron, y embiar á esos reynos, como han embiado, en cabeza de otros, mucha suma de oro y joyas, y en banquetas y fiestas con mugeres y otras deshonestidades, que porque hay de estos muchos coronistas, y aun algunas de las coronicas han embiado á V. M. y á su consejo, yo no me entremeto, y tambien porque no quiero ser autor de lo que no he visto.

Yo ando entreteniendo lo que puedo, porque no hagan dar causa á algo de lo que ellos desean por colorar su maldad, y sufriré todo lo posible, aunque certifico á V. M. que ya no puedo sufrir, ni son sufrideras las afrentas que me han hecho y cada dia me hacen, ni la gran necesidad en que me ponen, por haberme quitado los alimentos, como hicieron al electo obispo, desde que no tubieron otra cosa que hacer con él, y sufriré hasta esperar la nueva audiencia, mas si se tarda, será imposible que no haya de tomar los pueblos que V. M. me hizo merced, pues para ello me da autoridad y poder para poder mantenerme, y que no se me acabe de morir de hambre la gente que me queda, que en otra cosa no pienso entremeterme, hasta que, como digo, venga la nueva audiencia, porque venidos estos, V. M. será mejor informado de ellos, de las cosas que acá han pasado y pasan.

Tambien Nuño de Guzman, Presidente de esta audiencia, vista la provision que V. M. me mandó dar de su Capitan General en esta Nueva-España, que la tubo en su poder muchos dias, porque la tomó á la persona con quien yo la embié desde Castilla, como tomaba todas las otras cartas que de aquellos reynos á esta Nueva-España venian, sin autoridad alguna, ni poder de V. M. hizo mucha gente y ha ido por muchas provincias que yo tenia vistas y andadas, y algunas muy pacificas, é ha las robado é alborotado, en especial la de Mechoacan, que V. M. sabe cuanto tiempo ha que está en su real servicio. Atormentó al Señor de ella, y le sacó mucha suma de oro y plata, é porque

no se supiese la cantidad le mató, diciendo que el dicho Señor tenia cierta gente de guerra para pelear con él, que fue muy al contrario de la verdad: y puesto que por cartas de muchas personas de los que estan en su compañia, y por informacion de algunos de los que de alla han venido, he sabido el poco fruto que hace en la tierra por donde anda, por no haber pasado de las provincias que yo tenia andadas, antes se está en ellas gastandolas y alborotandolas, y conozco (y asi es notorio á todos) que de su estada Dios Nuestro Señor, y V. M. son muy deservidos y la tierra muy destruida y alborotada.

Yo quisiera evitar aquel daño con ir, ó embiar mi lugar-teniente para tomara quella gente, y con ella, y con la que mas trage, é la que conmigo fuera de buena voluntad, sin los llevar por fuerza como el hizo, para pasar adelante, y descubrir y poblar mas tierra y asegurar las que estaban descubiertas, no lo he osado, ni oso hacer, porque no me levanten que doy causa á desasosiego, y helo hecho saber á los oydores, y á ellos bien les consta todo lo que he dicho, pero tambien quieren suspender esta provision como todas las otras, porque les parece que no ternian conmigo la compañia que con Nuño de Guzman tienen.

Ya V. M. sabe como al tiempo que yo me parti para estos reynos, dejé en la costa del Sur cuatro navios casi acabados, para embiar en seguimiento de los que V. M. me mandó que embiase á Maluco, y despues se hizo otro, que fueron cinco, y estaban á punto con todas las cosas necesarias para seguir el dicho viage, de donde tengo por muy cierto que V. M. fuera muy servido, asi en socorrer aquellas gentes que se embiaron poblar alguna parte de aquellas islas, como en descubrir otras. Llegados los dichos oydores, quitaron la persona que yo dejé para entender en los dichos navios, é le trajeron preso á esta ciudad, é quitaron los pueblos que entendian en la obra de ellos, é la suspendieron, por manera que todas las xarcias é otras cosas que estaban para los dichos navios, estan casi perdidas, y los maestros estubieron cerca de un año sin hacer nada, y despues condenaron á la persona que dejé en cargo de los dichos navios en tres mil y tantos castellanos de los salarios que pidieron aquellos maestros del tiempo que estubieron suspensos, habiendolos ellos suspendido: é para pagarlos se vendió mucha hacienda, por manera que toda la obra cesó, y no se si se aprovechará la que estaba hecha, porque está muy dañada y destruida y robada la xarcia como dicho tengo, y los maestros idos por muchas partes, donde demas del interes de V. M., que no es poco, á mi me destruyeron mas de veinte mil castellanos que tenia gastados en la obra é aparejos de los dichos cinco navios, todo á fin que no pareciese servicio mio; y es verdad que esto he sentido mas que toda la otra hacienda que me han destruido, y que pasa de trescientos mil castellanos, por lo que se ha estorbado de servir á Dios y á V. M. con aquella armada, y por lo que yo conoci el deseo que V. M. tiene de saber el secreto de estas partes, y por el que yo trato de emplear mi persona en este descubrimiento, plegue á Dios que no permita que el demonio dé ya mas estorvos en esta obra, sino que se cumpla la voluntad que V. M. tiene de servirle, y porque en estas partes se predique su santo evangelio, que yo aparejado estoy á seguir esta jornada hasta morir en ella; y que esta nueva audiencia no se tarde, porque venida, tengo mucha esperanza que habrá remedio, porque aunque no conozco los oydores, al presidente tengo por persona de mucha rectitud ó conciencia por el tiempo que le conversé en la Isla Española. En viniendo haré mas larga relacion á V. M. de lo que hubiere.

Suplico á V. M. sea servido mandarme siempre avisar de su voluntad, porque yo acierte, pues es este mi principal deseo, y lo mandé asi á los del consejo, pues estan mas cerca de hacerlo: y tambien me hagan merced de me mandar escribir las nuevas de todo lo acaecido á V. M. en esas partes, porque acá demos gracias á Dios, y nos regocijemos con sus victorias, que yo espero por la santa intencion de V. M. es por esas partes, y nosotros por estotras hemos de atraher al corral mucha parte de las ovejas perdidas*. Sacra Cesarea Catolica Magestad, Dios Nuestro Señor la muy Real Persona de V. M. guarde y conserve en su servicio por muy largos tiempos en acrecentamiento de mayores reynos y señorios. De la ciudad de Tezcuco de esta Nueva-España á 10 de Octubre 1530 años. De Vuestra Sacra Catolica Magestad muy humilde criado y vasallo que sus muy reales pies y manos de V. M. besa. El Marques del Valle.

* Cortes seems to hint in the motto which he took for his coat of arms, that the destruction of the city of Mexico was a judgement from the Lord upon the Jews for their sins; and in designating the Mexicans '*ovejas perdidas*,' he might significantly allude to the 'lost sheep' of the house of Israel.

CARTA SEXTA.

Sacra Cesarea Catolica Magestad. Pense que haber trabajado en la juventud me aprovechara para que en la vejez tubiera descanso, y asi ha cuarenta años que me he ocupado en no dormir, mal comer, y á las veces, ni bien ni mal, traer las armas á cuestas, poner la persona en peligros, y gastar mi hacienda y edad, todo en servicio de Dios, trayendo *ovejas á su corral muy remotas de nuestro emisferio*, é ignotas y no escritas en *nuestras* escrituras, y acrecentando y dilatando el nombre y patrimonio de mi Rey, ganandole y trayendole á su yugo y real cetro muchos y muy grandes reynos y señorios de muchas barbaras naciones y gentes, ganados por mi propia persona y expensas, sin ser ayudado de cosa alguna, antes muy estorbado por muchos emulos é embidiosos, que como sanguijuelas han rebentado de hartos de mi sangre.

De la parte que á Dios cupo de mis trabajos y vigilias asaz estoy satisfecho ó pagado, porque siendo la obra suya, quiso tomarme por medio, y que las gentes me atribuyesen alguna parte, aunque quien conociere de mi, lo que yo, verá claro que no sin causa la divina providencia quiso que una obra tan grande se acabase por el mas flaco de todos é inutil medio que se puede hallar, porque á solo Dios era ó fuese él atributo.

De la que á mi Rey quedó la remuneracion, siempre estube satisfecho que, cæteris paribus, no fuera menor por ser en tiempo de V. M., que nunca estos reynos de España donde yo soy natural, y á quien cupo este beneficio, fueron poseidos de tan grande y catolico principe, magnanimo y poderoso rey, y asi V. M. la primera vez que le besé las manos y entregue los frutos de mis servicios, mostró reconocimiento de ellos, y comenzó á mostrar voluntad de me hacer gratificacion, honrando mi persona con palabras y obras, que pareciendome á mi que no se equiparaban á mis meritos, V. M. sabe que rehusé yo de recibir.

V. M. me dijo y mandó que los aceptase, porque pareciese que me comenzaba á hacer alguna merced, y que no las recibiese por pago de mis servicios, porque V. M. se queria haber conmigo como se han los que se muestran á tirar á la ballesta, que los primeros tiros dan fuera del terreno, y enmendando dan en él y en el blanco y fiel, que la merced que V. M. me hacia, era dar fuera del terreno, y que iria enmendando hasta dar en el fiel de lo que yo merecia; y pues que no se me quitaba nada de lo que tenia, ni se me habia de quitar, que recibiese lo que me daba, y asi besé las manos de V. M. por ello. En volviendo las espaldas, quitóseme lo que tenia todo, y no se me cumplió la merced que V. M. me hizo, y demas de estas palabras que V. M. me dijo, y obras que me prometió, que pues me tiene tan buena memoria, no se le habran olvidado, por cartas de V. M. firmadas de su real nombre, tengo otras muy mayores; y pues mis servicios hechos hasta alli son benemeritos de las obras y promesas que V. M. me hizo, y despues acá no lo han desmerecido, antes nunca he cesado de servir y acrecentar el patrimonio de estos reynos, y con mil estorvos, que si no los hubiese tenido, no fuera menos lo acrecentado despues que la merced se me hizo, que lo he hecho por que la mereci.

No sé porque no se me cumple la promesa de las mercedes ofrecidas, y se me quitan las hechas; y si quisieren decir que no se me quitan pues poseo algo, cierto es, que nada é inutil son una misma cosa; y lo que tengo es tan sin fruto, que me fuera harto mejor no tenerlo, porque hubiera entendido en mis grangerias y no gastado el fruto de ellas por defenderme del fiscal de V. M., porque ha sido y es mas dificultoso que ganar la tierra de los enemigos. Asi que mi trabajo aprovechó para mi contentamiento de haber hecho el deber, y no para conseguir el efecto de él, pues no solo no se me siguió reposo á la vejez, mas trabajo hasta la muerte, y plugiese á Dios que no pasase adelante, sino que con la corporal se acabase y no se estendiese á la perpetua, porque quien tanto trabajó tiene en defender el cuerpo, no puede dejar de ofender al anima.

Suplico á V. M. no permita que á tan notorios servicios haya tan poco miramiento, y pues es de creer que no es á culpa de V. M. que las gentes lo sepan, porque como esta obra que Dios hizo por mi medio, es tan grande y maravillosa, y se ha estendido la fama de ella por todos los reynos de V. M. y de los otros Reyes Cristianos, y aun por algunos infiéles; en estos donde hay noticia del pleyto de entre el fiscal y mi, no se trata de cosa mas; y unos atribuyen á la culpa del fiscal, otros á culpas mias; y estas no las hallan tan grandes, que si bastasen para por ellas negarseme el premio, no bastasen tambien para quitarme la vida, honra y hacienda; y pues esto no se hace, que no debe ser mia la culpa: á V. M. ninguna se atribuye, porque si V. M. quisiese quitarme lo que me dio, poder tiene para ejecutarlo, pues al que quiere y puede nada es imposible. Decir que se buscan formas para colorar la obra y que no se sienta el intento, ni caben ni pueden caber en los Reyes ungidos por Dios tales medios, porque para con él

no hay color que no sea trasparente: para con el mundo no hay para que colorarlo, porque asi lo quiero, asi lo mando, es el descargo de lo que los reyes hacen.

Yo supliqué á V. M. en Madrid, fuese servido de aclarar la voluntad que tubo de hacerme merced en pago de mis servicios, y le traje á la memoria algunos de ellos: dijome V. M. que mandaria á los del consejo que me despachasen: pensé que se les dejaba mandado lo que habian de hacer, porque V. M. me dijo que no queria que trajere pleyto con el fiscal: cuando quise saberlo, dijeronme que me defendiese de la demanda del fiscal, porque habia de ir por tela de justicia, y por ella se habia de sentenciar. Sentilo por grave, y escribi á V. M. á Barcelona, suplicandole que pues era servido de entrar en juicio de su siervo, lo fuese en que hubiese jueces sin sospecha, y V. M. mandase que con los del consejo de las Indias se juntasen y algunos de los otros, pues todos son criados de V. M., y que juntos todos lo determinasen; no fue V. M. servido, que no puedo alcanzar la causa, pues cuantos mas lo viesen, mejor alcanzarian lo que se debia hacer.

Veome viejo y pobre y empeñado en este reyno en mas de veinte mil ducados, sin mas de cien otros que he gastado de los que trage é me han embiado, que algunos de ellos debo tambien, que los han tomado prestados para embiarme, y todos corren cambios, y en cinco años, poco mas ó menos que ha que sali de mi casa, no es mucho lo que he gastado, pues nunca he salido de la corte con tres hijos que traigo en ella, con letrados, procuradores y solicitadores, que todo fuera mejor empleado que V. M. se sirviria de ello, y de lo que yo mas hubiera adquirido en este tiempo.

He ayudado tambien la ida de Argel*. Pareceme que al coger del fruto de mis trabajos no debia hecharlos en vasijas rotas, y dejarlo en juicio de pocos, sino tornar á suplicar á V. M. sea servido que todos cuantos jueces V. M. tiene en sus consejos, conozcan de esta causa, y conforme á justicia la sentenciasen.

Yo he sentido del obispo de Cuenca, que deseo que hubiere para esto otros jueces demas de los que hay, porque él y el licenciado Salmeron, nuevo oydor en este consejo de las Indias, son los que me despojaron sin oirme de hecho, siendo jueces en la Nueva España, como lo tengo probado, y con quien yo traigo pleyto sobre el dicho despojo, y les pido cantidad de dineros de los intereses y rentas de lo que me despojaron, y está claro que no han de sentenciar contra si: no les he querido recusar en este caso, porque siempre crey que V. M. fuera servido que no llegaria á estos terminos, y no siendo V. M. servido que haya mas jueces que determinen esta causa, serme ha forzado recusar al obispo de Cuenca y á Salmeron, y pesarme habia en el anima, porque no podra ser sin alguna dilacion, que para mi no podia ser cosa mas dañosa, porque he sesenta años, y anda en cinco que sali de mi casa, y no tengo mas de un hijo varon que me suceda; y aunque tengo la muger moza para poder tener mas, mi edad no sufre esperar mucho: y si no tubiese otro, y Dios dispusiese de este sin dejar sucesion, que me habria aprovechado lo adquirido, pues sucediendo hijas se pierde la memoria? Otra y otra vez torno á suplicar á V. M. sea servido que con los jueces del consejo de Indias se junten otros jueces de estos otros consejos; pues todos son criados de V. M., y les fia la gobernacion de sus reynos y su real conciencia, no es inconveniente fiar les que determinen sobre una escritura de merced que V. M. hizo á un su vasallo de una partiesta de un gran todo con que él sirvió á V. M. sin costar trabajo ni peligro de su real persona, ni cuidado de espiritu de proveer como se hiciere, ni costa de dineros para pagar la gente que lo hizo; y que tan limpia y lealmente sirvió, no solo con la tierra que ganó, pero con mucha cantidad de oro y plata y piedras de los despojos que en ella hubo; y que V. M. mande á los jueces que fuere servido que entiendan en ello, que en un cierto tiempo que V. M. les señale, lo determinen y sentencien sin que haya esta dilacion, y esta será para mi muy gran merced, porque á dilatarse, dejarlo he perder, y volver me he á mi casa, porque no tengo ya edad para andar por mesones, sino para recogerme á aclarar mi cuenta con Dios, pues la tengo larga y poca vida para dar los descargos, y sera mejor dejar perder la hacienda que el anima.

Sacra Magestad, Dios Nuestro Señor guarde la muy Real Persona de V. M. con el acrecentamiento de reynos y estado que V. M. desea. De Valladolid à 3 de Febrero de 1544 años. De Vuestra Catolica Magestad muy humilde siervo y vasallo, que sus muy reales pies y manos besa. El Marques del Valle.†

* The expedition against Algiers, of which Cortes takes occasion here to remind the Emperor, proved signally disastrous to the Spaniards, whose fleet was dispersed in a storm at sea. Clavigero remarks, that on that occasion Cortes lost the most precious of the jewels he had brought from Mexico, and amongst the number an emerald carved in the shape of a cup, for which the Venetians had offered an immense price, intending to dispose of it to the Grand Seignor.

† Todas estas *Cartas Originales* firmadas del mismo Hernando Cortes, y algunas por duplicado, se hallan en el archivo general de Indias de Sevilla, entre los primeros legajos rotulados de *Patronato Real*, entre los papeles trahidos de Simancas. Copiaronse y confrontaronse con prolijidad en Sevilla á 27 de Mayo de 1793.

Memorial dirigido al Emperador por el Marques del Valle.

Sacra Cesarea Catolica Majestad.—El Marques del Valle suplica á V. M. se acuerde, que desde el año de cuatro, que pasó á las partes de las Indias, ha servido y sirve en las cosas siguientes.

Primero sirvió á V. M. y á la corona real de estos reynos en la Isla Española, en las conquistas y pacificacion de las provincias de Higue, y del Bauruco, Daygguas, Yntagua, Xuaragua, Aneguayagua, que hasta aquel presente no estaban conquistadas.

Ytem sirvió en la Isla de Cuba, é fué la principal parte de la pacificacion y poblacion de ella, como está probado en los descargos de su residencia.

Ytem salió desde la Isla de Cuba el año de diez y ocho, con quince navios suyos y en ellos quinientos hombres, sin algunos negros é Indios de la dicha Isla, contra la voluntad de Diego Velazquez, gobernador que á la sazon era de la dicha Isla, como asimismo está probado en los dichos descargos de su residencia, que por estar bastantemente probado alli, no los relata y se remite á lo que los testigos dicen, y como no pudo el dicho Diego Velazquez* estorbarle la salida por tener el dicho Marques ya mucha gente, defendió tacitamente y en algunas partes expreso que no pudiese sacar bastimentos para su armada. E visto por el dicho Marques, una noche tomó toda la carne que estaba para abastecer la ciudad de Santiago, de cuyo puerto salió ó saltó, y la metió sin que nadie lo sintiese en sus navios, y sabido por el obligado, vino á él aquella noche llorando porque le tomó la carne, diciendo que dicho gobernador y regimiento le echarian á perder por no proveer la ciudad, y que él no podia tener otra carne dentro de ocho dias, que por amor de Dios no le hiciere tanto daño. El dicho Marques se quitó una cadena que tenia al cuello con uno abrojo (de oro), é la dió al dicho obligado, que se llamaba Hernan Dalonso, é se la dió, diciendo: Toma la paga de la carne que yo os he tomado, y lo demas que sobrare de lo que la cadena vale, sea para la pena que os llevaren, porque yo no puedo hacer otra cosa, porque tengo la gente y navios perdidos por no querer Diego Velasquez dar lugar que se me den bastimentos para mi armada, y asi salió del puerto otro dia de mañana con sus navios y con este poco bastimento.

Salido en la mar, despachó uno de los dichos navios con cantidad de mercaderias (cargase el navio que llevaba) á la Isla de Jamayca, y por capitan de él á un Pedro Suarez Gallinato, natural de Sevilla, al cual mandó que fuese á la dicha Isla, y á trueco de dichas mercaderias cargase el navio que llevaba de pan y carne y otros bastimentos, el cual lo hizo y truxo mil cargas de pan cazavi, y dos mil tozinos, y muchos favoles y aves y otras cosas.

El se fué con los otros navios á la provincia de Macaca, donde de una hacienda de V. M. compró del mayordomo de ella quinientas é tantas cargas de dicho pan y algunos tozinos.

De alli pasó al puerto de la Trinidad, y de otro mayordomo de V. M. compró otras quinientas cargas pocas mas ó menos, y tambien algunos tozinos.

Alli tuvo noticia que de la provincia de la Havana habia de venir un navio de un Juan Nuñez Sedeño, cargado de pan y de tozinos y de otros bastimentos, y envió el dicho Marques un caravelon que se llamaba el Guerho, y en él por capitan á un Diego de Ordas, y mandole que se metiese entre unas islas por donde habia de pasar el dicho navio, y que llegado se llegare á él, y que con la mayor maña que pudiere, sin escandalo, tomase el dicho navio y bastimentos, y al señor de él y mercaderes metiere en el caravelon que él llevaba, y los enviase al puerto de la Trinidad donde él quedaba, para pagarles lo que valiese, y asi se hizo, y el dicho Juan Nuñez Sedeño y un fulano de Sandoval y otros que traian bastimentos en el dicho navio vinieron, y les pagó cantidad de dos mil y tantos castellanos en que fueron tasados los dichos bastimentos en lazadas de oro, que no trueco otra moneda.

De alli se fué á la dicha provincia de la Havana, donde tambien halló puesto estanco para que no le diesen bastimentos, y halló alli á un Christoval de Quesada, que cogia los diezmos por el obispo, y á un tesorero de la cruzada, que cobraba ciertas bulas, y no le pagaban por no haber dineros en aquella provincia á causa de no haber minas, al qual le dixo, que recibiese la paga en pan y carne y otros bastimentos, é que él se los pagaria al precio que él los tomase de los vecinos, y asi se hizo, y con esto, y con los diezmos, hubo de alli dos mil y quinientas y tantas cargas de pan, y cerca de tres mil tozinos, y muchas aves y puercos en pie, y otras legumbres, con que acabó de abastecer

* Las Casas censures Cortes in the severest terms for the conduct he pursued towards Diego Velasquez; nor does he scruple in the third volume of his inedited History of America, to accuse him of grossly misrepresenting facts in his account of that transaction to the Emperor.

su armada con harto trabajo y costa, y tardó en esto desde diez y ocho dias del mes de Octubre del año de diez y ocho, hasta diez y ocho del mes de Enero del año de diez y nueve, que acabó de salir de la dicha Isla de Cuba del Cabo Corrientes; y de su viage se siguió lo que V. M. ha visto, como puede ver por las relaciones que particularmente de cada cosa de lo que le sucedió envió á V. M., y se podrá informar de algunas particularidades en que su persona se mostró en aquellas conquistas, que por escribirlas él, y ser en causa propia, dejo de expresar, que hay muchas y algunas de ellas que manifiestan solo su persona en muchas cosas haber sido parte para hacer dichas conquistas, lo qual asi mismo está probado en los descargos de su residencia, y hay hoy muchos testigos vivos, y algunos en estos reynos y aun en esta corte, que los vieron y saben.

En la Nueva España sugetó á la corona real de V. M. muchas provincias, ciudades, villas y lugares, segun que de todo V. M., cree, está informado.

Pacificas estas, trabajó de dar orden como los naturales de ellas conservasen sus vidas y haciendas, y conociesen á Dios, y sirviesen á V. M., muy al contrario de lo que hasta entonces se habia hecho en aquellas partes, como consta por el suceso; poblóla de gente Espanola, á mucha costa suya, dando mucha cantidad de dineros á unos para que fuesen por sus mugeres é hijas, para que se arraygasen en la tierra, é ayudandoles en los casamientos de ellas; á otros pagando los fletes y sosteniendolos, é ayudandoles con darles de comer y ropas é caballos é otras cosas.

Poblólas de ganados de todas maneras, como se parece en la cantidad que hoy hay de ellos, y asimismo de muchas plantas, de que no solamente muchos de los Españoles que allá hay viven, pero aun los naturales se aprovechan, en especial de plantar morales, y llevar simiente de seda y sostenerla diez años, hasta que hubo muchos que se aplicaron á ella viendo el interese.

Entre las provincias que el dicho Marques conquistó y pobló en la dicha Nueva España, fueron Guatemala, Fonduras y Hueras*, Panuco, Xalisco, ó la Nueva Galicia; las unas y las otras dió V. M. en gobernacion á quien fué servido: suplica á V. M., asi por lo que es obligado al servicio de V. M., como por lo que debe á su conciencia é importa á su honra é interese, se informe como estaban al tiempo que el dicho Marques las gobernó, y están agora, y la necesidad que tienen de remedio; y sobre esto descarga su conciencia y encarga la de V. M. sino se informase muy particularmente de cada cosa por sí; y suplica á V. M. no sea la informacion de él, porque no puede dejar, diciendo como ha de decir verdad, de tocar ó en pasion ó en interese suyo, que aunque de él este libre, no será juzgado por tal, y á esta causa V. M. y los de su consejo saben cuanto él se ha escusado dar noticia ni hablar en nada de estas cosas, aunque muchas veces ha sido reprehendido de sus confesores, y lo que agora dice no es sin harta pena suya, pero constreñido á ello.

Por remuneracion de estos servicios, V. M. estando en la ciudad de Toledo, el año de veinte y nueve, hizo merced al dicho Marques de honrarle y darle este titulo del Valle de Guaxaca, que és en la dicha Nueva España, y ciertos pueblos que le señaló en cantidad de veinte y tres mil vasallos en todos sus terminos y jurisdiccion, alto y bajo, y mero y mixto imperio, y con todas sus aldeas y sugetos y vasallos, segun que se contiene en la merced que V. M. le hizo, y á que se refiere.

Notificada la merced que V. M. le hizo por el comendador mayor de Leon, secretario de V. M., y por el reverendisimo Cardenal de Sevilla, que á la sazon era su confesor, el dicho Marques respondió, que besaba los pies á V. M. por la merced, pero que no la queria recibir, porque no le parecia que correspondia á sus servicios, ni se equiparaba á ellos, que creia que era la causa no tener V. M. noticia de las cosas de aquellas partes, é creyendo que era bastante se la hacia, que despues que V. M. estubiese informado y supiese lo que era, V. M. se la haria como sus servicios lo merecian, y asi el dicho Marques lo refirió á V. M., y le respondió estas palabras formales, de que cree V. M. terná memoria, pues se le suelen olvidar pocas cosas en especial servicios.

"Cortes, lo que Yo os doy, no es, ni vos lo recibireis por final paga de vuestros servicios, porque Yo no estoy informado de las cosas de allá, y entre tanto quierome ver con vos como los que se muestran á jugar á la ballesta, que los primeros tiros dan fuera del terrero, y de alli enmiendase, hasta dar en él, y en el blanco y en el fiel; informado Yo de las cosas de allá, lo haré asi con vos, hasta dar en el fiel de lo que vuestros servicios merecen, y pues hasta tanto no se os quita, ni se os ha de quitar nada de lo que teneis recibido, lo que agora Yo os doy en patrimonio recibidlo, porque parezca que comenzo á haceros alguna gracia y merced."

El dicho Marques besó las manos de V. M. por la merced y la aceptó, con lo que V. M. le prometió que no se le habia de quitar nada, ni se le quitaria hasta que V. M. satisfaciere á sus servicios.

* Higueras is the province here alluded to.

Recibió licencia de V. M. en Barcelona, donde se quexó de los agravios que Nuño de Guzman y los oidores de la primera audiencia le hicieron, y V. M., como Catolico Rey y Señor, lo mandó proveer, y aunque ellos fueron en algo punidos, él hasta hoy no está restituido en nada de los daños y agravios que le hicieron, y aunque están muy notorios y sentenciados por tales y fueron en mucha cantidad.

Fué á la Nueva España y llevó su muger, presentó las provisiones de la merced que V. M. le hizo, y no solo no le cumplieron, ni le han cumplido la dicha merced, pero aun lo que tenia le quitaron, y de lo que le dieron en cumplimiento, le han tornado á quitar algunos pedazos.

Ytem: V. M. le mandó por su carta firmada de su real nombre, que enviase tres navios que tenia en la Mar del Sur, á buscar á las Islas de Maluco á los capitanes Garcia de Loaysa y Sebastian Gaboto, que importaba mucho al servicio de V. M., y que le haria en esto muy gran servicio en que con toda brevedad los despachase, y que fuesen muy bien bastecidos y pertrechados, de manera que por falta de esto no dejasen de hacer á lo que iban; y si hallasen algunos de los capitanes en necesidad los pudieren socorrer; y que enviaba á mandar á sus oficiales y al licenciado Luis Ponce, juez de residencia, que le diesen todo lo necesario para la dicha armada, lo qual él pidió; y nunca le dieron, y él lo proveyó á su costa; y teniendolo ya á punto para despachar los dichos navios, se le quemó una casa donde tenia todos los aparejos de ellos, y los bastimentos y rescates que habian de llevar, que le costó segun parece por la cuenta, mas de sesenta mil ducados; y visto cuanto V. M. encarecia el servicio que en aquella jornada recibia, el dicho Marques los tornó á proveer y gastar mas de otros sesenta mil ducados en proveerlos de nuevo, segun consta por las cuentas que de ello hay; y asi se despachó la dicha armada, y hizo lo que V. M. sabe y és informado.

Ytem V. M. mandó que enviase navios por aquella costa á buscar un estrecho, que V. M. era informado que habia que pasaba á la Mar del Sur, porque descubriendose seria el mayor servicio que la corona real de Castilla podia recibir; y aunque V. M. no mandó proveer de cosa alguna para la costa de este descubrimiento, visto lo que V. M. encarecia este servicio, y con el deseo que el dicho Marques siempre ha tenido de emplear su persona y hacienda en este efecto, proveyó para ello cinco navios, y por capitan de ellos á un Cristoval de Olid, natural de Uveda ó Baeza, donde gastó mas de cincuenta mil ducados, como consta por las cuentas, el cual dicho capitan se alzó con el armada, y para recobrarla le costó lo que V. M. ya está informado.

Ytem, enviando el dicho Marques á estos reynos por su muger, y para llevarla treinta y tantos mil castellanos de oro y plata y otras joyas, fue servido V. M. de lo tomar y servirse de ello, y recibió dos cartas, que hoy el dicho Marques tiene firmadas del real nombre de V. M. la una á su padre, y la otra á él, que ambas asi son de un tenor, en que dice V. M. que por tener necesidad y muy cierta la voluntad del dicho Marques para su servicio, quiso antes socorrerse de aquellos dineros suyos que de otra persona, y les mandaba que lo tuviesen por bien, é daba su fé y palabra real de pagarlos, é demas tener memoria del servicio que en aquello habia recibido, y hacerle por ello merced: ni de esto, ni de ninguna cosa de los gastos y espensas que él ha hecho hasta hoy, ha tenido paga ni recompensa, ni memoria de que haya recibido en ello.

Ytem, por proseguir su intento, que ha sido y és siempre servir á V. M. y dilatar su nombre y patrimonio real por todo el mundo, si él para ello bastase, tomó cierto asiento con V. M. para descubrir á su costa por la Mar del Sur de la Nueva España, tierras donde se consiguiese este fin; y en prosecucion de este descubrimiento, hizo cinco armadas, en que ha gastado doscientos y quarenta y tantos mil ducados, segun parece por las cuentas, y puesto su persona á peligro de muerte, y muerto en la demanda dos deudos suyos y otras personas y amigos, y habiendo descubierto algunas tierras, y prosiguiendo en descubrir otras de que tenia noticia, Don de Mendoza, Viso-Rey de V. M., le mandó so pena de cincuenta mil castellanos, y la persona á merced de V. M., que no prosiguiere en dicho descubrimiento, y demas desto le tomó y embarazó todos los navios, velas y xarcias, bastimentos y otras cosas que tenia para dicho descubrimiento; y no obstante que por el dicho Marques fué requerido, como consta por los testimonios que de ello tengo, que no le impidiese, porque tenia muchos aparejos para enviar á un capitan que habia enviado al dicho descubrimiento, los quales y los navios que para enviarlos tenia se le perderian, y el capitan y gente que tenia allá padecerian necesidad y algun peligro que por no ser socorridos, nunca lo quiso hacer, donde se le siguió al dicho Marques daño en mucha cantidad, y el capitan que tenia en el dicho descubrimiento se volvió por no ser socorrido, y el dicho Marques vino á estos reynos á pedir á V. M. remedio de tan gran fuerza y agravio.

Y por torzedor de que el dicho Marques no viniese á quexarse, habiendo suspendido la cuenta de los vasallos de que V. M. le hizo merced, le tornó á hazer muchos mandos al tiempo de su partida, que . . . . . cuenta, é ha informado á V. M. muy al reves de lo que antes, que entre el dicho Virrey y el dicho Marques tubiesen esta pendencia

sentia y aun habia escrito; y el dicho Virrey sin autoridad de V. M., sino movido de su interese, envió gente al descubrimiento y conquista del dicho Marques, no lo pudiendo hacer, porque ya que aquello no fuera dentro de los limites y demarcacion de la capitulacion é asiento que V. M. con el dicho Marques mandó tomar, ninguna tierra nueva, asi de tierra nueva como de algun rebelion, podia hacer, sino el dicho Marques, pues és capitan general de V. M. en aquellas partes, y el dicho Don Antonio, gobernador, de donde consta muy claro, que propio interese y no servicio de V. M. le motivó hacerle la fuerza y agravio que le hizo, porque claro está que es corta la experiencia y suficiencia del dicho Marques que la del capitan que el dicho Virrey envió.

Ytem, venido el dicho Marques á estos reynos, como V. M. estaba ausente de ellos, no ha tenido remedio, ni ha cesado la fuerza, antes el dicho Virrey todavia procede: quiso el dicho Marques ir á Flandes, ó á Alemania, donde V. M. estaba, y procuró con toda instancia, asi por las personas que aca lo podian saber, como escribiendo á otras donde V. M. estaba, si en su ida podia servir en algo, ó si le seria penoso á V. M., y de todas partes fue avisado que estubiese quedo, porque la venida de V. M. seria breve, y allá no habia en que servir, pues V. M. andaba muy de camino, y asi lo hizo hasta que supo que V. M. venia sobre Argel, y pareciendole, que hallandose en estos reynos no hacia lo que debia ni cumplia su deseo, sino se hallase donde la real persona de V. M. iba, fue, y no el menos proveido de los que allá fueron, ni él que menos gastó en la jornada; y llevó dos hijos que tiene para poder servir, y asi hiziese con ciento que tuviera, porque otro niño que no era para la jornada, dejó en servicio del Principe Nuestro Señor, y Dios sabe lo que el deseó con su persona su deseo, aunque Dios no fué servido.

Otros muchos servicios y no de menos calidad que los que refiere, pudiera manifestar, sino por dar pesadumbre á V. M., y porque muchos de ellos son que particularmente tocan á su persona y son notorios, y quando los bienaventurados hechos de V. M. pareciesen en sus coronicas, ponen ahora por orla, que no le sera poco premio.

Solo suplica á V. M. mire y resuma sus servicios, en que él solo se ha señalado en aquellas partes, asi en las conquistas que en ellas se han hecho, como en la conversacion y conversion de los naturales, y poblacion y gobernacion de las tierras, y que nadie como él ha hecho estas tres cosas, y que no tiene V. M. en aquellas partes sino lo que él ganó y gobernó, y que tuviera mas sino hubieran estorvado, y habiendo respeto á esto, y á que le quiso honrar con titulo honroso, V. M. le gratifique y honre por manera que él pueda sustentar la honra y estado que V. M. le puso, y que no permita que las fuerzas y agravios que Don Antonio de Mendoza le ha hecho, pasen sin restitucion de sus daños; y pues V. M. muy brevemente, y sin pesadumbre, entendiendo como entiende la cosmografia, por la capitulacion y asiento que conmigo se tomó, cuan notoriamente se le hizo fuerza, y el dicho Don Antonio se movió por su interese, y no por servir á V. M., antes ha sido muy deservido en ello, lo mande ver y entender por su real persona, pues antes será recreacion que pesadumbre, y no permita que se haga pleyto ordinario, porque aunque él pierde mucho y recibe agravio, V. M. pierde mas, porque aquellas partes nuevamente descubiertas son, segun ha diez y siete años que él tiene noticia de ellas, de mucha calidad y cantidad, y de grande acrecentamiento á la corona de estos reynos, y como tal les conviene entrar en ellas por la orden necesaria, y no por la ordinaria que se ha tenido y tiene en todo lo conquistado fuera de la Nueva España, porque pequeño yerro al principio és muy grande en el fin, y aqui qualquiera que haya no puede ser pequeño, antes irrecuperable y sin remedio, como consta por ejemplo de lo pasado, donde Dios nuestro Señor ha sido muy deservido, y V. M. y sus rentas reales muy desaprovechados.

Ytem, suplica á V. M. considere que habiendo el dicho Marques sido solo y señalado en aquellas partes, en lo que ha dicho y en todas las cosas que pudiera decir, V. M. tambien le ha señalado en no tener con él la orden que con todos los que han conquistado en aquellas partes ha tenido, que és no quitar á ninguno, como no ha quitado, la gobernacion de lo que conquistó; y con él se ha tenido esta en este reyno, que en lo que conquistó ha proveido V. M. muchos gobernadores, y á él se le ha quitado todo, no habiendo habido falta en su persona y gobernacion, antes prefiriendose á todos, porque aunque en esto él ha recibido mucho, por quitarle el trabajo corporal y de peligro de su conciencia, no dexa de estar afrentado, porque el vulgo no puede dexar de sospechar que siendo sus servicios tan notorios, hay con él esta novedad, hay tambien alguna causa que sea bastante, la cual él no conoce; y suplica á V. M. que si la hay, la manifieste, porque por ventura no será como á V. M. le hayan informado, y dara descargo, y no le teniendo, conocerse ha que V. M. le hace merced en perdonarle, y no és ingrato en gratificarle.*

* La copia de esta Memorial esta sacada de otra simple que está en un tomo folio MS., que contiene un traslado de las Cartas de Relacion de Hernan Cortes, dirigidas al Emperador Carlos Quinto, y se entregó á este fin por Don Miguel de Sarrea, apoderado del excelentisimo Señor Marques de Valle, de que certifico yo Don José Miguel de Flores, Academico de numero, y Secretario perpetuo de la Academia Real de la Historia, en Madrid á 12 de Enero de 1779.—Miguel de Flores.

RELACIONES INEDITAS

DE

FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO.

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*Dialogo del Alcaide de la Fortaleza de la Ciudad é Puerto de Santo Domingo de la Isla Española, Autor y Chronista destas Historias, de la una parte, é de la otra, un Caballero vecino de la gran Ciudad de Mexico, llamado Ihoan Cano.**

Alc. SEÑOR, ayer supe que V. M. vive en la gran ciudad de Mexico, y que os llamais Ihoan Cano, y porque yo tube amistad con un caballero llamado Diego Cano, que fue criado del serenisimo principe Don Ihoan, mi Señor, de gloriosa memoria, deseo saber si es vivo, é de donde sois, Señor, natural, é como quedastes avecindado en estas partes, é rescibiré merced que no rescibais pesadumbre de mis preguntas, porque tengo necesidad de saber algunas cosas de la Nueva España, y es razon que para mi satisfaccion yo procure entender lo que deseo de tales personas é abito que merezcan credito; y ansi, Señor, recibiré mucha merced de la vuestra en lo que digo. Ihoan Cano. Señor Alcalde, yo soi el que gano mucho en conoceros, y tiempo ha que deseaba ver vuestra persona, porque os soi aficionado, y querria que muy de veras me tuviesedes por tan amigo é servidor como yo os lo seré. E satisfaciendo á lo que V. M. desea saber de mi, digo, que Diego Cano, escribano de camara del principe Don Ihoan, y camarero de la tapiceria de su alteza, fue mi tio, é ha poco que murió en la ciudad de Caceres, donde vivia, y yo soi natural. Y cuanto á los demas yo, Señor, pasé desde la isla de Cuba á la Nueva España con el capitan Pamphilo de Narvaez, é aunque mozo é de poca edad, yo me hallé cerca del cuando fue preso por Hernando Cortes é sus mañas, é en ese trance le quebraron un ojo, peleando el como muy valiente hombre; pero como no le acudió su gente, é con él se hallaron muy pocos, quedó preso é herido, é se hizo Cortes señor del campo, é trujo á su devocion la gente que con Pamphilo habia ido; é en rencuentros, é en batallas de manos en Mexico; y todo lo que ha sucedido despues, yo me he hallado en ello. Mandais que diga como quedé avecindado en estas partes, y que no reciba pesadumbre de vuestras preguntas: satisfaciendo á mi asiento, digo, Señor, que yo me casé con una señora, hija de Montezuma, llamada Donna Isabel, tal persona que aunque se hubiera criado en nuestra España, no estuviera mas enseñada é

* This dialogue is taken from the fourteenth book of the second part of Oviedo's inedited 'Historia de las Indias'. We have caused it to be printed immediately after the inedited letters of Cortes, because it throws much light on some important transactions intimately connected with the history of the conquest of New Spain. The following is the account which Oviedo gives of the manner in which he became acquainted with the new and valuable information which it contains: "Permitió Dios que llegó á esta ciudad de Santo Domingo, á 8 dias de Setiembre de 1544, un gentilhombre hijodalgo llamado Ihoan Cano, que vive en la ciudad de Mexico, é es natural de la ciudad de Caceres; el cual venia de España, á donde habia ido sobre sus negocios propios, é es casado con una hija legitima de Montezuma, y pasó á la Nueva España con el capitan Pamphilo de Narvaez, é se halló presente é con él peleando cuando le prendieron, puesto que este hidalgo era mancebo de 16 ó 17 años, se hallo despues en todos los sucesos de la Nueva España, al cual yo comuniqué aqui, é no tanto cuanto yo quisiera que él aqui estuviera, porque como hombre de buen entendimiento é testigo de vista me satisfacia á mis preguntas, lo que estubo algunas veces en esta fortaleza hasta su partida, que se partió, que fué jueves 25 del mes ya dicho, con dos navios que iban á la Nueva España, y porque como en otras partes he dicho y he tenido por estilo é dar los contestes é nombrar los testigos de lo que escribió, donde me he hallado, será el capitulo presente continuado á manera de dialogo, é satisfaciendo en parte al titulo de este capitulo 54; y porque no canse el lector en el nombre de los interlocutores, donde huviese tales letras, Alc. quiere decir Alcaide; é donde estuviere aquesta Ca. quiere decir Ihoan Cano: y asi, yo preguntando é Ihoan Cano respondiendo, diré aquellas cosas en que platicamos, porque no hubo tiempo para mas, á causa que poco antes de su partida venimos en conocimiento é á contraer nuestra amicicia."

bien dotrinada, é catolica é de tal conversacion é arte que os satisfaria su manera é buena gracia, y no es poco util é provechosa al sosiego é contentamientos de los naturales de la tierra, porque como es señora en todas sus cosas é amiga de los Cristianos, por su respeto é egemplo mas quietud é reposo se imprime en los animos de los Mexicanos. En lo demas que se me preguntare, é de que yo tenga memoria, yo, Señor, diré lo que supiere conforme á la verdad. Alc. Yo acepto la merced que en esto recibiré, y quiero comenzar á decir lo que me ocurre, porque me acuerdo que fui informado que su padre de Montezuma tubo 150 hijos é hijas, é que él tubo 50 hijos é mas, é que le acaeció tener 50 mugeres preñadas, é ansi escribi esto é otras cosas á este proposito en el capitulo 46, lo cual si asi fué, queria saber como podeis vos tener por legitima hija de Montezuma á la Señora Donna Isabel, vuestra muger, é que forma tenia vuestro suegro para que se conociesen los hijos bastardos entre los legitimos ó espurios, é cuales eran mugeres legitimas ó concubinas? Ca. Fué costumbre usada é guardada entre los Mexicanos, que las mugeres legitimas que tomaban era de la manera que agora se dirá: concertados el hombre y muger que habian de contraer el matrimonio, para le efectuar se juntaban los parientes de ambas partes, é hacian un areito despues que habian comido ó cenado, é al tiempo que los novios se habian de acostar é dormir, en uno tomaban la halda delantera de la camisa de la novia, é atabanla á la manta de algodon que tenia cubierta el novio; e asi ligados tomabanlos de las manos los principales parientes de ambos, é metianlos en una camara, donde los dejaban solos é ascuras por tres dias continuos sin que de alli saliesen él ni ella, ni allá entraba mas de una India á los proveer de comer, é lo que habian menester, en el cual tiempo deste encerramiento siempre habia bailes ó areitos que ellos llaman mitote; é en fin de los tres dias no hay mas fiesta; é los que sin esta cerimonia se casan, no son habidos por matrimonios, ni los hijos que proceden por legitimos, ni heredan. Ansi como murió Montezuma, quedaronle solamente por hijos legitimos mi muger é un hermano suyo, é muchachos ambos, á causa de lo cual fué elegido por Señor un hermano de Montezuma que se decia Cuitlavaçi, señor de Istapalapa, el cual vivió despues de su eleccion solos 60 dias y murió de viruelas, á causa de lo cual un sobrino de Montezuma, que era Papa ó sacerdote mayor entre los Indios, que se llamaba Guatimuçi, mató al primo hijo legitimo de Montezuma que se decia Asupacaçi*, hermano de padre é madre de Donna Isabel, é hizose señor é fué muy valeroso. Este fué el que perdió á Mexico é fué preso, é despues injustamente muerto con otros principales señores é Indios; pues como Cortes é los Cristianos fueron enseñoreados de Mexico, ningun hijo quedó legitimo sino bastardos de Montezuma, excepto mi muger que quedaba viuda, porque Guatimuçi, señor de Mexico, su primo, por fijar mejor su estado, siendo ella muy muchacha, la tubo por muger con la cerimonia ya dicha del atar la camisa con la manta; é no hubieron hijos ni tiempo para procrearlos: é ella se convirtió á nuestra santa fé Catolica, é casose con un hombre de bien de los conquistadores primeros que se llamaba Pedro Gallego, é hubo un hijo en ella que se llamaba Ihoan Gallego Montezuma, é murió el dicho Pedro Gallego, é yo casé con la dicha Donna Isabel, en la cual me ha dado Dios tres hijos é dos hijas, que se llaman Pedro Cano, Gonzalo Cano de Saavedra, Ihoan Cano, Donna Isabel, é Donna Catalina. Alc. Señor Ihoan Cano, suplicoos que me digais por que mató Hernando Cortes á Guatimuçi? rebelose despues, ó que hizo para que muriese? Ca. Habeis de saber que asi á Guatimuçi, como al rey de Tacuba que se decia Tetepanquezal, é al señor de Tezcuco, el capitan Hernando Cortes les hizo dar muchos tormentos é crudos, quemandoles los pies, é untandoles las plantas con aceite, ó poniendosela cerca de las brasas, é en otras diversas maneras, para que les diesen sus tesoros, é teniendolos en continuas fatigas, supo como el capitan Cristobal de Olit se le habia alzado en Puerto de Caballos é Honduras, la cual provincia los Indios llaman Guaimura, é determinó de ir á buscar é castigar el dicho Cristobal de Olit, é partió de Mexico por tierra con mucha gente de Españoles é de los naturales de la tierra, é llevose consigo aquellos tres principales ya dichos, y despues los ahorcó en el camino; é ansi enviudo Donna Isabel, é despues ella se caso de la manera que he dicho con Pedro Gallego, é despues conmigo. Alc. Pues en cierta informacion que se embió al Emperador nuestro señor, dice Hernando Cortes que habia sucedido Guatimuçi en el señorio de Mexico tras Montezuma, porque en las puentes murió el hijo é heredero de Montezuma, é que otros dos hijos que quedaron vivos, el uno era loco ó mentecapto, é el otro paralitico é inhabile por sus enfermedades. E yo lo he escrito ansi en el cap. 16, pensando que ello seria asi. Ca. Pues escriba V. M. lo que mandare, y el Marques Hernando Cortes lo que quisiere, que yo digo en Dios y en mi conciencia la verdad; y esto es muy notorio. Alc. Señor Ihoan Cano, digame V. M. de que procedió el alzamiento de los Indios de Mexico en tanto que Hernando Cortes salió de aquella ciudad é fué á buscar á Pamphilo de Narvaez, é dejó preso á Montezuma en poder de Pedro de Alvarado? Porque he oido sobre esto muchas cosas é muy diferentes las unas de las otras, é yo querria escribir verdad, asi Dios salve mi anima. Ca. Señor Alcaide, eso que preguntais es un paso

* An error, probably, of the transcriber, for Axayacaçi, which appears to have been the real name of the son of Montezuma here alluded to.

en que pocos de los que hay en la tierra sabran dar razon, aunque ello fué muy notorio, é muy manifiesta la sin razon que á los Indios se les hizo, y de alli tomaron tanto odio con los Cristianos que no fiaron mas dellos, y que se siguieron cuantos males huvo despues é la rebelion de Mexico, y pasó de esta manera: esos Mexicanos tenian entre las otras sus idolatrias ciertas fiestas del año, en que se juntaban á sus ritos é cerimonias; y llegado el tiempo de una de aquellas, estaba Alvarado en guarda de Montezuma, é Cortes era ido donde haveis dicho. E muchos Indios principales juntaronse é pidieron licencia al capitan Alvarado para ir á celebrar sus fiestas en los patios de sus mezquitas ó q. q. mayores junto al aposento de los Españoles, porque no pensasen que aquel ayuntamiento se hacia á otro fin. E el dicho capitan les dió la licencia, é asi los Indios, todos los señores mas de 600, desnudos é con muchas joyas de oro é hermosos penachos, é muchas piedras preciosas, é como mas aderezados é gentiles hombres se pudieron é supieron aderezar, é sin arma alguna defensiva ni ofensiva, bailaban é cantaban é hacian su areito é fiesta segun su costumbre; é al mejor tiempo que ellos estaban embebecidos en su regocijo, movido de codicia el Alvarado, hizo poner en cinco puertas del patio cada 15 hombres, él en el centro con la gente restante de los Españoles, é comenzaron á acuchillar é matar los Indios, sin perdonar á uno ni á ninguno hasta que á todos los acabaron en poco espacio de hora. Y esa fué la causa porque los de Mexico viendo muertos é robados aquellos sobre seguro, é sin haber merecido que tal crueldad en ellos se huviese fecho, se alzaron, é hicieron la guerra al dicho Alvarado é á los Cristianos que con él estaban en guarda de Montezuma, é con mucha razon que tenian para ello. Alc. Montezuma como murió? Porque diversamente lo he entendido, y ansi lo he yo escrito diferenciadamente. Ca. Montezuma murió de una pedrada que los de fuera tiraron, lo cual no se hiciera si delante de él no se pusiera un rodelero, porque como le vieran ninguno tirara, y ansi por le cubrir con la rodela, é no creer que alli estaba Montezuma, le dieron una pedrada de que murió. Pero quiero que sepais, Señor Alcaide, que desde la primera rebelion de los Indios hasta que el Marques volvió á la ciudad despues de preso Narvaez, non obstante la pelea ordinaria que con los Cristianos tenian, siempre Montezuma les hacia dar de comer: é despues que el Marques tornó, se le hizo gran recebimiento, é le dieron á todos los Españoles mucha comida. Mas habeis de saber que el capitan Alvarado, como le acusaba la conciencia, é no arrepentido de su culpa, mas queriendole dar color, é por aplacar el animo de Montezuma, dijo á Hernando Cortes que finjiese que él queria prender é castigar, porque Montezuma le rogase por él, é que se fuesen muertos por muertos, lo cual Hernando Cortes no quiso hacer, antes muy enojado, dijo que eran unos perros; é que no habia necesidad de aquel cumplimiento, é embió un principal á que hiciesen el tianguez ó mercado, el cual principal enojado de ver la ira de Cortes, y la poca estimacion que hacia de los Indios vivos, y lo poco que se le daba de los muertos, desdeñado el principal é determinado en la venganza, fué el primero que renovó la guerra contra los Españoles dentro de una hora. Alc. Siempre oi decir que es buena la templanza, é santa la piedad, é abominable la soberbia. Dicen que fué grandisimo el tesoro que Hernando Cortes repartió entre sus milites todos, cuando determinó de dejar la ciudad é irse fuera della por consejo de un botello que se preciaba de pronosticar lo que estaba por venir. Ca. Bien sé quien era ese, y es verdad que el fué de parecer que Cortes y los Cristianos se saliesen, y al tiempo de efectuarlo no lo hizo saber á todos, antes no lo supieron sino los que con él se hallaron á esa platica, é los demas que estaban en sus aposentos é cuarteles se quedaron 270 hombres, los cuales se defendieron ciertos dias peleando, hasta que de hambre se dieron á los Indios, é guardaronles la palabra de la manera que Alvarado la guardó á los que es dicho; casi los 270 Cristianos, é los que dellos no habian sido muertos peleando, todos cuando se rindieron fueron cruelmente sacrificados; pero habeis, Señor, de saber, que desa liberalidad que Hernando Cortes usó como decis entre sus milites, los que mas parte alcanzaron della, é mas se cargaron de oro é joyas, mas presto los mataron, porque por salvar el albarda murió el asno que mas pesada la tomó, é los que no la quisieron sino sus espadas é armas, pasaron con menos ocupacion, haciendose el camino con el espada. Alc. Gran lastima fué perderse tanto tesoro, y 154 Españoles é 45 yeguas, é mas de 2000 Indios, é entre ellos al hijo é hijas de Montezuma, é á todos los otros señores que traian presos: yo ansi lo tengo escrito en el cap. 14 de esta Historia. Ca. Señor Alcaide, en verdad quien tal os dijo, ó no los vido ni supo, ó quiso callar la verdad: yo os certifico que fueron los Españoles muertos en eso, con los que como dije de suso que quedaron en la ciudad, y con los que se prendieron en el camino, siguiendo á Cortes y continuandose nuestra fuga, mas de 1170, é asi pareció por alarde, é de los Indios nuestros amigos de Tascaltecle que decis 2000, sin duda fueron mas de 8000. Alc. Maravillome como despues que Cortes se acogio é los que escaparon á la tierra de Tascaltecle, como no acabaron á él é á los Cristianos, dejando allá muertos á los amigos, y aun asi dice que no les daban de comer sino por rescate los de Guantepec, que es ya termino de Tascaltecle, é el rescate no le querian sino era oro. Ca. Tenedlo, Señor,

por falso todo eso, porque en casa de sus padres no pudieron hallar mas buen acogimiento los Cristianos, é todo cuanto quisieron, é aun sin pedirlo se les dió gracioso é de muy buena voluntad. ALC. Para mucho ha sido el Marques, é digno es de cuanto tiene é de mucho mas, é tengo lastima de ver lisiado un caballero tan valeroso é manco de dos dedos de la mano izquierda, como lo escribi y saqué de su relacion, é puse en el cap. 15, pero las cosas de la guerra ansi son, é los honores é la palma de la victoria no se adquieren dormiendo. CA. Sin duda, Señor, Cortes ha sido venturoso é sagaz capitan, é los principes suelen hacer mercedes á quien los sirve, y es bien las hagan á todos los que en su servicio real trabajan, pero algunos he visto yo que trabajan é sirven é nunca medran, é otros que no hacen tanto como aquellos, son gratificados é aprovechados; pero ansi fuesen todos remunerados como el Marques lo ha sido en lo de sus dedos de que le habeis lastima: tubo Dios poco que hacer en sanarle; y salid Señor, de ese cuidado, que asi como los sacó de Castilla cuando pasó la primera vez á estas partes, asi se los tiene agora en España, porque nunca fué manco dellos ni le faltan, y ansi ni hubo menester cirujano ni milagro para guarecer de ese trabajo. ALC. Señor Ihoan Cano, es verdad que aquella crueldad que dicen que el Marques usó con Chulula, que es una ciudad por donde pasó la primera vez que fué á Mexico? CA. Muy grande verdad es, pero eso yo no lo vi, porque aun no era yo ido á la tierra; pero supelo despues de muchos que lo vieron é se hallaron en esa cruel hazaña. ALC. Como oistes decir que pasó? CA. Lo que oi por cosa muy notoria es, que en aquella ciudad pidió Hernando Cortes 3000 Indios para que llevasen el fardaje, é se los dieron, é los hizo todos poner á cuchillo sin que escapase ninguno. ALC. Razon tiene el Emperador nuestro señor de mandar quitar los Indios á todos los Cristianos. CA. Hagase lo que S. M. mandare é fuese servido, que eso es lo que es mejor, pero yo no querria que padeciesen justos por pecadores. Quien hace crueldades, paguelas, mas el que no comete delitos, porque le han de castigar? Esto es materia para mas espacio; y yo me tengo de embarcar esta noche, é es ya cuasi hora del Ave Maria: mirad Señor Alcaide, si hay en Mexico en que pueda yo emplearme en vuestro servicio, que yo lo haré con entera voluntad é obra; y en lo que toca á la libertad de los Indios, sin duda á unos se les habia de rogar con ellos á que los tubiesen é gobernasen é los industriasen en las cosas de nuestra santa fé Catolica, é á otros se debian quitar. Pero pues aqui está el obispo de Chiapa, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, que ha sido el movedor é inventor destas mudanzas, é vá cargado de frailes mancebos de su orden, con él podeis Señor Alcaide, desembolver esta materia de Indios; é yo no me quiero mas entremeter ni hablar en ella, aunque sabria decir mi parte. ALC. Sin duda Señor Ihoan Cano, V. M. habla como prudente, y estas cosas deben ser asi ordenadas de Dios; y es de pensar que este reverendo obispo de Ciudad Real en la provincia de Chiapa, como celoso en el servicio de Dios é de S. M., se ha movido á esas peregrinaciones en que anda, y plega á Dios que él y sus frailes acierten á servirle; pero él no esta tam bien conmigo como pensais, antes se ha quejado de mi por lo que escrevi cerca de aquellos labradores é nuevos caballeros que quiso hacer, y con sendas cruces que querian parecer á las de Calatrava, siendo labradores, é de otras mezclas é genero de gente baja, quando fué á Cubagua é á Cumana; é lo dijo al señor obispo de San Joan, Don Rodrigo de Bastidas, para que me lo dijese, y ansi me lo dijo; y lo que yo respondi á su queja, no lo hice por satisfacer al obispo de Chiapa, sino á la autoridad y bondad del señor obispo de San Joan, é su santa intencion fué que le supliqué que le dijese, que en verdad yo no tube cuenta ni respecto cuando aquello escrevi á le hacer pesar ni placer, sino á decir lo que paso, y que viese un libro que en la Primera Parte de estas Historias de Indias se imprimió el año de 1535, y alli estaba lo que escrevi, é que holgaba porque estabamos en parte que todo lo que dijé y lo que dejé de decir, se probaria facilmente; y que supiese que aquel libro estaba ya en lengua Toscana y Francesa é Alemaña é Latina é Griega é Turca é Arabiga, aunque yo le escrevi en Castellana; y que pues el continuava nuevas empresas y yo no habia de cesar de escrevir las materias de Indias, en tanto que Sus Majestades* desto fuesen servidos, que yo tengo esperanza en Dios que le dejará mejor acertar en lo por venir que en lo pasado, y ansi adelante le pareceria mejor mi pluma. Y como el señor obispo de San Joan es tan noble, é le consta la verdad é cuan sin pasion yo escrivo, el obispo de Chiapa quedó satisfecho, aunque yo no ando por satisfacer á su paladar ni otro, sino por cumplir con lo que debo, hablando con vos, Señor, lo cierto; y por tanto cuanto á la carga de los muchos frayles,

* It appears from the following passage of Oviedo's introduction to the fourteenth book of the second part of his inedited 'Historia General de las Indias,' that his project of writing a history of America received great encouragement from Charles V., who made him historiographer of the Indies, and conferred on him, at the same time, a lucrative situation in the island of St. Domingo: "Demas desto digo que yo tengo cedulas reales, para que los gobernadores me embien relacion de lo que tocare á la historia en sus gobernaciones para estas Historias: é escribi é avisé al Marques del Valle, Don Fernando Cortes, para que me embiase la suya conforme á lo que successivamente mandaba, é remitiome á unas cartas missivas que le escribió á S. M. de lo sucedido en aquella conquista, y no curó de mas, y de esas y de lo que me informaron, de todo haré memoria en este libro treinta y tres."

me parece en verdad que estas tierras manan ó que llueven frailes, pero pues son sin canas todos y de 30 años abajo, plega á Dios que todos acierten á servirle; ya los vi entrar en esta ciudad de dos en dos hasta 30 de ellos, con sendos bordones é sus sayas é escapularios é sombreros, é sin capas, é el obispo detras dellos: ello parecia una devota farsa, é agora la comienzan, no sabemos en que parará, el tiempo lo dirá; y este haga Nuestro Señor al proposito de su santo servicio: pero pues van aciá aquellos nuevos vulcanes, decidme Señor, que cosa son, si los habeis visto, y que cosa esotro que teneis alla en la Nueva España, que se dice Guaxocingo. Ca. El vulcan de Chalco ó Guaxocingo todo es una cosa, é alumbra de noche tres é cuatro leguas é mas, é de dia salia continuo humo é á veces llamas de fuego, lo cual está en un escollo de la Sierra Nevada, en la cual nunca falta perpetua nieve, é está á 9 leguas de Mexico; pero este fuego é humo que he dicho, duró hasta 7 años, poco mas ó menos, despues que Hernando Cortes pasó á aquellas partes, y ya no sale fuego alguno de alli; pero ha quedado mucho azufre é muy bueno, que se ha sacado para hacer polvora, é hay cuanto quisieren sacar dello; pero en Guatimala hay dos vulcanes é montes fogosos, é echan piedras muy grandisimas fuera de si quemadas, é lanzan aquellas bocas mucho humo, é es cosa de muy horrible aspecto, en especial como le vieron cuando murió la pecadora Donna Beatriz de la Cueva, muger del adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado: plega á Nuestro Señor de quedar con V. M. Señor Alcaide, é dadme licencia, que atiende la barca para irme á la nao. Alc. Señor Ihoan Cano, el Espiritu Santo vaya con V. M., y os dé tan prospero viage é navegacion, que en pocos dias y en salvamiento llegueis á vuestra casa, y halleis á la Señora Donna Isabel, y los hijos é hijas con la salud que V. M. y ellos os deseais.

Al muy noble Señor Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, Alcaide de la Fortaleza de Santo Domingo en la Isla Española, y Coronista de sus Magestades.*

Muy noble Señor. Recibi una carta vuestra con el arcediano de esta iglesia: y es verdad que el no responder á la que me trujo el P. Fr. Antonio de Leon, fué la causa estar fuera desta ciudad, y segun lo mucho que habia que decir que se partia, yo pensé de ser vuelto antes que el embarcara, que por lo demas bastara ser vos Señor, quien sois, y el egercicio de letras que teneis para desear yo vuestra amistad, cuanto mas pudiendola heredar de mi padre; y acordandome de veros Señor, en Madrid conversar muy familiarmente con él muchas veces, y por mi parte no quebrará esta amistad, antes la renovaré, y si alguna cosa se ofreciere en estas partes que os toque lo haré con muy entera voluntad.

Cuanto á lo que Señor decis, que os embiaron de Venecia una relacion que yo embie á S. M. de algunas cosas de las de esta tierra, y que entre ellas decia venir los Mexicanos de la parte del Peru, es verdad que yo he escrito algunas cosas que me parecian de notar; mas no esta, porque tengo la opinion contraria, porque para mi ellos vinieron de la parte del Norte; y asi lo dicen, é se muestra en edificios antiguos, y en nombres de lugares por donde vinieron; y pues allegaron hasta Guazacalco con un señor que se llamaba Quezalcoat, no tengo á mucho que pasen otros á aca; lo que se me acuerda haber escrito en este caso es, que á mi me trujeron ciertos huesos é muelas de hombres tan grandes que á la proporcion seria de 18 ó 19 pies de alto†, y esto dicen los naturales

* The two following letters are inserted by Oviedo in the second volume of his inedited General History of the Indies: they have never been published, and their contents will be found extremely interesting.

† It would hence appear that the stature of these giants must have three times exceeded that of the tallest men of the present day. It is evident, however, from the words of the prophet Amos, in the ninth verse of the second chapter of his prophecies,—"Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them whose height was like the *height of the cedars*, and he was strong as the oaks; yet *I destroyed* his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath,"—that their stature fell far short of that of the giants of the land of Canaan. This passage of Amos introduces to our acquaintance a fourth race of giants, from whom the Jews wrested the Holy Land, if, indeed, the Emims and Zamzummims were not, as is most probable, the same nation, merely divided into different tribes, whose habitation, bordering on the cities of the plain, would appear to have been involved in the same destruction as that recorded in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, which singularly agrees with the tradition preserved amongst the Mexicans and Peruvians, who both believed that the giants were destroyed by fire from heaven. It is deserving, however, of remark, that the former varied the Mosaic account by affirming that a remnant of the race of those giants who had escaped the general destruction were destroyed by a stratagem practised by the ancestors of the Tlascaltecas, who invited them to a banquet, and killed them when in a state of intoxication. A more particular account of this Mexican tradition will be found in the one hundred and ninety-first page of the Supplementary Extracts. Cieza de Leon gives the following account of the stature of the giants of Peru, in the fifty-second chapter of his Peruvian Chronicle: "Unos hombres (eran) tan grandes, que tenia tanto uno dellos de la rodilla abaxo como un hombre de los comunes en todo el cuerpo, aunque fuese de buena estatura." "They were such large men that they measured as much from the knee downwards, as the entire body of a common-sized man even of good stature." And here we may remark that the Mexican tradition, as far as it relates to the stratagem which the ancestors of the Tlascaltecas employed to destroy the

que fueron hasta cincuenta hombres, los cuales repartieron por diversos lugares, y los mataron. No tenemos noticia que haya gigantes, sino es al estrecho de Magallanes, sospecho yo que aquellos vendrian de alli, porque de la parte del Norte yo no tengo noticia de gente tan grande, aunque la hay harto bien dispuesta.

La relacion de las cosas desta tierra yo he procurado de saberlo muy particularmente, y hallo diversas opiniones, porque como habia muchos señores en cada provincia, cuentan las cosas de su manera. Yo las ando recogiendo é verificando, é hecho, os lo embiaré, porque me parece que seria cosa muy vergonzosa que os embiase yo relacion, y que me allegasedes por autor dello no siendo muy verdadera. Y lo de aqui no es tam poco que no podais hacer libro de ello, y no será pequeño, porque aunque Montezuma y Mexico es lo que entre nosotros ha sonado, no era menor Señor el Cazonci de Mechuacan, y otros que no reconocian al uno ni al otro. En lo que toca á los descubrimientos que yo tengo comenzados, como todos son principios, parece que hay poco que decir. Solamente quiero Señor, que sepais, pues tocais en las desordenes de estas partes, que mi gente ni juega ni reniega, ni toman á los Indios nada contra su voluntad, ni hacen excesos de los que gente de guerra suelen hacer.

giants, so singularly agrees with the account given by Herodotus of the manner in which the Scythians were destroyed by the Medes, who having made themselves masters of a great portion of Asia, and committing all kinds of excesses, were at last slain at a banquet to which they had been invited by the Medes, who thus recovered their lost empire, that we cannot but think it extremely probable that the descendants of the Jews in the New World, who must long have retained a recollection of the event which led to the re-establishment of the Median monarchy, and by placing Cyrus on the throne of Persia mainly contributed to that order of things which liberated their ancestors from the Babylonian captivity, did in progress of time, when tradition had partially faded from their memory, confound the events of sacred and profane history, and form, out of the whole, an incongruous mass. The passage of Herodotus which records the destruction of the Scythians by the Medes is the following, which occurs in the first book of that author's history: "Επι μεν νυν οκτω και εικοσι ετεα ηρχον της Ασιης οἱ Σκυθαι, και τα παντα σφι ὑπο τε ὑβριος και ολιγωριης αναστατα ην. χωρις μεν γαρ φορων, επρησσον παρ' ἑκαστων το ἑκαστοισι επεβαλλον· χωρις δε του φορου, ἡρπαζον περιελαυνοντες τουτο ὁ τι εχοιεν ἑκαστοι. και τουτων μεν τους πλευνας Κυαξαρης τε και Μηδοι ξεινισαντες και καταμεθυσαντες κατεφονευσαν. και οὑτω ανεσωσαντο την αρχην Μηδοι, και επεκρατεον των περ και προτερον. και την τε NINON ΕΙ'ΛΟΝ, (ὡς δε εἰλον, εν ἑτεροισι λογοισι δηλωσω) και τους Ασσυριους ὑποχειριους εποιησαντο, πλην της Βαβυλωνιης μοιρης. μετα δε ταυτα, Κυαξαρης μεν, βασιλευσας τεσσερακοντα ετεα, συν τοισι Σκυθαι ηρξαν, τελευτᾳ." "Igitur octo et viginti annos Asiæ imperium obtinuerunt Scythæ; per eorumque *proterviam et contemptum* omnia susque deorsumque versa sunt. Nam, præterquam quod tributum exigebant a singulis quod singulis imposuerant, insuper etiam obequitantes rapiebant quod quique haberent. Sed horum quidem *majorem* numerum Cyaxares et Medi, *hospitio exceptos et mero inebriatos, obtruncarunt;* atque *ita regnum receperunt Medi*, et rerum quarum antea domini fuerant, denuo sunt potiti. Tum vero et Ninum ceperunt, (quam *quo pacto* ceperint, in *aliis* Historiarum libris exponam) et Assyrios, exceptâ Babylonicâ ditione, sub potestatem suam redegerunt. Post hæc Cyaxares, postquam quadraginta annos (simul numeratis his, quibus penes Scythas fuerat imperium) regnasset, fato functus est." There is much reason to suppose that the discovery of fossil bones of elephants and other antediluvian animals induced the early Spanish missionaries to credit the Indian tradition of the existence of giants in America. Alonso de la Mota, for example, a Spanish author of the sixteenth century, makes particular mention in the following passage of his inedited History of the Kingdoms of New Gallicia, New Biscay, and Leon, of the existence of giants in the New World, and the presumed discovery of their bones and sepulchres: "Los Indios viejos de este pueblo Tlala nos cuentan que por tradicion muy antigua de padres y abuelos, saben como en los tiempos pasados vinieron á esta valle por la parte del Occidente, una gran tropa de gigantes de muy disforme estatura, que en numero dizen los Indios eran quatrocientos, y que entre ellos no vino muger alguna, y que llegados á este valle causaron tanto temor en los naturales del, que algunos se huyeron, y los que quedaron les davan por tributo á cada uno cierta cantidad de mugeres para solo hazerles de comer, y muchas no eran bastantes segun lo que comian. Y dizen tambien los Indios deste valle, que como estos gigantes no trageron mugeres cometian entre si el pecado torpe, en pena de lo qual los havia anegado una gran avenida de aguas con que se consumieron todos. Y quanta verdad sea esto no lo sabemos, *pero lo que hemos visto por vista de ojos son algunos huesos de sus sepulchros de increible grandeza*, y en particular vimos aqui un hueso que era de un muslo, que solo el tenia siete palmos de largo, y la hoquesuela que encaja en la cea era como una botija comun en grandeza, y desta proporcion hemos visto otros huesos que oy dia estan aqui." The above tradition deserves to be compared with the following account which Ortelius has inserted in his Cosmography, on the authority, as he declares, of Gyraldus Cambrensis, a writer who flourished in the twelfth century. This account we the more readily transcribe, because the license which was accorded to the monks in the dark ages, can scarcely be denied to the Jews, who colonized another hemisphere: "De hoc Erno lacu scribit Gyraldus Cambrensis, quod olim fons fuit, sed ob incolarum nefandam cum bestiis venerem, Deo irato, in tantam *aquarum* diluviem erupisse, ut totum eum tractum cum hominibus inundatione submerserit. Atque in rei gestæ veritatem hodieque sereno tempore etiamnum templorum turres sub undis hinc inde conspici." We may further remark, in reference to the above passage, that the tradition of God's having destroyed a race of giants is extremely ancient, and of Hebrew origin. The address even of the Deity to the angel Gabriel on that memorable occasion is recorded in the following passage of the book of Enoch, of which Scaliger published some fragments in Greek, and the celebrated Kircher a Latin translation of the first book, inserted by him in the second chapter of his treatise entitled Arca Noe: "Ad Gabrielem vero dixit, Vade, Gabriel, ad gigantes, ad *adulterinos* et falsarios filios *fornicationis*, et perdas filios Εγρηγορων a filiis hominum." "But to Gabriel he said, Go, Gabriel, to the giants, to the adulterous and lying sons of fornication, and destroy the sons of the Egregori from the sons of men." Having elsewhere proved that the Mexicans were acquainted with some of the traditions of the apocryphal book of Esdras, it is almost superfluous to add, that the contents of the book of Enoch, and other apocryphal books, might equally have been made known to them in very early ages by the first Jewish settlers in America.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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